THE LIVING LIBRARIE, OR, MEDITATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS HISTORICAL, NATVRAL, MORAL, POLITICAL, AND POETICAL.

Written in Latin by P. CAMERARIVS, Conſellour to the Free-State of Noremberg:

And done into Engliſh by IOHN MOLLE Eſquire.

HORACE.

Hee, of all others, fitteſt is to write,
That intermingleth Profit with Delight.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, AND REVEREND FAther in God IOHN Lo. Biſhop of *Lincolne Elect*, *Lord* Keeper *of the great* Seale of ENGLAND.

MY LORD,

AMongſt the now frequent congratulations, for your Lordſhips happie aduancement to theſe holie and honourable dignities in the Church and Common-weale, be it alſo lawfull for one of the meaneſt of your Obſeruers, deſtitute of a fitter opportunitie, to giue ſome demonſtration, or (at leaſt) to make a ſigne of that ioy, thereupon conceiued,

Quod latet arcanis non enarrabile fibris. *Perſ. 1.*

And good reaſon, ſince that, as great, ſo is the intereſt equall, which euery good ſubiect hath in his Maieſties prudent choice of one of the ſonnes of LEVI, to manage thoſe weighty affaires, and withall to be the KEEPER of that great *Depoſitum*, on which the good and goods of ſo many do depend. Nor can any be deemed more proper and fit to moderate in that *Supreme and independent Court* (formerly denominated from *Conſcience*) than one of that Tribe, conuerſant and dextrous in *Caſes* of that kind: by which meanes, if euer, that venerable, but diſioynted and crackt name of CONSCIENS may, after ſo long a diſlocation, recouer the former

former vigour and integritie. The trueth of this did his Maiesties piercing iudgement *discerne*, none better (for he is an *Angell of God*,) and therefore, according to that ancient and fixed Aphorisme, Ὅτι τοῖς περιφήτοις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατορθοῦν ἐν ἀσωίατον, to your other *Decora Ecclesiæ sacra* hath his Highnesse added this further, *Honorarij & Coronidis loco*, καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἐν τοῖς χρίστοις.

Heliodor. Æthiop.

Now that these goodly Accessions of *Authoritie* and *Honour* (which in, and by your Lo. the Church enioyeth) may take the deeper root, the noble Precedents, which you haue propounded to your selfe, *tanquam vestigia Maiorum, qui recto itinere præcesserunt*, are of singular auaile. And amongst those of elder times (not to trauaile abroad, *& domi peregrinum agere*) the well grounded courage, and inuincible constancie of that learned and renoumed Prelate ROBERT GROSSETESTE is *instar omnium*. He was your Lo. predecessor in that See of *Lincolne*, into which you are now lanching, there to sit at the sterne. Him God raised vp in those daies of darknesse to be a shining *witnesse* of his *Trueth*, and to make *head* against that *Man of sinne*, who makes himselfe the *Head* not of *Bishops* only, but also of *Kings* and *Emperours*. By which his opposition to the Papall vsurpation, then in the Zenith within this captiuated and exhausted kingdome, he got a name and title more truely glorious and lasting than either that of *Africanus*, *Britannicus*, or the like, euen in those daies to be stiled (as most iustly he deserued) ROMANORVM *malleus & contemptor*. But what needes this wading to the *Fathers beyond the flood*, when as the precious and blessed memorie of many our late reuerend and religious Bishops doth *fortius irritare*? Of whom (not by flatterie to offend those that now liue and flourish) let it suf-

Plin. Sec.

Floruit circa An. 1240.

Matt. Paris.

fice

fice but to mention *duo Paria nobiliſſima*, to wit, the laſt IOHN and RICHARD of CANTERBVRIE, with the laſt RICHARD and IOHN of LONDON: at which foure it is enough onely to point, for *Hi viri hi fuerunt*.

And now (my good Lord) to come neerer home, that is, vnto my ſelfe. Moſt true and wittie is that ſaying, ὅτι πόλλ' ἐν καιρῷ χείρος. Hence am I induced, *Gratitudinis ergò*, thus to preſent your Lo. with another mans book, hauing nothing of any worth of mine owne. A *Parent* it had, in his time famous for his knowledge and induſtrie in good letters; *ſed iamdudũ abijt ille ad plures*. Being yet tender, expoſed to the wide world, & arriuing in this Iſland, it happened on a true *Philoxenus*, who intertained it, then forlorne, taught it our language, and new-ſuted it after this Engliſh garb. But of him alſo being too earely depriued, it hath no leſſe lamented his conſtrained abſence (and perhaps for the ſame cauſe) than *Rachel* did her maſſacred *Innocents*. For alas! this euer well-deſeruing Patriot hath now for many yeares beene miſsing and awanting vnto His; who in, and for his countrie as formerly he hath, ſo might he long haue done good ſeruice, ſaue that he hath done his *God* better abroad: for whoſe cauſe it is now with him as it is, albeit no otherwiſe than it hath beene with many glorious *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors* in the verie ſame place. For my ſelfe I can onely ſay, that this Gentleman leauing his deareſt countrie, committed this Orphane as a *fidei-commiſſum* vnto me; himſelfe alwaies intending to make it a free-denizen here, after a certain ſeaſon. Nine yeares therefore being now expired (the preſcribed time of a Bookes apprentiſhip) it is deſirous to aduenture abroad, in ſearch of this foſter-father, whom it no leſſe

Athen. Deip.

Mr. IOHN MOLLE.

Nonumque prematur in annum. Horat.

leſſe lacketh and loueth than *Hercules* his loſt *Hylas*. Whereupon, being obliged to performe the truſt repoſed in me (the time it ſelfe, and pretence of publicke intereſt exacting this *Manu-miſsion*) I yeelded thereunto; But in the firſt place haue addreſſed it, as a Petitioner *ſub forma Pauperis* vnto your Lo. whom *God* and the *King* hath conſtituted a ſuccourer and ſecurer of thoſe which are oppreſſed and helpleſſe. The ſubſtance of the petition is deliuered in two ſyllables Osi! that as your Lo. and Others, whom God hath placed in that eminence of authoritie, do *remember*, and ſenſibly feele *the Afflictions of Joſeph*; ſo by your Lo. preuious zeale there could be ſome remedie and courſe found out, that He who hath ſo long been tried in that *Babyloniſh fornace* (and therefore not knowne whether to be reckoned *inter viuos*, or *mortuos*) may once ——*Reuocare gradum, patriaſq; euadere ad oras*: Then ſhall this poore Petitioner, & All that are intereſſed in this religious ſute, reſound their double and treble *Iopæan*, with this word further,——*Hic labor, hoc opus eſt veſtrum*. In the meane while humbly crauing pardon for this mine owne ſinne of officious importunitie both amidſt and againſt the publique affaires, wherewith your Lo. is on euerie ſide vrged; I will fold vp all with the deprecation of ingenious *Petrarch*. *Magno verborum fræno vti decet cum Superiore colloquentem; ſed nullus eſt Amore ſuperior: ille Te coget ad veniam, qui Me ad multiloquium.*

Petrar. epiſt. ad Duc. Venet.

Your Lo. in all humble and
dutifull obſeruance,

RYC. BADDELEY.

TO THE READER,
TOVCHING THE OCCASION, Subiect, and vſe of theſe Hiſtoricall *Meditations.*

IT *pleaſed the Authour of theſe* Hiſtoricall Meditations *to entitle them* Th'employment of ſpare houres; *for that hauing either diſpatched, or otherwiſe laid aſide the ordinarie Affaires of the Common-weale, which by his place he did vndergoe; (much-what both irkſome and vnpleaſant, by reaſon of the difficultie and weight thereof, chiefely in that troubled State and Time) wherewith being wearied and tired, his vſuall manner was to retire and betake himſelfe vnto the reading of* Hiſtoricall *Authours, full of delightfull varietie, yet withall verie aduantageous and profitable. This kind of Studie, or rather Recreation, was ſo pleaſing vnto him, that conuerſing with ſuch Bookes, he imagined himſelfe as in the flouriſhing Spring-time of the yeare, ſeated in ſome curious Garden, ſet and beautified with all kind of fruitfull Trees, pleaſant Plants, and fragrant Flowers, with the fruits and odours whereof hee reuiued his wearied ſpirits, as with a proper Repaſt; pulling and culling thence ſundrie Obſeruations both delightfull, memorable, and profitable; which, like the induſtrious Bee, he vſed to aſport and make his owne, by committing them to his ſerious cogitations, and ſecond thoughts, as to an hiue. Withall, hee vſually compared ſuch things, which hee had either heard from others, or ſeene and obſerued himſelfe, with thoſe of ancient times; and againe Ancient with Moderne, to the ſingular content and ſatisfaction of his owne Genius and diſpoſition: which kind of Contemplation or conſideration of the nature of things,* M. Cicero *doth not vnfitly call,* The naturall food of mens Wits and Minds. Cic.

This knowledge of Hiſtorie *(by the Ancients called a kind of* Philoſophie,

phie, *deliuered by way of Example*) *was that ſtudie whereunto our Authour principally addicted and dedicated himſelfe in his retirements, whereby queſtionleſſe hee trauailed in a worke of ſingular auaile vnto all ſorts of men. For therein, like a cunning Artificer, hath hee matched and coupled together thoſe kind of* Similies, *which the Greekes call* Parallels; *and that with ſuch a mixture of choice varietie, that hee neuer ſends his Reader away cloyed, or ſurfetted, but rather ſo well pleaſed with the dreſsing and ordering of his ſeuerall Diſcourſes, as that ſtill his ſtomacke ſhall ſerue him eftſoones to feed vpon the ſame viands. For in it, as in a Magazine, are ſtored vp abundance of both* Precepts *and* Examples, *collected out of the beſt Monuments of Auncient and Moderne Writers, famous in all kind of good* * *Learning: by which wee are admoniſhed chiefly, for morall documents, as well what to imitate and purſue, as to ſhunne and auoid. In it beſides are recorded and expoſed to view many famous and remarkable* Hiſtories, *by which generous ſpirits may bee incited vnto, and promoued in the ſtudie and practiſe of* Pietie, Wiſedome, Iuſtice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, *and other faire Virtues. As on the contrarie, by being a ſpectator of the ougly deformitie of ſundrie vices (here alſo exemplified) they may bee deterred and affrighted from perpetrating the like, after that they ſhall ſee and conſider what fearefull puniſhments and calamities are moſt commonly their concomitants. In ſo much that Any of what degree ſoeuer ſhall heere readily find laid vp to his hand not onely pertinent* Precepts, *but wholeſome* Examples *alſo accommodated and fitted for their ſeuerall vſes and affaires. Whence it is, that this Worke may not vnfitly bee titled,* A Liuing Librarie, *being in the eſtimation of learned and iudicious Ariſtarchs that true* Treasvrie of Times, *which of all others, in this kind, hath ſatisfied their curious palats with ſingular varietie throughout the whole.*

Not to make mention of many rare Inſcriptions, Epitaphs, *and ſundrie other peeces of* Antiquitie, *both* Romane *and others, faithfully related not onely from this Authors owne* Ephemeris, *and priuat Obſeruations in his Trauels; but extracted alſo out of the beſt Writers Antient and Neotorique, Ethnicke and Chriſtian, which haue deliuered and commended thoſe things to Poſteritie. So that whatſoeuer* Iuvenal *did either compriſe or intend in the Summarie of his* Satires, *is in this volume comprehended (with a large Auctuarie)* viz.

Iuvenal.

Quicquid agunt homines, Votum, Timor, Ira, Voluptas,
Gaudia, Diſcurſus noſtri farrago Libelli.

That is;

Mens actions all, Vowes, Anger, Feare, Delight,
Diſcourſe, and Ioyes are heere found at firſt ſight.

*The

*As *Camerarius* his Catalogue, before the booke, of Authours that haue writ in *Theologie, Hiſtorie, Morall Philoſophie, Ethicks, Politicks, Oeconomicks, Poetrie, &c.* doth manifeſt.

To the Reader.

Mr. Iohn Molle.

The consideration whereof did long since iustly mooue a right learned and religious Gentleman (whose solid and knowne worth hath been long approoued at home, but much more abroad, for which cause his memorie shall bee in benedictione sempiterna) *to vndertake the translation thereof, as before that it had been done into French out of Latine (in which language it was at the first curiously arayed) into our vulgar: whereby the benefit therof might accrue and be communicated to this Nation also.*

Accept therefore (ingenious Reader) this his trauell in good part, and make that vsefull profit to thy selfe, in the due perusing thereof, which shall best sort both for the accomplishment of thine owne good, and of his desires, who for thy sake did first attempt and finish this Taske. So may some happie hand heereafter goe on in the finishing of the Remainder of these Meditations, *and other peeces of the same Author, which are had in no small estimation, by their iust desert, amongst the learned of these times.*

THE AVTHORS VOTE,

Or, Dedication of this Booke.

THE COGITATIONS, INDEVOVRS, STVDIES, PAINES, AND THE LIKE, WHICH AT SPARE TIMES ARE COLLECTED AND BESTOWED IN THIS BOOKE, BE THEY ALL DEDICATED AND CONSECRATED CHIEFELY TO THE GOOD OF THE PVBLIKE; NEXT, OF PEACE, QVIET, AND VERITIE, AND OF GOOD ARTS AND PARTS, AS ALSO TO WITS STVDIOVS IN HISTORY. WHICH FIRST FRVITS OR OFFERINGS IF THEY PROOVE VSE-FVLL TO THE WEALE-PVBLIKE, AND ACCEPTABLE TO THE MEMBERS THEREOF, AS WHOLESOME REFECTION FOR THEIR MINDES; AND THAT BY THEM THEY SHALL NOT ONLY RECEIVE SOME SMALL DELIGHT (BY REASON OF THE VARIETIE OF THINGS, AND FOR THE SIMILITVDE OF HISTORIES COMPARED TOGETHER) BVT BESIDES FROM THENCE GLEANE SOME LITTLE PROFIT ALSO; THEN SHALL THE AVTHOVR THINKE TO HAVE AIMED WELL AT THE SCOPE OF HIS DESIRES: BVT IF OTHERWISE, LET ALL WHATSOEVER IS GATHERED HITHER AND CONTRIVED IN THIS VOLVME, RATHER PERISH, BEE SPVNGED OVT, AND CASHIERED, AS THOVGH THEY HAD BEEN NEVER DONE. IF THEREFORE THEY ATTAINE THE WISHED EFFECT, IT IS WELL: IF NOT, LET THEM BEE OMITTED AND COMMITTED TO FEED THE WORMES AND MOTHES.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

That the Prayers and complaints, which proceed from a pure and ſanctified heart, are acceptable to God.

WEE read in *Cicero* theſe words, *Let men that come neere to the gods be chaſt, let them be religious: They that doe otherwiſe ſhalbe puniſhed of God himſelfe.* Againe, *Let not the wicked preſume by preſents to pacifie the wrath of the gods.* Although the Pagans had no certaine knowledge of the Truth, yet they thought that God was more prouoked to vengeance by the prayers of the wicked, than inclined to ſuccour them. *Bias* of Priene one of the ſeauen wiſe-men of Greece, is a witneſſe hereof. For, ſayling in a Ship, where ſome fellowes were that had giuen themſelues ouer to lewdneſſe, and yet in a ſtorme that was riſen, were calling to their gods for helpe, he ſayd vnto them thus; *Hold your peace, for feare leaſt the gods ſhould know you bee here.* And *Plato* forbad all diſputation of any purpoſe or intent in God towards a wicked man that ſhould pray vnto him, and indeuour to appeaſe him by offrings: conſidering that an honeſt man taketh no delight in the gifts of a naughty perſon. And therefore an Ancient was wont to ſay, *That wee ſhould make the gods fauourable to vs in time of proſperitie, that ſo wee may the boldlier call vpon them in our affliction.* *Plinie* ſeemeth to haue regard heereunto, when he ſaith; *That all things are the better accepted, when they come from honeſt and pure hands.* It appeareth then, that the auncient Pagans held this for a ſure ground, That the gods tooke no pleaſure in ſuch ſacrifices as were offered by the impure hands of wicked men. And therefore they would haue the women that were appointed for the keeping of their Chappels and places of deuotion, to abſtaine for nine dayes and nine nights togither from all filthineſſe and pollution. *Cybeles* Prieſts were gelded with a ſharpe ſtone, to the end they might liue chaſtly. In Athens they drunke Hemlocke, to preuent the deſire of comming to their wiues: and their women that vowed a religious life, lay vpon certaine leaues fit and proper to alay their heat. For good cauſe then doth the Orator *Demoſthenes* ſay thus of the Arch-prieſts and ouer-ſeers of the Ceremonies; *I am of opinion* (ſaith he) *that the Prieſt which commeth to the handling of the holy things,*

In the 2 booke of his Lawes.

In *Plutarchs* Moralls.

In his Lawes.

In his 18. booke, chap 3.

In his Oration againſt *Timocrates.*

and taketh care of that which belongeth to the seruice of the gods, should bee chaste and continent; not a certaine number of dayes onely, but that all his life-time hee abstaine from all dishonesty. The Magicians, the more easily to ensnare the simple, vnder the colour of continencie and of pietie, maintaine, that Angels and Spirits loue maides and boyes that are not corrupted, for the agreement and conformitie that is betweene them. For likenesse causeth loue: and Angels, haue no copulation, nor yet sex male or female. And therefore *Galeot Martius* saith; *Let them that will appease the gods keepe themselues chaste*, as a certaine Poet saith,

In his first booke *de doctrina promiscua.*

In this deuotion
May our young sonnes liue and remaine,
Ech one of them free from the staine
Of all pollution.

Virgill seemeth to haue touched this point, speaking of *Venus*, where hee saith that

In the second booke of the *Aeneis.*

Shee hid herselfe againe within the darkesome night.

And hee addeth,

Then did the Heauens wrath appeare vnto my sight,
And the hie Deities combined against Troy.

For, so long as *Venus* (which signifieth carnall pleasure, and hindereth the sight of Angels and Spirits) was present with *Æneas* her sonne, hee could not see or discerne any thing. And so some Magicians (being curious to finde out by the helpe of a looking-glasse, or a glasse-viall full of water, a theefe that lies hidden) make choyce of young Maides or Boyes vnpolluted, to discerne therein those Images or sights which a person defiled cannot see. *Bodin* reporteth, that in his time there was at Tholouse a certaine Portugais, who shewed within a Boyes naile, things that were hidden. And he addeth, that God had expresse-ly forbidden, that none should worship the Stone of Imagination. His opinion is, that this Stone of Imagination or Adoration (for so expoundeth hee the first verse of the 26 chapter of *Leuiticus*, where hee speaketh of the Idoll, the grauen Image, and the painted Stone) was smooth and cleere as a looking-glasse, wherein they saw certaine Images, or sights, of which they inquired after the things hidden. In our time Coniurers vse Christall, calling the diuination *Chrystallomantia*, or *Onychomantia*, in the which, after they haue rubbed one of the nayles of their fingers, or a piece of Chrystall, they vtter I know not what words, and they call a boy that is pure and no way corrupted, to see therein that which they require, as the same *Bodin* doth also make mention.

In the 3 booke of his *Demonomachia.* chap. 3.

But let vs leaue these Magicall fooleries, or rather furies, and returne to our meditation. If then the Pagans haue thought, that pure and holy prayers were of so great importance: what must Christians thinke that are indued with the knowledge of the true God, and who are assured by his word, that hee will bee called vpon purely and holily, and that such prayers are full of efficacie and power? This doth *Lactantius* teach vs: *If any* (saith hee) *come and present himselfe before God with a defiled conscience, let him call to minde the threatnings of him that seeth the secret corners of the heart, a perpetuall enemy to sinnes, a friend to righteousnesse and fidelitie, the which hee requireth and recommendeth. Can a wicked conscience, or a prayer ill grounded, stand before him? But these wretches haue no apprehension of their sinnes, nor feele they how execrable their Idol is, forasmuch as being couered with all sorts of mischiefes they presse forward to pray, and thinke they haue offered a holy Sacrifice, if they haue bee-sprinckled themselues with water outwardly; as if the riuers or the seas could wash the filthie concupiscences of the heart. How much better is it to cleanse the soule bedurted*

In his 5 booke of *Diuine Institt.* chap. 19.

bedurted with wicked deſires, and by the waſhing of Faith and Charitie to driue all vices away? Hee that ſhall doe that, though his body bee foule and durtie, is cleane enough. This waſhing inſtituted in old time, had a myſticall meaning: For the cleaneneſſe of the face, repreſented the pureneſſe of a good conſcience. Vpon which occaſion *Chryſoſtome* ſayth, *That to waſh the face ſignifieth to haue the face of our heart cleane from all filthineſſe of ſinne, and foulenеſſe of iniquitie,* in a word, *to haue the conſcience ſo pure, that wee may truely enioy and feele in our ſelues the contentment of a Heauenly ioy, and the comfort of the Holie Spirit.* The letter written by *Conſtantine* the Great to *Sapores* King of Perſia, muſt not here bee forgotten; in the which being full of Holy admonitions, theſe words among others are read: *All that God requireth of men is a cleane heart, and a ſpirit purged from all filthineſſe. This is the ballance wherein hee weigheth the actions of Pietie & of Vertue.* In this ſenſe a great perſonage of our time taught his Schollers what prayers were acceptable to God. The Latin Diſtich he made thereof, may thus be tranſlated:

God, a pure Spirit, craues a pure heart to call vpon his Name;
And what wee purely pray him for, he vowes to grant the ſame.

For as the veſſells which are to be filled with hony or with wine, muſt firſt be ſcraped, rinſed, and made cleane from all other contrarie matter that was put into them before: ſo of neceſſity muſt our hearts and mindes bee purged from all the vaine deſires of this world, and the ſtincking puddles of ſin, before they can be made fit to receiue the wiſedome, righteouſneſſe, and life of God. To this purpoſe the Church ſingeth; *Lord, deliuer vs from all our iniquities, that with pure thoughts wee may enter into the moſt Holy place.* *Gregorie Nazianzen* hath likewiſe made a good Diſtich to this purpoſe:

The lifting of pure hands on hie is ioyfull ſacrifice,
And offring of chaſte vowes to God is pleaſing in his eyes.

To this the Emperour *Iuſtinian* had regard, in his Conſtitution where hee enioyneth (and that ſeuerely) godlineſſe and chaſtitie to Friers and Nunnes. *If with pure hands,* ſayth hee, *and cleane hearts they make requeſts to God for the publike State, queſtionleſſe armes will proſper, and Cities will be well gouerned. When God ſhalbe appeaſed and pleaſed, all Countries ſhalbe peaceable, and full of deuotion. The earth ſhall bring vs foorth fruits, and the ſea furniſh that it hath in ſtore, at the prayers of thoſe men and women that ſhall make God fauourable to all the world.* Saint *Auguſtine* was of the ſame opinion, ſaying; *The prayer of the Iuſt is the key to open Paradiſe: It aſcendeth, and the mercy of God doth deſcend. Though the Earth bee low, and the Heauen hie, yet God heareth the prayer of man, if ſo bee the words and ſighs proceed from a pure conſcience.*

To conclude, *Chryſoſtome* propoundeth a ſimilitude worthie to bee noted, and added hereunto. *The face of the ſoule,* ſayth hee, *is the Conſcience: For, as a faire face delighteth thoſe that behold it; ſo a cleane Conſcience is a beautifull thing in the eyes of God.* Whereunto the ſame Father had regard, when hee reproued thoſe that wronged the poore, ſaying; *You haue might and ſtrength, but they haue weapons much ſtronger; they haue ſighes, teares, and patience, wherewith they draw ſuccour downe from Heauen. Such weapons pierce houſes, pull vp the very foundations, ouerthrow Cities, and ouerwhelme all the Nations of the earth; ſo carefull and ſo thoughtfull is God for thoſe that ſuffer wrong.* And ſurely, the complaints of perſons wronged, are mightie and ſtrong weapons.

In the 45. Homily of the 4 holiday after Aſhwenſday.

Euſeb. in the 4. booke of the life of *Conſtantin.* chap. 10.

D. Chytræus lib. de morte & vita æterna.

Nouell. 9. collat. tit. 16. chap. 5.

In his Serm. of *Leuit.* chap. 4.

In his Serm. of couetouſneſſe.

CHAP. II.

The Common-wealth is gouerned and maintained by Letters and by Armes.

IVlius *Cæsar* is painted in the heroicall deuises of *Gabriel Simeon*, standing vpon the Globe of the world, holding in his left hand a Booke, and in his right, a Sword, with this motto, *Ex vtroque Cæsar*, that is, *Emperour by both*. Which picture sheweth, that *Cæsar* got the Empire, and held it, by Armes and by Letters. For it is not enough to conquer, but that which is conquered must also be kept. The Emperour *Iustinian* thought the same, who in the beginning of his Institutions of the Ciuile Law, sayth; *That the Imperiall Maiestie must not only bee beautified with militarie art, but also armed with Lawes, to the end the same may gouerne aright in times of warre and of peace: in such wise, that it may haue Victorie in battails against the enemies, and Iustice to represse by lawfull meanes the offences of those that disturbe the quiet of others.* Hereby wee see how carefull ancient Kings and Princes haue beene to prouide, That what they had gotten by wisedome and trauell, might bee wisely conserued and kept together. For this cause *Francis Guicciardin*, a wise Historiographer among our moderne writers, doth couertly taxe the Frenchmen of vnaduisednesse, who did easily enlarge their limits by Armes, but could not hold that they had gotten: hauing not the insight to see, That a Country wonne by those that cannot skill to vse domesticall discipline, is vnprofitable to them, yea most commonly is troublesome to keepe, and in the end brings them to ruin. Which the Emperour *Augustus* knew full well: For hauing read the historie of the exployts of great *Alexander* in the East, it is sayd hee wondred, That *Alexander* did onely bethinke him of adding conquests to conquests, but neuer of the meanes to keepe them well. *Pyrrhus* king of Albania was of that humour, sayth *Iustin* the Historian; For, whereseoeuer hee set his foot none might abide his force. But by how much hee was thought a valiant Conquerour, by so much hee afterwards prooued an vnhappy possessor, for hee tooke pleasure in nothing but in winning of Countries, and afterwards in loosing them againe. *Scipio* when he was Censor, being to make a publike prayer, according to the custome then vsed; in stead of saying, *ô yee gods, increase the Common-wealth*, was contented to pray, *That they would maintaine it*; *It is* (sayd hee) *great enough: Let it suffice it may bee kept in the state it is. Totilas* King of the Gothes, being made master of Rome, had the same consideration: for in an oration made to his armie, hee concludeth thus; *It is harder to keepe a conquest than to conquer: because in conquering of a Country, the cowardize of the possessor helpeth more then the valour of the inuador doth, who cannot keepe that which hee hath gotten, without his owne vertue.*

In his historie of the warres of Italy, *lib.* 1.

Lib. 25.

Leonard Aretin, in the 3. booke of the warre of Italy against the Gothes.

Now, with that deuise of *Cæsar* propounded in the beginning of this Chapter, agreeth the verse of *Homer* that was common in the mouth of *Alexander* the great, and which king *Francis* the first (as they say) was so well pleased with, as hee caused it to bee written in many of his bookes, the verse is this according to *Homers* meaning, who in the person of *Agamemnon* requireth, That a king bee

In counsell Wise, and Valiant in the fight.

Plutarch in his *Apophthegmes*.

So *Agesilaus* that great king of Sparta, being one day asked which of these two vertues hee thought the more excellent, Valour, or Iustice; answered sententiously, *that Valour without Iustice is destitute of her right vse.* In like manner there is an ancient and ordinarie custome among the Turkes, that when their Sultan or Emperor

Emperor goeth into his Chappell to performe his deuotions, the Talisman or Sexten meeteth him, and with a loud voyce willeth him to remember that *the Empire purchased with Iustice, and Military force, cannot bee kept nor defended but by the same weapons.*

P. Iouius lib. 2. Elog.

Hereby we may see to our shame and great disgrace (as the Lord of Busbeck sayth) that this enemie of Christendome is so vigilant, and seuere in maintayning of discipline, so wise and circumspect to hold what hee hath gotten, and to raigne and rule in such a contriuing order, as hee cannot endure to be remooued from the places where hee hath once set his foot: cannot endure that the corne beaten downe by his haile should euer rise vp againe: being hard to say, whether he be more firme and stout to keepe that which he holdeth, or prompt and industrious to get it. The good Emperour *Maximilian*, the first of that name, would oftentimes say, That there is farre lesse labour to vanquish and subdue a people, then to retaine them in obedience. *Nicias* meant the same, when hee held, That he did foolishly, that inuaded those whom hee could not containe in their dutie after hee had ouercome them. To this may bee applied the thirteenth Embleme of *Adrian Iunius*, where hee painteth two *Mercuries*, the one yong and frollick, the other old and graue: adding for exposition, That the Ancients pretended by that Table to signifie, that the King or Magistrat ought to ioyne Prudence with Force, the one being vnprofitable without the other, as his verses placed vnderneth those Images, doe witnesse, being borrowed out of *Isocrates*, to this effect, *That force is of force, ioyned with wisedome; but without wisedome it doth a man hurt.*

In his discourse of the meanes to make warre vpon the Turke.

Thucidid. lib. 6.

Mercurie *is yong and bold,*
Ioyn'd with Mercurie *the old:*
So doth Valor liuelie reigne,
When to Wisdome it doth leane,
But (apart) it fayleth cleane.

In his admonitions to *Demonicus.*

And therefore doth *Francis Patricius* say wisely, That the Commonwealth is increased by the same meanes that it is acquired: for there is none other way of increasing, but by adding of that which doth increase. Now, when an estate is acquired and increased, there remaineth the keeping thereof, by contayning the mindes of the subiects in their dutie, in such sort as they may abide vnder the yoke either willingly, or against their wills. The one is done by force; the other by Loue. If the Prince doe hereunto ioyne some grauitie, which may beget in the hearts of the Subiects a kinde of feare accompanied with reuerence and admiration, there is nothing that can keepe them faster tied vnto him, than such a chaine. Respect is the terrifying, and (as it were) the enchanting of humane mindes. For the conclusion, we will not forget a very ancient inscription which *Petrus Victorius*, a noble and learned personage affirmeth was brought out of Spaine by *Augustine Neruche* in his returne from his voyage: which inscription expressed in English, conteyneth the substance of these words:

In the *6. Dialogue* of the History.

In his Annotations vpon *M. Varro* touching the tillage of the fields.

TO VICTORIOVS PALLAS.

Cato *did here discomfit the residue of the enemies troopes: and left there a Chappell built with a maruailous workemanship, and a* Pallas *of brasse.*
Therefore let all obey, and know that the Empire of the Senat and people of Rome is garded and gouerned by the Prouidence of the gods, and by the Valiancie of the Souldiers.

CHAP. III.

Wee must abstaine from calumnies and outragious words: aboue all from iniurying the dead and the absent.

WEE haue a common saying in our mouthes, and it were to bee wished wee would practise it in our deeds, *That it is not lawfull to speake ought but good of the absent, and of the dead.* The Ancients were carefull hereof; and one of the precepts of their Wise-men is, *That wee ought not to wrong the deceased.* Another, *That wee should at no hand mocke the dead.* Whereunto agreeth the deuise or writing of *Platoes* seale, *It is easier to stirre him that resteth, than to stay him that is stirred.* For wee must not wrestle with the shadow of the dead, nor is it fit to wrong them in words; an iniurie piercing deeper, than doth the acknowledgement of the good receiued: or (as *Cornelius Tacitus* wisely saith) *wee incline more to reuenge an iniurie, than to requite a good turne: because the requitall commeth hardly from vs, but wee hold the reuenge a great gaine.* For this cause is the law of *Solon* much esteemed, forbidding to curse the dead. For it is a dutie of pietie to account them sacred that are gon out of the world: it being also reasonable not to touch those that cease to bee, to measure and make finite ciuile enmities, and not to suffer that they grow to bee infinite: or (as *Carisius* sayth) *wee must not be angrie like an enemie.* And certainely, those ancient Law-makers did wisely, to turne men away from so many detractions and slanderous reportings: for they were not ignorant, that the absent are more grieuously offended with iniurious speeches than with outragious deeds: and that many can beare more patiently the losse of wealth, than an insolent word. It seemeth a thing permitted to enemies, to defend themselues in deedes, because of the necessitie: but in stinging words a man seemeth to see too much either of hatred or malice. *Plato* would shew that with the finger (as one may say) when hee setteth such ill-mouth'd fellowes in the ranke of the furious: *There are sundrie sorts of mad-men* (saith he) *some lie sicke in their beds: others, by a depraued nature, or a cruell minde, or through bad nourishment fall into frenzie; and all these for a light offence keepe a clamoring, and euen teare themselues with opprobrious words; wherewith they lay about them of euerie side.* Which in a well gouerned State should in no wise bee suffered. *Herodotus* also obserued the same, saying; *that Detraction is a grieuous thing, consisting of two that doe iniurie, and of one to whom the iniurie is done. For, the Detractor doth wrong, in accusing one that is not present to answere: Hee that heareth him, is iniurious also, because hee beleeueth before hee knoweth the truth: and the absent hath iniurie done to him, in that hee is accused to bee naught by the one, and accounted so by the other.* And hereunto agreeth a law of *Platoes* in these words; *Let none doe iniurie to any: But who so hath a matter against any man, let him conferre with his aduersarie and with those that are priuie to the cause, and let them heare one another, abstayning vtterly from ill speeches.* Therefore *Charles* of *Bourbon* had often in his mouth the Apophthegme of a Gascoyne Gentleman, who being demanded of King *Charles* the 7. what reward might winne him to breake his faith with him, whereof he had made triall in so many important affaires: *I could not bee drawne thereunto, Sir,* (answered hee) *though I might haue your Kingdome giuen mee, or the Empire of the Earth, or all the treasures of the world: but I might be mooued to doe it by an outrage that might be offred me, and for some iniurie that should touch mine honour.*

Plut. in his life.

Lib. 11. de Legib.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 11. de Legib.

Arn. Ferron. lib. 7. hist. Franciæ.

Touching the dead, this is a good precept of *Chilo* the Lacedemonian; *Speake not ill of a dead man, but thinke him happie.* Those ancient wisemen thought that a man of honour could not staine himselfe more, than by wronging those that could

could not anſwere him; being as ſhamefull a thing to ſtriue with the dead, as to wreſtle with a ſhadow, or with a ghoſt. *Pauſanias* King of Sparta had the ſame conſideration: for hauing defeated and ſlaine in a ſet battell *Mardonius* the king of Perſias Lieutenant, hee was counſelled by *Lampon* one of the chiefe men of the Iſle of Ægina, to hang vp the enemies bodie, giuing it the like entertainment that *Mardonius* had giuen to King *Leonidas*. But *Pauſanias* anſwered him, *I greatly eſteeme thy zeale and fore-ſight; but thy iudgement is farre wide from equitie. For if I ſhould follow thy counſell, and vſe crueltie towards a dead man, I might diſcredit my ſelfe, and the Countrey thou magnifieſt ſo much. Thou thinkeſt in ſo doing I ſhould doe well, whereas indeed I ſhould commit an act more befitting Barbarians than Grecians, who cannot allow of ſuch diſorderlie parts in the moſt ſauage people of the world.* That which *Suidas* reporteth of the Image of *Nico* the Wreſtler who was borne at Thaſus, is worthie of memorie. It happened that after his death, ſome enuious wretch giuing the bridle to the hatred hee had borne *Nico* while hee was aliue, tooke a cudgill in his hand, and therewith beat this Wreſtlers Image, as it were to ſpight the memory of him: Hereupon the Image, to reuenge *Nico* (if one may ſo ſay) falleth downe from the place where it had beene ſet, vpon him that ſtrucke at it, and cruſheth him dead in the place. Let vs further heare that which *Plinie* in his preface vpon the firſt booke of his *Naturall Hiſtorie* reporteth of *Cato* the Cenſor, in the Commentarie hee wrote of Military diſcipline: *I am ſure* (ſaith hee) *that many who know not what true honour meaneth, will bee readie to ſnarle at my writings, if they come abroad: but I let their words runne by, like raine water.* *Plancus* likewiſe made a wittie and pleaſant anſwere in the like caſe; for being told that *Aſinius Pollio* had written certaine inuectiue Orations againſt him which ſhould not bee publiſhed till after *Plancus* his death, to the end they might not bee anſwered by him; *There is none* (ſaith he) *but ghoſts and goblins that fight with the dead:* with which ghird, he gaue thoſe Orations ſuch a blow, that (in the opinion of the learned) none were accounted afterward more impudent and ſhameleſſe than ſuch kinde of fellowes: thus ſaith *Plinie*. Therefore is *Sylla* worthily blamed, who not being content to haue done the worſt hee could to his enemies while they liued, commanded their bones to bee taken out of their graues, and to bee throwne into the Riuer, as hee did to the bodie of *Marius*. For which cauſe, when he lay on his death-bed hee ordained by Will, that his bodie ſhould be burnt to aſhes, fearing leaſt his carcaſſe ſhould bee handled after the ſame ſort by his enemies.

Herodot. lib. 9.

Pauſan. lib. 6. of his Commentar, ſaith the ſame. *Euſeb. lib. 5. Preparat.* ſaith that this was the Image of a Wreſtler named *Diomedes.*

Plutarch in the life of *Sylla.*

It appeareth that the memorie of the deceaſed was precious in times paſt, in that the Romans were anciently accuſtomed to honour the death of the moſt noble and excellent among them by mourning a whole yeare, or ſome longer terme. And indeed it is a worke of commendation, teſtifying good will towards thoſe that are deceaſſed. And the holy Scriptures make mention of this cuſtome. Whereunto we may adde the law of the Athenians, which was, That all ſuch as had died valiantly in the warres for their Countries defence, were regiſtred by name in their Annalls, that there might bee often mention made of them, and of their valiant exploits, by magnifying them in the aſſemblies of the people, and by celebrating ſollemne feaſts and ſports in remembrance of them; where the yong men had diuers exerciſes of their bodies, ſurnamed *Sepulchral*, wherein they put themſelues forward to winne glory by armes, to ſet light by death for the Common-wealths ſake, that was ſo thankefull for the benefits ſhee receiued of her Citizens. In theſe exerciſes, the Polemarck (the chiefe of thoſe youths) propounded certaine verſes and ſongs in praiſe

prayse of those that were dead, and of their valour, that the yong men might sing them before all the people. For conclusion, I will heere remember the memorable deed of King *Lewis* the XI. described by *Robert Gagnin*, which sheweth, that this Prince had a desire that the name of those that were dead should remaine whole and sound, without seeking for reuenge, what soeuer their life had beene. The father of this *Lewis* had entertained the faire *Agnes*, who desired to be buried in the church of the castle of Loches. For this cause she, hauing endowed it with an yearely rent, made her Toombe to bee set vp in the middest of the Queere: A while after *Lewis* comming thither, asked who it was that lay in that Toombe: A Priest answered him, that it was the faire *Agnes*, saying thus withall, *Sir, forasmuch as this Toombe is a let and hinderance vnto vs, if so it please you, wee would gladly remoone it into some Chappell. That which you require* (answered the King) *is not reasonable; for although this woman while shee liued was an heauie friend of mine, yet will I not violate her Sepulchre nor the lawes of buriall. Besides, I will not beleeue that you layd her bodie in so eminent a place without a rich recompence: Performe therefore to your benefactresse now shee is dead, that which you promise her while shee liued: and take heed you remoone her not from hence to any other place. And to the end you may rest so much the more bound to pray for her, I giue you more sixe thousand Francs.* And therewithall hee caused the same to bee told out vnto them, ordayning that it should bee put foorth for a perpetuall yearely benefit for that Church. The same Author recounteth (after *Iohn Chartier* an ancient Historiographer) that when *Charles* the VII. the father of *Lewis* the XI. had besieged Harflew to driue the English from thence, hee went and lodged in the Abbay of Gemet, whither the faire *Agnes* came of purpose to aduertise the King of some treason that was complotted against him. And hee addeth, that the common speech was in his time, that *Charles* kept her, and had a daughter by her, which died a few daies after: albeit *Charles* vtterly denied that shee was his daughter. *Agnes* died in that Abbay of Gemet, hauing left and giuen away by will the summe of threescore thousand crownes. Her bowels were buried there, but the body was imbalmed and interred at Loches. She was a woman of a pleasing conuersation, but full of pompe, taking a glorie to bee proudly attended. The which (because it asked a round summe of money to maintaine it) made the world thinke that *Charles* furnished the expense, to enioy the Lady. And that which strengthened this opinion, was that her friends were seene of a sudden greatly graced and exceedingly prouided for. The Lord of Hallion maketh mention of this *Agnes* in the life of *Charles* the VII. And *Pontus Heuter* a Hollander in the History of the Dukes of Burgundie, writeth; that *Agnes* being exceedingly beloued of *Charles*, was (by common report) sent out of the world by the deuises of the Dolphin sonne and successor to *Charles*, called *Lewis* the XI.

In the hist. of France, *lib.* 11. *cap.* 12.

600. l. sterling.

In the 4. chap. of the same booke.

In the 23. booke.

CHAP IV.

Of the notable bountie of Princes towards learned men.

Cic. in his first of *Tusc.*

THE Ancients haue said very well, *That Honour nourisheth Arts.* And Histories doe shew that the excellent men of former ages, gaue themselues with great earnestnesse to the studie of the Liberall Sciences; and that which is more, cherished, and rightly rewarded those that professed and taught the same. Therefore wee need not maruell if in their times, Arts and Sciences did flourish

floriſh ſo much, that yet in our dayes we gather the fruits thereof in diuers and ſundrie ſorts. For like as a ſweet and temperat ayre maketh the trees fruitfull: ſo Arts and good Wits are encouraged to put themſelues forwards by kinde entertainment, honour, and thankefulneſſe; as contrariwiſe, through the enuie, ſparingneſſe, and cruell repulſe of great perſons, they wax faint, and grow cold and drowſie. What man is there that doth not ſettle himſelfe to paines-taking with the more alacritie and promptneſſe, if hee expect, or receiue the recompence thereof?

Braue Wits doe wake and rowze themſelues for meede,

So ſayth *Claudian* the Poet. Now I cannot but wonder at the bountie of King *Lewis* the XI. who liuing within the memory of our Fathers, was wont to giue euery month to his Phyſition ten thouſand crownes for his wages: ſo as in the ſpace of fiue months, this Phyſition receiued the ſumme of foure and fiftie thouſand crownes, as *Philip de Commines* writeth. Beſides, hee gaue the Biſhopprick of Amiens to a Neuew of his, and prouided his kinſmen and friends of offices and benefices. But one may aske heere, If this manner of giuing may be termed Bountie, which proceedeth not of a franke and liberall will, but from a heart enforced through feare? For the ſame Author writeth, that the King was much afrayd of this Phyſition, and that hee would oftentimes complaine to his Minions of his rough dealing with him. And (indeed) hee had made the king beleeue, That if hee were ſent away from the Court, the king ſhould not liue long after. Wee read alſo of king *Charles* the IX. that hee was a very liberall Prince to all, and particularly to *Albert de Gondi* a money-changers ſonne, to whom hee did ſo many gracious turnes, that beſides the dignities whereunto hee was aduanced, in the ſpace of fiue yeares hee receiued ſix hundred thouſand crownes in ſheere coyne, out of the kings treaſurie. But I know not whither I ſhould attribute the name of liberaltie to ſuch an exceſſiue donation, ſeeing the authour of this report yeeldeth no witneſſe of any honorable ſeruice done by this *Albert*, ſaue that the king learned of him to ſweare by Gods name. The Bountie of ancient princes farre ſurmounteth the liberalitie of thoſe that liue in theſe ages. Among others, *Alexander* the great was very bountifull to learned men. For Hiſtorians write, that hauing defraied *Ariſtotle* in all his neceſſarie charges, writing of the nature of Beaſts, for recompence of his paines, beſides hee gaue him a preſent of eight hundred Talents, which aſcend to the value of foure hundred and foureſcore thouſand crownes. The ſame *Alexander* ſent by his Ambaſſadors, to *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, fiftie talents, which make thirtie thouſand crownes: but the Philoſopher hauing refuſed them, becauſe hee had no need of ſo much money, *Alexander* ſayd to thoſe that were ſent from him; *What, hath* Xenocrates *no friends to whom hee may doe ſome good?* Furthermore, we read that *Theombrotus* a Phyſition receiued threeſcore thouſand crownes for hauing tended and recouered king *Antiochus* of a certaine ſickneſſe: That the cunning Painter *Apelles* receiued eight-ſcore thouſand crownes for a Tablet, wherein hee had drawne great *Alexander*. Wee read in *Seruius*, that *Virgill* the Poet vpon a time read before the Emperour *Auguſtus*, the ſecond, fourth, and ſixth bookes of his *Æneis*; but chiefely the ſixth, for *Octauias* ſake the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*, and mother to *Marcellus*, who was adopted by his vncle, and died of ſickneſſe in the eighteenth yeare of his age: *Virgill* then rehearſing in the preſence of *Octauia* certaine verſes towards the end of that ſixth booke, where he deſcribeth the mourning for *Marcellus* death; the mother hearing theſe words, *Heu miſerande puer! ſi qua fata aſpera rumpas, Tu* Marcellus *eris, &c.*

In the 2. *Panegyr.* of the prayſes of *Stilicon.*

In the life of that king, *An.* 1483.

In a briefe treatiſe, intituled a *Synopſis* of the life of *Charles* 9.

Plu. in his life, and in the treatiſe of the fortune of *Alexander.*

In his Comment. vpon *Virgill.*

eris, &c. fell into a ſwouning, and being with much adoe come to her ſelfe againe, forbad *Virgill* to read any further, and cauſed tenne Seſterces to be giuen him for euerie verſe hee had pronounced, being in number one and twentie: which amount to more than fiue thouſand crownes. Belike *Octauia* followed the example of the Candiots, who preſented *Homer* with a thouſand pieces of ſiluer, in acknowledgement of his trauell in the Ilias and Odyſſea, ordayning that the ſame gratuitie of theirs ſhould bee grauen in a pillar erected in open view. Now, as it is a memorable thing, that the Poet *Cherilus* for ſo many verſes as hee made, receiued ſo many ſtaters of gold: ſo is the largeſſe of *Lyſander* magnified, who gaue to the Poet *Antilochus* for a few verſes, a hatfull of ſiluer. And the Emperour *Seuerus* cauſed to bee told out to *Oppian* (who hath written a booke of fiſhes) for euerie Greeke verſe hee made, a crowne: a liberalitie ſo much admired afterwards, that yet at this day thoſe verſes of *Oppian* are ſurnamed, *Golden*. We read alſo, that *Manilius Cornutus* a wealthie perſonage, and gouernor of Aquitaine, being troubled with the ſhamefull falling of the hayre, and at laſt cured thereof, rewarded his Phyſition with the ſumme of foure thouſand crownes.

Let vs leaue to ſpeake of ancient examples, and produce ſome moderne. In the time of our fathers, a Phyſition of Florence named *Thadeus*, got ſuch credit by his art, that when he went to miniſter out of the citie, hee got for euery day fiftie crownes, and being ſent for by Pope *Honorius* the 1 v. had of him a hundred crownes by the day: ſo that returning from Rome he brought home with him tenne thouſand crownes. *Petrus Apouenſis* a Phyſition of Padua, neuer went out of Bolonia where hee dwelt, to ſee any patient, but hee receiued the ſame ſumme of fiftie crownes a day. One Pope of his time being falne ſicke, could not haue him before hee was faigne to allow him foure hundred duccats a day. *Eraſiſtratus* an ancient Phyſition had the like good fortune by his ſufficiencie and trauell. For when as *Antiochus* who was extremely in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, languiſhed and fell away euerie houre, and *Eraſiſtratus* hauing diſcouered his ſickneſſe by feeling his pulſe, had told *Seleucus*, that his ſonne was but a dead man: *How ſo? quoth* Selucus: *Becauſe* (anſwered the Phyſition) *hee pineth away for loue of my wife. What? (replieth* Selucus) *am I ſo little regarded of thee, that thou thinkeſt much, to grant my ſonne what hee deſireth? But* (quoth the Phyſition) *would you bee content to ſatisfie anothers paſſion in that manner and yeeld him your wife? I wiſh with all my heart* (anſwered *Seleucus*) *that the gods would turne my ſonnes affection towards my deere* Stratonice. *Then ſaid* Eraſiſtratus *vnto him, you are his father, and you may bee his Phyſition. So* Seleucus *gaue his wife to* Antiochus, *and threeſcore thouſand crownes to* Eraſiſtratus. To make an end, I will heere adde the memorable inſcription that was found in a marble-ſtone pulled out of the ground about a tower neere to *Traians* fort, by the report of *Marlianus* in his Topographie of ancient Rome, contayning theſe words, *Potentiſſima dos in Principe, Liberalitas & Clementia*, that is, *Bountie and Clemencie is the ſureſt dowrie of a Prince.*

Plut. in his Liues and Moralls.

CHAP. V.

Of the protecting of Husband-men, and of Militarie diſcipline.

MAny Lawes and Ordinances we haue, which doe ſhew what great care Princes and Magiſtrates had in old time, that Husbandmen and Labourers might bee no leſſe aſſured in time of warre, than in the time of

of peace. They knew how much it stood the common-wealth vpon, that victuals should be prouided, preserued, & conueniently distributed to the comfort of all people. For like as a child that is newborne, cannot liue and attaine to the growth of age without the nurses milke; so likewise a peopled citie can neither maintain it selfe, nor continue any long time, if it haue not the reuenues of the ground, and that in some abundance. *Cicero* was not ignorant hereof, who said, *That of all other things whereof any fruit ariseth, there is none better, more plentifull, more delightsome, more worthie of an honourable man, than Husbandrie.* And *Marcus Cato* reporteth, That when the Ancients would speake in commendation of a man, they vsed to call him a good Husband-man, and a good tiller of the ground. For which cause, the Censors layd a fine vpon their heads, that were ill husbands and let their lands lie fallow. And *Scipio Nasica*, being otherwise a great man, making sute for the *Ædileship*, was reiected of the people, for that hee, seeing a yong man that was his competitor to haue many hard knurs or knobs in his hands with working in the fields, had floutingly asked him, Whither hee had vsed to goe on his hands? The like consideration had the Romans, who tooke order at the common charge for the digging of certaine great channels in all the countries of Egypt, hauing issue from diuers places to the riuer of Nilus, by meanes whereof there was conueied by water an incredible quantitie of corne to *Alexandria*; and from thence by sea to the parts about Rome: with an expresse Edict condemning any man to death that should breake the bankes of earth that serued for rampiers to those channels of Nilus. The Frizelanders, Hollanders, and Zelanders haue the same Ordinances at this day for their bankes which serue for defences to all the country. For by such cunning worke wherein they haue laboured, and which with care they maintaine, and that continually, and with great cost, the violence of the sea when it floweth and rageth, is checked and restrained.

In his first booke of Offices.

In the preface of his booke of tillage.

Ieronym. Magius lib. 1. Miscellan. cap. 10.

But because this Chapter is not appointed to register the prayses of a countrey life and labor, let vs come to that we haue purposed to say concerinng the safetie of Husbandmen. Wee read of a good law (among other) made by the Emperour *Frederick* the x 1. inserted * in the treatise of Fees, which is found also in * *Iustinians* Code in these termes: *Let Husband-men, and such as labour in the fields, and that dwell in their Villages and till the ground, bee in assurance euerie where: so as no man bee so bold as to assault, lay hold on, or take any such prisoners; nor yet their cattle, nor working tooles, nor any other thing whatsoeuer that belongeth to Husbandrie. If any bee so rash as to offer it, and to violate our Ordinance: Wee amerce him to restore foure-fold that which hee shall so haue taken away; wee pronounce him infamous according to the Law, and will that hee bee punished in his body as the extremitie of the case requireth.* Other nations haue beene no lesse carefull to keepe their Husband-men in assurance and prosperitie. The great *Cyrus* going to warre, made Proclamation that his souldiors should spare the countrie people, & that the Conquerours should let them liue peaceably in their houses. The like did the mightie king *Xerxes* when hee inuaded the Grecians: *Wee will make warre* (saith hee to *Artabanus*) *vpon those that beare armes, and not vpon shepheards that attend their flockes.* And *Arrianus* affirmeth, That it was forbidden among the Indians, to take labouring men prisoners, or to make waste in time of warre: *Others* (saith he) *make warre, and kill one another: but the husbandmen plie their worke quietly, cutting their wood, reaping their harnest, and gathering their fruites.* *Strabo* saith the like in his *Geographie*. *The husbandmen* (saith he) *being verie honest people, and of a great number, haue the second place among the Indians. Because they are exempted from*

* *Tit. de Statutis & consuetud. contra libert. Ecclesiæ.*
* *Tit. quæ res pignor. oblig. poss.*

See *Xenophon* and *Herodotus.*

In his booke of the affaires of the Indians.

Lib. 15.

going

going to warre, and haue leaue to doe their worke in all ſafetie, they dwell not in the cities, nor manage any buſines of importance, neither exerciſe any publike charge. By which meanes, in one and the ſame time and place, ſome warred and were at handy ſtrokes with the enemie, others held the plough by the taile, or digged in the earth without feare of any thing, being maintained in their peaceable trauell and induſtrie euen by thoſe that bare armes. In old time Egypt was diuided into three eſtates, which were the Sacrificers and Prieſts; the Artezans and Handie-workers, vnder whom were comprehended the Husbandmen; and the Souldiers and men of warre. I haue learned of men that ſaw it, that in the long warre which was in our time betweene the Emperour *Charles* the v. and King *Francis* the i. at what time both their armies made warre continually in Piedmont many moneths together, the husbandmen enioyed this ancient ſafegard and aſſurance: which diſcipline and good order if it had not beene taken, whereby the high wayes and paſſages were ſtopt with barricadoes and turne-pikes for the behoofe of the countrey people, the ſouldiers and men of warre muſt haue been forced (being deſtitute of victuals) to haue disbanded and diſperſed themſelues.

Diodorus Siculus, and *Iſocrates* write ſo.

In the Hiſtory of our time.

Beliſarius, the moſt excellent chieftaine that the Emperour *Iuſtinian* had, was of the ſame opinion. For *Leonard Aretine* writeth of him, after *Suidas*, That hee tooke ſuch care for the countrey men, that when his troupes marched or camped, hee neuer ſuffered that any violence ſhould be offered to the perſon of the meaneſt payſant that was: wherein he vſed ſuch rigor, that the ſouldiers durſt not touch any fruit that hung at the branches of the trees, nor offer to fell any. By which ſeuere diſcipline hee gained this point, that there was not a market in any citie whatſoeuer, better furniſhed with victuals, nor better cheape, than his campe was; to the which there was brought all manner of prouiſions without any danger. The like did *Totilas* king of the Gothes, in the warre of Italie, againſt the ſame *Beliſarius*. For (as *Procopius* witneſſeth) he did no manner of hurt to the husbandmen whereſoeuer they dwelt, but willed them to till the ground, as before they had done through all Italie, and to pay their taxes as was accuſtomed, and to ſatisfie their land-lords according to their couenants. It were a needleſſe thing to ſpeake of that which is done in the moſt part of our warres now adayes. What Rutter or Lansknet is there, who (as armes are borne in theſe times) hath not an ill name, and is worthy of puniſhment according to the imperiall lawes? For, of ſo many millions of men that runne to the warre, there is ſcarce one that maketh a conſcience to ſpare his friends, but all is counted enemie, and well gotten that is met with. In this behalfe the Swiſſers are thought to obſerue the diſcipline of warre better than our Lansknets. It is no maruell then, if our warres for the moſt part proue ſo vnhappie as they doe: contrarie wiſe, that our enemies warres, who maintaine ſome militarie order and diſcipline, haue ſuch happie ſucceſſe. In a word, as *Nicephorus Gregoras* ſaith, *That armie, in whoſe vantgard Inſolentie and Violence doe march, doth commonly draw after it in the taile, her diſcomfiture and ruine.* Before euer the enemie preſent himſelfe, theſe boot-haling fellowes ouerthrow themſelues with feare, and are their owne greateſt enemies, the diuine vengeance allotting vnto them the iſſue which their offences deſerue. And it is not likely, that they, who carrie no other baggage in their Knapſackes and wallets, but the teares and curſes of the poore whom they outrage ſo many wayes, ſhould proſper in their affaires. To be ſhort, the Poets *Heſiodus* and *Homer*, haue made more reckoning of the inſtruments of tillage, than of the weapons of warre. For the plough, the ſhare, and the cultor doe promiſe life and proſperitie to men; but pikes, ſwords, and gunnes demonſtrat nothing but death and wretchedneſſe.

In the beginning of the 3 Booke of the warre againſt the Gothes.

Procop. lib. 3. of the warre of the Gothes.

In his Hiſtory.

chedneſſe. The kings of Benomotapa in Ethiopia, beyond the Cape *De bona Speranza*, which is bounded with the South Ocean (mightie princes before ſuch time as the Portugals diſcouered the countrey) had reſpect to the ſame thing, bearing for badges of their maieſtie royall (ſaith *Ieronimus Oſorius*) a little ſpade with a ſhaft of yuorie, and two ſhort jauelins. By the ſpade they encourage their ſubiects to husband the ground, for feare leſt by idleneſſe they ſhould let it grow fallow, and through famine become theeues and robbers. One of the jauelins ſignifieth, That they meane to do iuſtice to their ſubiects within their kingdom: and the other ſheweth, That they reſolue to repell their enemies with armes, that ſhould offer to inuade the ſame.

In the 4 booke of the hiſtorie of Portugall, *fol.* 19.

The Turkes, who till this time haue carefully maintained the order and diſcipline of warre, (the humane prudence, which hath been their furtherance and bulwarke againſt the Chriſtians, amongſt whom all policie is welneere periſhed, as may be ſeene by that learned Treatiſe written by *Hubert Folietta*, of the enlarging and increaſing of the empire of the Turkes, *Lactantius* placing this diſorder of warfaring men among the ſignes that ſhould precede and ſhew themſelues a little before the latter day) theſe Turkes ſay, when their armie, which is commonly very great, marcheth in their countries, they vſe firſt of all to take order, that it doe no hurt or annoyance to gardens and fields that are ſowne; After that, they puniſh ſeuerely the ſouldiers, which either by careleſneſſe, or of arrogancie make neuer ſo little waſte. Heereof wee haue a memorable example in the diſcourſe of *Bartholomew Georgeuitz*, who (as an eye-witneſſe) writeth theſe words: *Their diſcipline in warre is ſo ſeuere, as if any ſouldior doe but offer to ſteale, hee is puniſhed without all remiſſion. For there are among them certaine ordinarie guards, to looke that the ſouldiers giue no occaſion of miſcontentment to little boyes of eight or ten yeares old, that they meet vpon the wayes, bringing bread, egs, fruit, hauer, & ſuch other prouiſions to ſell. Theſe guards and their Captaines are charged likewiſe to ſee that no ſouldier goe into any garden or orchyard by which the troups are to paſſe; and they themſelues dare not (for their liues) take any of the fruit without leaue of the owner. When I was* (ſaith he) *in the Turkiſh armie that marched againſt the Perſians, I ſaw a horſeman and his ſeruant had both their heads cut off, and after that, the horſes head was ſtricken off too, becauſe the maſter and the ſeruant had ſuffered the horſe goe vnbrideled into a husbandmans field.* The like doth *Melchior Seidlitz* report, a braue gentleman, and a good Warriour: ſaying, That while he was in durance vnder the Turke, from whence by the mediation of the French Embaſſadour hee was deliuered with his fellow priſoners, he ſaw in the Turkiſh armie (which extended it ſelfe far ouer the countrey, taking vp a great many villages) ſo goodly an order, ſo great temperance, ſo much ſafetie, that in thoſe villages the ſouldiers did not once touch the fruits, nor the hennes, nor any poultrie, nor any of the victuals or mooueables that belonged to the countrey people. Vpon occaſion whereof, this gentleman giueth a graue and conuenient cenſure againſt the diſſolution, rapine, and indiſcreet diſcretion of our ſouldiors, who call themſelues Catholikes and Chriſtians. Heere may one inſert, and that fitly (not to wrong the German nation, which yeeldeth to none in valour and experience of warlike affaires; but to lay open ſo much the more the barbarous and outragious inſolencie of the Turkes) that which *John Auentine*, a wiſe Hiſtorian, hath left in writing: *Thoſe of Rhodes* (ſaith he) *wrote one day to the Emperour* Frederick *the third, and to the princes Electors, That the Turke being counſelled by his Captaines and other his aſſiſtants, not to take warre in hand againſt the Chriſtians, namely againſt the Germans: he made them this anſwere, That the weapons of the Chriſtians did no whit terrifie him, much leſſe thoſe of the Germans, and that for foure reaſons; the firſt, That*

In the Epitome of diuine Inſtitut. *cap.* 8.

Of the diſcipline of the Turkes.

In his voyage to Turkie.

In his diſcourſe of the affaires of the Turke.

they were not in vnitie among themſelues, but that it was as hard a matter to vnite them, as to bring the fiue fingers of the hand into one. The ſecond, that they could not away with trauell, and that the Germans (of all others) were nought elſe but bellies, bottels of wine, whoore-maſters, and their Captaines made more account of great feathers, than of good armes. The third, that all their affaires were handled but at aduenture, in a giddie ſort, without counſell, and without order. And the laſt, that they cared neither for Lawes, nor Iuſtice; that they gaue no rewards to them that deſerued well, that they let offendors goe vnpuniſhed, and ſhewed themſelues ſharpe and cruell to thoſe that were worthie of fauour and pardon: Contrariwiſe, that they handled the leaud and irregular graciouſly, whom they ought to deſtroy without all remiſſion. Theſe and ſuch like reaſons (as enemies moſt commonly ſhew themſelues leaud detractors, ſharpe cenſurers, and accuſers of others imperfections, rather than of their owne) are bitterly obiected againſt the Chriſtians in the militarie oration of *Aſſan Baſſa*, the ſonne of *Barbaruſſa*, deſcribed by *Hubert Folietta*; wherein this *Baſſa* doth counſell and perſuade his ſouldiers to giue battell to the fleet of the confederat Chriſtians, which was compounded of an armie furniſhed by the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Venetians. But in this battell the Turkes were wholly defeated, and then it was apparant, that the power of thoſe furious ones is not inuincible; and that it is not their force, but our faint-heartedneſſe that maketh them ſo terrible to the Chriſtians, who in ſtead of turning their weapons againſt the common enemie, abuſe them wickedly to entertaine ciuile warres among themſelues, and weakning themſelues by continuall loſſes, are the cauſe that theſe conſpiring aduerſaries againſt the Chriſtian name do reenforce themſelues, and grow greater euery day.

In the 3 booke of the 8 league

That we may not digreſſe further from our purpoſe, *Franciſcus Patricius* diſcouereth in two lines the efficacie of militarie Diſcipline, when hee ſaith, That all the force of armes conſiſteth either in diſcipline, or in the number, or valour of the ſouldiers. *Poliphilus* ſetteth forth all this vnder Hieroglyphicall letters, in repreſenting a man ſitting penſiue, and compaſſed on euery ſide with gunnes, hauing a ſerpent in his hand, and a ſpread-Eagle pearching vpon an anchor of a ſhip, adding theſe words; *Militarie prudence or diſcipline is the vndiſſoluable bond of all domination.* *Simon de Vignoſa*, Generall of the Sea-armie of Genes, was not ignorant of this conceit: For after that hee had made himſelfe maſter of Sio, and had forbidden with ſound of trumpet that no ſouldier ſhould once enter into the vineyards and other poſſeſſions of the citizens; his onely ſonne, thinking himſelfe ſufficiently priuiledged and exempted from the danger of ſuch a proclamation by the loue his father bare him, went raſhly and inſolently into a certaine vineyard, from whence as hee came forth he was ſpied, loaden with bunches of grapes. The father made him to bee laid hold of, and carried all along the citie with the grapes tyed about his necke; and that being done, hee cauſed him to be whipt with rods in the market places and meetings of ſtreets, at noone time, in the view of all the citie. An example of a ſeuere and inuincible courage, and ſuch as ſurmounted all fatherly affection; and which teacheth Generals and Commaunders to vnderſtand throughly what it is to commaund, to maintaine good order among ſuch as beare Armes, thereby to make themſelues well obeyed. For the concluſion, we muſt not forget the militarie letter which the Emperour *Aurelian* wrote to his Lieutenant, as *Flauius Vopiſcus* hath it regiſtred, the effect whereof is this; *If thou wilt be a Commaunder of troupes, and alſo if thou loue thy life, keepe the ſouldiers hands in the reſt. Let none ſteale away the young of another mans cattell, nor touch a husbandmans ſheepe, nor carrie away a bunch of grapes, nor tread downe the corne, nor take by force, oyle, ſalt, nor wood, but be content with his victuals.*

In the 6 dialogue of the hiſtorie.

In his *Hypnerotomachia.*

Hub. Folietta in his *Elogies.*

Let

Let him take his boot from the enemie, not from the teares of the ſubiects and friends. Let his Armes be bright, his curaſe fit, his hoſe and ſhooes ſuch as will laſt. Let his new caſſocke come in place of the old, when it is ſo worne that he can vſe it no more. Let his pay bee in his belt, not ſpent in a vitling-houſe. Let him not be without braſlet and ring. Let him rub his horſe, and let his horſe bee in good liking: hauing taken any great beaſt, let him not ſell it. Let him fauour his mule for baggage. Let one ſouldier helpe another like a ſeruant. Let the Surgeons cure the hurt and wounded without asking reward. Let not the ſouldiers giue any thing to Fortune-tellers. Let them carrie themſelues honeſtly in their lodgings. Let mutiniers and quarrellers bee puniſhed.

CHAP. VI.

Certaine good obſeruations concerning Liege fees.

THe Ciuilians doe treat at large of Liege fees: but with diuers opinions. They agree in this point, that the Fees are ſurnamed Liege, which doe more oblige and bind the vaſſall, than other Fees doe. The moſt common opinion is, That three things are requiſite herein: Firſt, that the vaſſall ſweare fidelitie, without reſeruation of fidelitie to any other; Secondly, that in the letters of Inueſtiture it be expreſſely ſaid, that the Fee is Liege; Thirdly, that the vaſſall doe ſubiect to the power of his lord, firſt his perſon, and next all his goods not feodall. But as I purpoſe not here to make any long diſcourſe of theſe matters: ſo I thinke of the other ſide, that to make it the better vnderſtood what Liege fee is, it will bee good to ſet downe that which *Ionianus Pontanus*, a graue Authour, and worthie of credit, hath written hereof in tearmes that ſhew the oath of a Liege-man. Making mention of the Earle of Nola, who came to make this oath at Naples, to king *Ferdinand*, hee declareth the whole matter with the circumſtances, as followeth. The King is ſet in the middeſt of a great hall, his chaire ſtanding in a place raiſed high: the great lords of the kingdome, and the chiefe men of his court placed about him: then round about ſtand many gentlemen according to their degrees. At the kings feet on the right ſide is a Secretarie of State kneeling; on the left ſide a Biſhop holding the booke of the Goſpels open, and ſtayed againſt the Kings breaſt. In the midſt betweene theſe two is hee alſo kneeling that doeth the homage, laying both his hands vpon the open booke. The Secretarie pronounceth the wordes, which the vaſſall repeateth after him. The Earle then being on his knees before the King, and hauing both his hands at large vpon the booke, the Secretarie begins to ſay the words following, which the Earle ſaith againe after him: *I* Vrſus *of the* Vrſins, *Earle of Nola and Atripalda, lord of Aſcoli, of Laura, and of Fiorin, of their lands, territories, citizens, and inhabitants; promiſe to you king* Ferdinand, *and to your children and ſucceſſors in the kingdome of Naples, for my children and ſucceſſors in theſe cities, townes, villages, landes and territories to me belonging, that I and mine ſhall bee faithfull to you, that in all places wee ſhall obey the commaundements of you and of yours; that we and all they that dwell in theſe places, ſhall conſtantly and faithfully alwayes doe that which ſhall bee enioyned vs by you and yours. If I vnderſtand, if I finde out, if I know that any deuiſe and complot, that any lie in wait or practiſe any thing either againſt you or yours, I will reueale and declare them particularly, as well to you, as to them: Finally, that I ſhall diſcharge my dutie, and my ſubiects alſo, doing within and without the places of our abidings, in time of peace and of war, towards and againſt all, that which ſhall bee commaunded mee, and which a good and faithfull ſubiect is bound to doe and obſerue to his king according to equitie, law, and nature; and*

In his 2 booke of the deeds of K. *Ferdinand*, ſonne to *Alphonſus*.

hereupon I call to witnesse God all good and almightie: which also I confirme by solemne and expresse oath vpon the holy Euangelists, knowingly, and with my free will. That said, he taketh his hands from the booke. Then the King taking the Earles thumbs, and coupling them together, and putting them betweene his owne, layeth them vpon the foure Euangelists. The Earle speaking the second time after the Secretarie, saith, *I affirme and auow my selfe, and standing here, I hold and declare, that I am Liege-man with my children and successors, of* Ferdinand *my King and Lord, and of his children and successors.* Saying this thrice, at euery time he kisseth the kings thumbes, and the king kisseth his mouth, and hauing entertained him, dismiseth him graciously. This is the manner of doing homage to the kings of Naples, and their Liege-men thus behaue themselues: who are called Liege, because the kings hauing bound their thumbes, doe make them subiect by such ceremonie to be faithfull and obedient to them.

The ancient kings vsed in times past this ceremonie of interfolding their hands, and their thumbs, when they made any streight alliance togither. Whereof we haue an example in *Cornelius Tacitus*; *Kings are wont* (sayth he) *when they make allaiance, to ioyne their right hands, and to tie their thumbes fast together: afterwards, when the blood is gathered into their fingers ends, they prick them lightly, and suck the blood one of another. Such an alliance is held inuiolable, as hauing beene made sacred by the blood which is so drawne from them all.* It appeareth also by that which *Lucian* reporteth, that the Scythians had the same custome: for, speaking of their greatest Oath, and most authentick promise that passeth betweene them, he maketh one of that countrey to say this following; *Hauing prickt our fingers, and made some of our blood runne into a cup, wee wet in it the point of our poyniards, and then both sides drinking of that blood, there is nothing whatsoeuer that may separat vs after that time.* *Solinus* in his collection of Histories seemeth to haue touched this, when he writeth of the Scythians, *That they confirme their leagues by drinking one anothers blood: following therein not their custome alone but also the custome of the Medes.* Some thing like vnto that is attributed by *Posidonius* to the Germans: *It is reported of them* (saith he) *that after they haue kindly embraced one another in their feasts, they open one of the veines in the fore-head, and receiue the blood that floweth from thence, into a goblet, of which they drinke, thinking they haue attained to the top of true friendship, if togither they haue tasted of one anothers blood.* The like ceremonie vsed *Radamistus* the sonne of *Pharasmanes* king of Iberia otherwise called Georgiana, to cozen his vncle *Mithridates* king of Armenia: For when he could not attach him by force, nor intrap him by strange wiles, he feigned that he was desirous of an accord, and vpon the giuing of his Faith drew his vncle to a parley. As they were vpon the point (according to the custome of the countrey) of tying their thumbes, to the end they might draw blood out of them, and giue each other to tast of it; he that had the charge to doe it, feigning as if the cords had falne out of his hands to the ground, therewith suddenly tyed the feet of *Mithridates*, who was in that sort layd hold of, togither with his wife and children. And because *Radamistus* had promised neither to cut their throats, nor yet to imprison them, he commanded that they should be stifeled betweene two featherbeds: making account by this sophistrie to couer the crime of his vnfaithfulnesse, sayth *Baptista Fulgosa*, and after him *Andrew d' Euora* in his memorable examples of treason. They that haue trauelled, report; That in the Isle of Palmes, when those of the countrey will receiue into their friendship any strangers that arriue there, they draw, in their presence, with the helpe of a razor or of a stone-knife, some blood out of their tongue, hand, arme, or other part of the bodie,

Corn. Tacitus 12. lib. Annal.

In the Dialogue entituled *Toxaris*, or of friendship.

Atheneus 2. lib. Dipnosophist. cap. 2.

In the 9. booke of his Examples.

not

not thinking that true friendſhip when a man refuſeth to giue his life for his friend. Satan, when he will make a league with the Magicians, doth moſt commonly practiſe this courſe, compelling them to write with their owne blood the treatie of agreement and mutuall obligation that paſſeth betweene them, as *Bodin* ſaith.

In his *Demonomachie.*

Vpon the ſpeech of Liege-fees I remember the braue conceipt of *Peter* Earle of Sauoy, who to doe his Liege-homage to the Emperour *Otho* the IV. came before him in a two-fold attire: For hee had all the one halfe of his bodie on the right ſide from the toppe downeward ſet out with cloth of gold: and the other halfe on the left ſide couered with ſhining armor. The Emperor asking him what ſuch a diuers furniture meant? *Sir* (anſwereth the Earle) *the attire of the right ſide is to honour your Imperiall Maieſtie: this of the left ſide ſheweth mee readie to fight vntill the laſt gaſpe againſt thoſe that wiſh you ill, and ſpeake ill of you.* The Chancellor of the Empire requiring the ſame Earle to ſhew his Letters feodall of certaine places woon by him in warre a little before: *Marrie heere they bee* (quoth the Earle) *therewithall drawing his ſword, and ſhewing it naked vnto him.* And this it was that *Cynus* a famous Lawier might ayme at, alleaged by *Paris* of Puteo who ſayth, That a certaine gentleman ſhewed his ſword for feodall Letters, to the Lord of the Fee.

De redint. Feod. chap. 76.

CHAP. VII.

Treaſon is liked, but the Traytor loathed. Item, *A man purchaſeth an immortall name by Vertue, not by Vice.*

ALL they that vnder hope of gaine, preferment, deſire of reuenge, or ſuch like wicked meanes, betray their countrey, and thinke to aduance themſelues thereby, are much deceiued. For *Plutarch* ſayth very well; *That the loue of Treaſon is a common affection which a man beareth to the wicked, ſo long as hee hath need of them; doing therein, like they that are to vſe the gall and poyſon of ſome venimous beaſts who are very glad when they finde it, and take thereof to ſerue their turne: but hauing once had what they would, they hate for euer after the malicious nature of theſe beaſts.* For men doe then begin to leaue the liking of treaſon, when they haue gotten that which they expected, or when they can draw no more from it. Of which among other, wee haue the examples of *Antigonus*, of *Philip*, and of the Emperour *Auguſtus*. This Emperour being once at a feaſt, where *Rhymitalces* king of Thrace (who had left the partie of *Antonius*) was alſo preſent, *Rhymitalces* beginneth to ſet forth his great ſeruices towards *Auguſtus*, exprobating vnto him that hee had beene a companion with him in that warre. *Auguſtus* making as if hee tooke no heed to the inſolencie of this braggart, beginneth to ſpeake to another, offring the cup, ſaying, *I loue Treaſon, but I care not for Traytors.* The Emperour *Seuerus* was of the ſame mind, but that he ioyned crueltie with it. For *Herodian* writeth of him, that by the interdealing of his ſonnes, hee prouoked many captaines of *Peſcennius Niger* his competitor in the Empire, to diſcloſe vnto him their maſters ſecrets: and afterwards, when he had ſerued his turne of them, and ſetled his affaires, hee made all theſe traytors bee put to death, and their children too. Moreouer, we muſt not forget the letter which the Emperour *Aurelian* wrote to *Mallius Chile* concerning the Traytor *Heraclemon*. *I haue* (ſaith hee) *ſuffred him to bee ſlaine, by whoſe trauell I haue made my ſelfe maſter of the citie of Thyana. For my part, I could not loue the Traytor, but haue willingly*

In the life of *Romulus*, Sect. 10.

Plutarch. in the ſame place, and in his Apophteg.

Lib. 3.

Flauius Vopiſcus in the life of *Aurelian.*

Herodian, and *Iulius Capitolinus* in his life.

suffred that my souldiers should dispatch him. For he that hath had no pittie of his countrey, could not keepe Faith with mee. In like manner, the Emperour *Maximinus* at the first thanked *Macedonius*, who had killed *Tyeus* his concurrent in the Empire: but afterwards he looked askance vpon him like a Traytor, and at last made him be put to death. Nor is it fit wee should forget that which *Brennus* king of the Gaules did, who hauing forraged Asia, and besieged the citie of Ephesus, wayted there the day assigned for the battell. In the meane while, a maiden of the citie named *Demonica*, being falne in loue with *Brennus*, promised to deliuer him Ephesus, if the Gaules for a recompence would giue her their golden chaines and bracelets. *Brennus* hauing entertained her and obteined his purpose, made her bee carried into a place, where hee commanded all his people to cast into the lappe of this couetous maide, all the golden iewels they wore about them. They obeying their Generall and *Demonica* being oppressed with the weight of so much gold which they threw vpon her, ended her life vnder it. We read the like storie in *Titus Liuius*, of the daughter of *Sp. Tarpeius* a Roman, after she had betrayed the citie to the Sabins. The like reward did *Rhomilda* wife to a Prince named *Sigulphus*, receiue for her disloyaltie. For her husband hauing beene slaine by a certaine king of the Henetians, and shee being besieged by the same enemie, yet neuertheless shee fell so farre in loue with him, that she promised (so as he would marrie her) to deliuer into his hands the citie of Friol: which so soone as the Henetians had possession of, they burnt it; and carried thence the children, the young folke, and the women all prisoners into Austria, after they had put all the men to death. But *Rhomilda*, was handled as she deserued: for, hauing enioyed the king onely one night, hee caused her soone after to be married to a woodden stock, that is, to be set aliue vpon a sharpe stake; a punishment worthie for her that had betrayed the memorie of her husband, her children, and subiects. She had two daughters, *Appa* and *Gela*, who were as chaste, as the mother was contrarie: for, to saue their honour, they put vnder their arme-pits raw flesh, which they bound and tied there, so as the same comming to putrifie, yeelded such a stinking sauour, that the Barbarians could not endure the smell, nor come any thing neere the maidens. A Gothish captaine, named *Iulian*, hauing betrayed his countrey and his nation to the Sarazins, was for the same grieuously punished. Hee not able to endure the wrong that was done him by *Roderik* the last king of the Goths, who had taken away a daughter of his, and rauished her, vsed the matter so, as in a foughten battell the armie of the Goths was cut in pieces by the Sarazins, and *Roderick* slaine in the field. The Goths that remained, tooke *Iulian*, and hauing charged him with his disloyall dealing, put him to death: Of which there is yet to be seene an old inscription neere to Visen in Portugall (as witnesseth *Rodrigo de Toledo*) making mention of this ouerthrow of the Goths. The substance whereof is this; *Heere lieth* Roderick *the last king of the Goths. Cursed bee the wicked furie of* Iulian, *because it was too resolute; and his malice, because it was vnreconcileable. His furie forced him beyond reason, his indignation made him swell, his wrath carried him headlong. He forgat his Oath, remembred not his Religion, made no account of God, was cruell towards himselfe, a murtherer of his Lord, an enemie to his owne house, a plague to his countrey, an offence to all. His memorie shalbe bitter in euerie mouth, and his name infamous for euer.*

I. Auentine in his 3. booke of the *Annals* of *Bauieres.*

Sance. in the 2 booke of the historie of Spaine chap. 37.

In the 4 booke of the affaires of Spaine. chap. 19.

In his historie of Saxony, *lib. 9. cap. 37.*

But not to stand alwaies vpon ancient stories, Let vs bring in that which *Albert Krantz* writeth to haue come to passe in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the IV. *The Annalls* (sayth he) *make mention of a memorable aduenture. The Emperour made*

warre

warre againſt Philip *Duke of Auſtrich. Each making himſelfe readie, the Armies approach with intent to fight. But the Emperour, ſeeing that his enemies forces were farre greater than his, bethought himſelfe of a courſe to ouercome him by cunning whom hee could not vanquiſh by Armes. He cauſed three of the Dukes captaines to bee ſecretly ſent for to come to him, and hauing promiſed them a great ſumme of money, hee agreeth with them, that they ſhould ſtrike ſome feare into their maſter, and ſo perſuade him to retire in all haſte. They being returned to the Duke, giue out, that hauing beene abroad to diſcouer, they had taken a view of the Emperours Armie particularly, and found, that it was three times greater than the Dukes: that all would bee loſt, if the Duke did not retire quickly, and that hee had no long time to deliberat. Since that (* ſaith the Duke) *you aſſure mee there is no way to eſcape, but by a ſudden retreate, let vs prouide for our ſelues, waying for ſome better commoditie to further our affaires. It is no ſhame for vs to leaue the place to a ſtronger than wee are. So then, euerie man hauing made readie his bagge and bagage,* Philip *fled away by night, no man purſuing him, and returned home. The Traytors ſteppe aſide to the Emperour to receiue the reward of their leaudneſſe. The Emperour had made prouiſion of golden Ducats all counterfeit, the beſt of which was not worth ſix pence a piece. He cauſed great bagges of the ſame to be giuen vnto them, wherewith they went merrily home to their houſes: afterwards drawing out their pieces to employ them, they find there was not one of them good. They returne to the Emperour, to whom they complaine of the Treaſurer, and the Maſter of his mint. The Emperour looking vpon them with a frowning countenance, ſaith vnto them;* Knaues as ye are, get ye to the gallowes, there to receiue the due reward of your treaſon, or get you away ſpeedily from before my preſence: your diſloyaltie deſerued this paiment. Falſe worke, falſe wages. An euill end befall you. *They wholly confounded, withdrew themſelues ſuddenly, and were neuer ſeene after.* Hiſtorians write, that *Philip* the father of *Alexander* the great, made good vſe of theſe kind of men; and yet for all that, hee hated them to the death, as appeared by him one day: For, when as certaine traitors who had ſold vnto him the citie of Olynthus, complained to him, That the Macedonians neuer ceaſed to twit them with it, calling them traitors to their countrey; *Philip* anſwered them, *Theſe Macedonians of whom you ſpeake, are but a ſort of groſſe-headed clownes, for they muſt call things by their names; and they cannot for their liues ſay one thing, and thinke another.*

Let vs here inſert a memorable ſtory written by *Æneas Syluius.* The Bohemians (ſaith he) hauing gotten the victorie, and ſlaine *Vratiſlas*, they ſet his countrey on fire. And afterwards, finding a ſonne of his very tender and yong, they put him into the hands of the prince *Grezomiſlas*, called *Neclas*, who hauing compaſſion of the child his couſin, committed him to the keeping of the Earle *Duringus* (whoſe poſſeſſions lay along by the famous riuer of Egra) which Earle had aforetimes been much fauoured of *Vratiſlas.* This Earle blinded with ambition, and thinking to inſinuate himſelfe into the grace and good liking of *Neclas*, eſpied vpon a day the child hauing made a little hole vpon the yce of that riuer, to take fiſh there; whom he takes, and with one blow with a Cymiter cuts off his head, and preſently going to Prague, preſents it to *Neclas* all bloody, ſaying, *I haue this day made your throne ſure vnto you; for either this childe or you muſt haue died: ſleepe henceforth quietly, your competitor to the crowne is made away.* The prince reteining his grauitie and iuſt indignation at ſo cruell a ſpectacle, ſaid thus vnto him; *Treaſon cannot be mitigated by any good turnes. I committed this child to thee, to keepe him, not to kill him. Could neither my commandement, nor the remembrance of thy friend Vratiſlas, nor the compaſſion which thou ſhouldeſt haue had of this poore child turne away thy thoughts from this ſo miſchieuous a deed? What, was thy pretence to procure me reſt? good*

The hiſtorie of Bohemia *cap.* 11.

reaſon

reason then I should reward thee for thy paines. Of three punishments chuse which thou wilt: either kill thy selfe with a poyniard, or hang thy selfe with a halter, or cast thy selfe from the rocke of Visgrade. *Duringus* forced to accept of this decree, hung himselfe in a halter tied to an elder tree not farre off, which alwayes after so long as it stood, was called *Duringus* his elder tree. When *Viriatus* was slaine by his souldiers (he that fourteene yeares together had kept Spaine armed against the Romans, insomuch that hee was accounted the deliuerer of Spaine) they that had traiterously done him to death asked a reward for it of *Cæpio* the Consull, who made them this answere, *That the Romanes did neuer allow that the souldiers should kill their Generall.*

Here it shall not be amisse to report how king *Philip* the II. proceeded with those, who were the cause that hee made himselfe master of Portugall, scarce without any resistance, as *Texer* setteth it downe. *Don Antonio*, the right and naturall king of Portugall, being excluded and banished out of the kingdom, those men preferred a petition to king *Philip*, wherein they made knowne the seruices they had done him, to the end hee might the easilier possesse himselfe of the crown, and besought him to performe that which had bene promised vnto them by the duke of *Ossuna*, and *Christopher de Mora* his Agents: exhibiting all vnder one the remembrances and instructions, making faith of the promises of the said Agents. The king made answere by *Apostile*, That the petitioners should deliuer their petition, and the remembrances of the Agents to a certaine companie of Commissioners or Iudges appointed for such causes, which companie is called in Portugall, *The Table of Conscience*. They obeying, there followed a Decree of this tenor: Forasmuch as king *Philip* is right heire to the kingdome of Portugall, it was not lawfull for the petitioners to sell it for readie money, or vpon promises; Contrariwise, they haue deserued capitall punishment, for that they haue deferred, without expectancie of any promise to be made vnto them, to deliuer vp the kingdome to king *Philip*. And if the kingdome did appertaine to *Don Antonio*, they could not sell it to king *Philip*. Therefore king *Philip* is no way liable by the promises which his Agents or Embassadors haue made to the petitioners: But out of his gentlenesse and benignitie doth free the said petitioners from the punishment of death, which they haue deserued by reason of this fact. See here a worthie reward, such as traitors doe oftentimes receiue.

Lib. entit. Arbor Gentilitia Hen. Franc. & Nauarræ Regis.

But *Ladislas Kerezin* a Hungarian, did not escape so good cheape for his treason: For he hauing traiterously yeelded vp Hiula, a strong place, to the Turks, when hee looked to receiue many great presents for his good seruice, certaine witnesses were produced against him by the commandement of *Selim* himselfe, who deposed, That the said *Ladislas* had cruelly handled certaine Musulmans that had beene prisoners with him. Whereupon hee was deliuered to some friends of theirs, to doe with him as they should thinke good. They shut this traitour starke naked into a tun or hogshead set full of long sharp nayles within-side, and rolled it from the top of a certain high mountaine full of steepie downfals, to the very bottom, where being run through euery part of the bodie with those nayles, he ended his wretched life.

In the histories of the Turkes.

Wee may also adde heere that which is said to haue befallen in Hungarie in our time. *Sultan Solyman* being possessed of Buda which the inhabitants had abandoned, *Thomas Nadasti* defended the castle valiantly, endured some assaults of the Turkes, and had without doubt held the place, if his owne souldiers had not betrayed him: for they determining to yeeld, (for all that he could doe by opposing himselfe against them) laid hold of him, and chained him, and then offered

offred him with the castle to *Solyman*, vpon condition that they might retire to some other place, their liues and goods saued. The Sultan at the first accepting their offer, but vnderstanding afterwards of their cruell carriage to *Nadast*, kept not promise with them, but caused them all to be cut in pieces. There is likewise another memorable storie of a certaine Traytor, whose seruice the same *Solyman* employed in the conquest of the Isle of the Rhodes. He had promised this Traytor, to giue vnto him for wife, one of his daughters, with a very great dowrie. He, after his seruice done, demanding that which was promised him, the Turke made his daughter be brought in most magnificall pompe, and assigned him the marriage of her according to his desert. The Traytor could not keepe his countenance, he was so transported with ioy: but this ioy lasted not long, for the Turke speaking to him; *Thou seest* (quoth he) *that I am a man of my word. But forasmuch as thou art a Christian, and my daughter, thy wife that shalbe, is a Mahumetane by birth and profession, you cannot so liue in quietnesse; and I am loath to haue a sonne in law, that is not a Musulman both within and without. And therefore it is not enough that in word thou abiure Christianitie, as many of thy Sect are wont to doe, who turne coate for fashion-sake, and in hope of gaine: but thou must foorthwith doffe thy skinne which is baptised and vncircumcised.* Hauing so sayd, he commanded some that stood by to flea aliue the pretended sonne in law, and that afterwards they should lay him vpon a bed of fault: ordayning, that if any Mahumetan skinne came ouer him againe, in place of the Christian, then, and not before, his promised Spouse should be brought vnto him to be married. This wretched Traytor thus shamefully flouted, receiued a reward worthie his perfidie and treason: for he died in most horrible torments. The like reward did a Iew that was a Physition receiue of *Selim* father to this *Solyman*. For *Selim*, by threatnings, promises, and presents, had won him to poyson his father *Baiazet*: but soone after he caused the Physitions head to be strucken off, saying, That vpon the first occasion, and in hope to receiue mony, this Iew would not stick to do the like to him.

Iohn Ant. Menarius in the 2 booke of his hist. of the Turks, chap. 22

It appeareth then that Traitors and Fugitiues are hated and detested not onely of those whom they hurt, but of those likewise that draw seruice out of them: yea, that most commonly they are double Traitors, Traitors with two edges, as vnfaithfull to him whom they come to, as to him from whom they goe away: as appeareth in *Amyntas* the Macedonian of whom *Curtius* maketh mention. If *Alexander* king of Albania had remembred this, he had made a better end, without trusting to banished men as he did; For hauing beene called into Italy by those of Tarentum, after he had possessed himselfe of many places, he receiued for Archers of his gard about two hundred Lucanians banished out of their countrey. These, taking sure word of their citizens, that they should be established againe in their countrey, promised to deliuer *Alexander* dead or aliue. And as he passed the riuer of Acheron at a foord, and was come almost to the other side, one of these Lucanians shot his bodie thorow, he falling downe from his horse, the riuer carried the bodie to the enemies garrison, who cut it in a thousand pieces. Contrariwise, the Emperour *Constantius* was a warie prince: and albeit he made no profession of the Christian religion, yet he shewed himselfe verie gracious and kind to the Christians, cruelly persecuted by his associat *Galerius*. For he would alwaies prefer to great dignities those whom he knew to be indued with true and singular pietie. And that he might the better discrie them (as *Eusebius* writeth) vpon a day he called before him all those of his court, that called themselues Christians, and propounded to them two conditions, to chuse, which of them they liked; he one, to

In the 4 booke of the hist. of *Alexander* the great.

In the first booke of the life of *Constantin.* chap. 11.

to continue in their offices, ſo as they would ſacrifice to the gods: or to get farre away from him, if they would not doe it. As ſome of them, to continue in his ſeruice, had promiſed to ſacrifice, and otherſome held firme: he ſharpely rebuked thoſe as Traytors to their God; and greatly commended theſe becauſe of their ſincere and conſtant affection. And then he diſmiſſed the Apoſtatas, ſaying; That they could not be faithfull to him, being faithleſſe to God: but he committed the affaires of his Empire to thoſe that had ſhewed themſelues conſtant. The like ſtorie to this we read in the collections of *Theodorus*. *Theodorick* the Affrican had in his court a Deacon or Orthodoxall miniſter whom he loued and reſpected. This Deacon thinking to doe a great pleaſure to *Theodorick* left the profeſſion of pure doctrine touching the eternall Deitie of the Sonne of God conſubſtantiall with the Father, and proteſted that he did cleaue to the Hereſie of the Arrians with which *Theodorick* was infected. *Theodorick* hearing of this Apoſtaſie, commanded that this perſon whom he had ſo much loued, ſhould be layd in priſon, and without any long circumſtance of proceſſe made his head be ſtricken off, ſaying; *That hee which had not kept his faith with God, could neuer be faithfull to a mortall man.* In like manner doe they deceiue themſelues, that deſire (ſo much doth ambition prick them) to immortalize their name by ſome notorious fact. For we read, that a certaine man named *Heroſtratus*, neuer knowne before, fired the Temple of *Diana* at Epheſus, eſteemed one of the miracles of the world, and onely for this cauſe, that being not able to purchaſe Fame by Vertue, he might obtaine it by the helpe of ſome notable villanie. But it fell out otherwiſe; for, to aboliſh the memorie of him, it was forbidden by an expreſſe Edict, that from thence forward none ſhould put his name in the Annals or Hiſtories: for which cauſe, this name which is left him, is not found but very ſeldome. The Venetians haue followed the cuſtome of thoſe of Epheſus: For they hauing diſcouered the conſpiracie of *Tepolo*, forbad expreſſely that no man ſhould cauſe the Armes of any of the Conſpirators to be painted, or repreſented any way. In which opinion they perſeuered when their Duke *Marin Falier* was put to death, for hauing conſpired againſt the State. The pictures of their Dukes, from the firſt to him that now liueth, are repreſented and drawne according to the order of their times, in the great Hall of the generall Counſell: but to the end that the picture of *Falier*, a pernicious prince, might not be ſeene among thoſe of the other magnificall Dukes, they made an emptie chayre to be drawn and couered ouer with a black vaile; wiſely thinking, that they who haue carried themſelues diſloially towards the commonwealth, cannot be more ſeuerely puniſhed than if their name be couered with perpetuall ſilence and ſecret hatred. For the offences remaine not vnpuniſhed, which, without any brute are loathed and deteſted of all. And there is no puniſhment more grieuous than the publike hatred, eſpecially when it is iuſt. Yea, many are of opinion, that it were better the name of an honeſt man ſhould vtterly be buried in the darkeneſſe of obliuion, than be defamed and ill ſpoken of by poſteritie.

Lib. 2.

Sabellic. in the 3 booke of the 2 Decad.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Small things ſometimes worke great effects. Item, *God doth ſometimes puniſh offences by Rats and Miſe, and ſuch other contemptible creatures.*

THe Poet *Virgill* ſaith, *That ſometimes furie doth furniſh weapons to the vnweaponed*: which ſentence hath beene verified both in our time, and in time paſt, when neceſſitie required it, and the enemies aſſaults were ſharpe and ſudden. For it is very wel knowne, That the thing which men durſt not come neere without perill, and which they haue not but ſeldome touched, neither could be ſtirred without great danger, but was carefully kept for particular profit, or other vſes, hath ſerued for weapons both defenſiue and offenſiue, and (in a word) for ſuccour neuer thought on before that time, againſt a ſudden inuaſion. *Iouian Pontanus* reporteth a memorable ſtorie of ſuch a like thing: For he writeth, that *Alphonſus* being reſolued to take a citie named Vicaro, his ſouldiers hauing woon at the firſt approach the counterſcarph, and the ditch, came with their ladders to ſcale the wals: whereat the citizens being much diſmayed, ran thither neuertheleſſe, ſome armed, ſome without armor, and with ſtones kept thoſe that were formoſt from entring. But when the aſſailants purſued their point, and could not be beaten from the wall, ſome of the aſſailed ran to the caſtle, from whence they brought many Hiues full of Bees which had beene layd in there by the countrey people ſome dayes before, to ſaue them from the ſouldiers; which Hiues they caſt ouer vpon the ſouldiers heads that aſſailed the walls. The Bees prouoked with the noyſe, and with the breaking of their houſes, began to flie at the faces of *Alphonſus* his people, and creeping in vnder their armor, ſet their ſtings very ſhrewdly in diuers places of their bodies. By which deuiſe the aſſailed endured the aſſault, and kept their citie, till they were ouercome by new meanes, their walls being ouerthrowne by ſapping and other inuentions, and ſo were forced at laſt to yeeld themſelues. *Ierome Oſorius* reherſeth a ſtorie almoſt like, of the captaine *Barrigua*, a Portugais, who hauing made a road vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, to the ports of a citie in the territorie of Xiatima, named Tanti, belonging to the king of Fez; the inhabitants that ſaw they were in great danger, brought a great many ſwarms of Bees (of which that countrey hath ſtore) and ſet them vpon the walls, and put fire to them: ſo that the Portugais burnt with the fire, and notably ſtung by the Bees, were forced to retire. The like vnhoped-for helpe ſaued very happily, not many yeares ſince, a fortreſſe of Hungarie belonging to the Biſhop of Agria, and bordering vpon the Turkes, who went about to ſurprile it, and were come to the place when they within looked leaſt for them. It had then but a ſmall garriſon, and the Gouernor was gon to prouide ſome munition, and to fetch money for the ſouldiers; who ſeeing themſelues ſo ſuddenly taken, and ſo hotly aſſaulted, and withall ſo ill armed, knew not how to doe to beat backe the enemy being alreadie entred within the ditch: when ſuddenly ſome of them remembred the Hiues of Bees, which the peaſants had brought thither as into a ſafe place; ſome of thoſe they take and caſt ouer vpon the aſſailants, who were ſo annoyed with them, that they were faine with great ſhame, and no leſſe anger, to make their retreat home.

Lib. 1. *Aeneid.*

In the 7 booke of the deeds of king *Alphonſ.* 1.

In the 8 booke of Portugall, *fol.* 19.

This is a certain thing (ſaith *Ammianus Marcellinus*) *That in vrgent neceſſitie, there is nothing of ſo ſmall importance, which, at one time or other may not ſerue very much to diſappoint the deſignes that are moſt important, and free from danger or feare.* Such a like ſtratagem

In the 32 booke of his historie.

stratagem inuented by the renoumed *Hannibal*, saued sometimes *Prusias* king of Bithinia, against *Eumenes*, and got him the victorie, as *Iustin* and other Historians write. For he caused all sorts of serpents to be put into certaine earthen vessels, which vessels, when the fight was at hotest, he cast into the enemies ships. At first, they made a mocke at it, saying, *That they that could not get the victory with the sword, sought to get it with bottles.* But when the ships grew full of serpents, the present danger constrained them to let *Prusias* remaine master of the sea. The like befell the Emperour *Seuerus* in the warre that he made against the Atrenians (as *Herodian* reporteth) who being besieged by the Imperiall armie, and hauing valiantly defended themselues with arrowes and stones, threw amongst them certaine earthen ports full of insects, and venimous little beasts, which flying in their faces, and creeping by little and little vp to the other parts of the assailants that were vnarmed, hurt and stung them grieuously.

In the 3 booke.

Plutarch in his life.

Likewise *Pompey* the great, after he had ouerthrowne *Mithridates* the king of Pontus, purposing to passe into Hircania so far as the Caspian sea, being within three dayes iourney of it, was letted from going any further by the multitude of serpents, of which that countrey was full. In like manner, *Sapores* king of Persia, hauing besieged the citie of Nisibis (called of some Antioch of Mygdonia) was driuen thence by an armie of Hornets, Horse-flies, and Gnats; a succour vnexpected, and attributed to the prayers of *Iames*, the faithfull pastor of the church of Nisibis: For the Lord God would make knowne how mightie he is to defend his children, in the middest of whom he dwelleth, not employing the lightnings, nor the fire of heauen, but little beasts onely: as in Egypt he let flie against *Pharao* and his seruants, Flies, Frogges, and other such vermin, (not Beares and Lyons) that by such vile instruments he might cudgill and tame the proudest tyrannie of the world.

Theodoret in the 2 booke of the hist. Eccles. chap. 30.

In the yeare of our Lord 830. *Popiel* the second succeeding his father in the kingdom of Polonia, followed rioting & dissolution as his predecessors had don before him, and careless of matters of state, gaue himselfe the bridle to dancing, and all kind of dissolutnesse, leauing the gouernment of the kingdome to his wife, whom he loued ragingly. Wherefore the lords and knights of the kingdome despised him, accounting him a man of no worth, and surnaming him the *Polonian Sardanapalus*. This vnhappy prince, fearing least the Polonians would set vp one of his kinsmen in his place, was aduised by his wife to feigne himselfe sicke, which he did; and thereupon sent for all his vncles, princes of Pomerania, being twentie in number, to come and see him, whom he (being layd in his bed) instantly praied, that if hee chanced to die, they would make choice of one of his sons to be king: which they willingly promised, so as the lords of the kingdome would condiscend thereto. In this meane while the Queene was making readie for them a terrible collation: for, hauing sent for wine that was poysoned, she inticed them all, one by one, to drinke to the health of the king. As soone as they had done, they tooke their leaue: but they were scarce gone out of the kings chamber, before they were attached with grieuous paines and corrosions of the poyson, so that within a short time they all died. Vpon this the Queene being very iocund, sayd, That the gods had iustly punished those dead persons, because they had conspired the death of the king their souereigne lord: and prosecuting that her accusation, she made their bodies to be taken out of their graues, and to be cast into the Lake of Goplo. But God the iust auenger of such horrible murthers, caused (by a miraculous transformation) an innumerable number of Rats and Mise to rush out of these bodies,

which

which gathering togither in crowdes, went and aſſaulted on euerie ſide the king as he was feaſting in his palace in great iollitie and magnificence with his wife and children. Diuers laboured to beat and driue them away with weapons and with flames, but all in vaine. The king, ſore perplexed with this ſtrange and extraordinarie danger, fled with his wife and children into a fortreſſe that is yet to be ſeene in that Lake of Goplo ouer againſt a citie called Cruſphitz, whither he was purſued by a greater number of Rats and Miſe, ſo that the land and the water were couered with them, and they cried and hiſſed moſt fearefully. The boat-men ſeeing the preſent death, and fearing that theſe beaſts would haue eaten them and their boate in the middeſt of this Lake, hauing ſet the king where he would be, made haſt to the ſhoare to ſaue themſelues. *Popiel* with ſpeed recouers his fortreſſe compaſſed round about with water, and retires himſelfe with his wife and his children into a tower, whither theſe executioners of God purſued him, entring in at the windowes, and there deuowered them all aliue, and let nothing of them remaine. By this meanes all the race of the Polonian princes was extinguiſhed, in a moment: whereupon came great quarrels among the lords of the kingdome touching a ſucceſſor, which at laſt were appeaſed euen miraculouſly, by the election of *Pyaſt* a Husbandman, dwelling at Cruſphitz, who being a man of excellent endowments, of great vertue, courage, and integritie, gaue ſuch a ſetling to the ſtate, that his ſucceſſors haue beene dukes of Lithuania and kings of Polonia euen till *Lewis* the king of Hungarie, who died in our time.

Many haue ſet forth the ſtorie of the Rats that reuenged the crueltie of *Hatto* 2. towards the poore: Of which number is *William Iſſengrin*, who reporteth it in the Chronologie that he hath gathered out of diuers Authors, as followeth. In the yeare 968. *Hatto* 2. Duke of Franconia, ſurnamed *Bonoſus*, Abbot of Fulden, hauing purchaſed a teſtimonie of pietie and vertue, was choſen Archbiſhop of Mentz. In his time a grieuous dearth raigning, and the poore people being readie to ſtarue for want of food, he cauſed great companies of them to be gathered and put into barnes, as if there they were to receiue ſome corne and other reliefe; but he made the barnes to be ſet on fire, whereby the poore folke were burnt and conſumed, ſaying withall, That they were the Rats which did eat vp the food of the land. But the vengeance of God came ſoon after vpon this Archbiſhop, ſo that he was deſtroyed with a marueilous ſtrange puniſhment: for it is ſaid, That an armie of Rats gathered together, no man can tell from whence, came and ſet vpon him ſo furiouſly, that into what place ſoeuer he retired, they would come and fall vpon him. And when he thought to ſaue himſelfe in ſome high chamber, they would climbe vp the wall and get in at the windowes; or, if all acceſſe were debard them, they would creep in at the ſmalleſt creuiſes and chinks, and by infinit numbers would gnaw and teare him, and aſſay to deuoure him quicke. The ſwarmes of them were ſo great, that the more men laboured to driue them away, the leſſe they forbare, but ſeemed more furious and wood. The wretched Prelate ſeeing he could find no place by land ſafe for him, reſolued to ſeeke ſome refuge in the water, and got into a boat to conuey himſelfe into a tower built in the middeſt of the Rhine, neere a little citie called Bingen, which tower ſerued before time for a Beacon to all the countrey; thinking that the Rats could not come into this tower through the floods of ſo ſtrong a riuer: but there is no place that can hinder the diuine power from the execution of his decrees. For, the Rats threw themſelues by infinite heapes into the Rhine, and ſwom to the foot of the tower, and clambering vp the walles, enter therein, and

fall vpon the Archbishop, gnawing, and biting, and throtling, and tearing, and tugging him most miserably. This tower is yet to be seene standing in the middest of the Rhine, neere to Bingen, and is called Rats-tower. *Isengrin* addeth one circumstance very memorable and worthie to bee marked, That while the Archbishop was yet aliue, and in full vigour and health, the Rats by their gnawing rased out his name written and painted vpon many of the wals. The same Author also reporteth of a Bishop of Strasbourgh, called *Wilderolf*, or *Wilderad*, who after he had thrust the Nunnes out of Saint *Stephens* Abbey, and burnt their Church, was assaulted and deuoured of Rats. *George le Feure* writeth a like storie of a certaine souldier whom the Rats did eat, partly within the coffin whereinto hee was shut at the first, and partly after they had hanged him at a gibbet.

Lib. 2. of the hist. of Sax.

By these preceding histories we may gather, That although Rattes and Mise be creatures very contemptible, and loathed of all men (as also *Plutarch* obserueth, That the wise men of Persia slew all that euer they could get of such vermin, because they hated them extreamely, and accounted them abominable before God, as did also the Arabians and Ethiopians) yet God doth vse them for instruments to punish the sinnes that reigne in the world. Hereof wee haue an example in the holy Historie touching the Philistims, who hauing taken the Arke of the couenant, and handled it vnreuerently, were punished of God, who sent them Mise wherewith their countrey was spoyled. In the yeare 1591, the knight of *Aumale* offering to surprize by night the citie of Saint Denis, and being slaine dead in the place, his bodie was laid in a certaine chappell within a Beere, attending some fit time to make his obsequies. But the next day the Beere was found full of Rats, so that they had much adoe to driue them out, especially that which was the greatest of all, who had sunke himselfe (as it were) into the wound. The like example of Gods vengeance appeared not long since here with vs in Germanie, where certaine souldiers that did harme to none, hauing beene traiterously slaine, one of the murderers within a while after being pursued by his owne conscience, became mad, and imagining that the Sergeants snatched at him to take him, began to strike himselfe with great blowes with his fist, and at last gaue himselfe a great many stabs with his knife into his breast. They that had him in keeping, ran to him, and found a Rat sticking to the principall wound, sucking the blood, and keeping it from comming foorth. They beat him off, but they could not for their liues saue the fellow, but he died presently. Now though it be a thing well knowne, that Rats, Mise, and Batts may liue a long time without drinke, so that such creatures doe of a naturall appetite seeme very greedie after blood, not only because it serues them for bruüage, but also nourisheth them by reason of the sweet tast: yet for all that, the swarming of these vermine which neuer flie away at such a time, but stand to it, and sticke fast (as it were) to the wounds, is an action beyond nature, and an accident meerely strange and prodigeous. We will adde this moreouer, That Rats and Mise haue a certaine wonderfull fore-sight: For it is obserued, that they leaue the houses and buildings that are like to fall, three moneths before the ruine therof, and goe to places of more safetie.

In his Treatise of Enuie and Hatred.

1. *Sam. cap.* 5. & 6.

In the 4. Volume of the Memorials of the league. In his *Apophthegms.*

It was well said by the old prouerb, That there is not so little an Ant, or Flie, but it hath some choller: And againe, That wee must not hold Grashoppers by the wings, nor Mise by the taile. To which purpose *Plutarch* writeth, That *Brasidas* a Spartane captaine putting his hand into a basket of figges, had his finger bitten by a Mouse that lay hid in the basket, whereat hee cried out, saying; *O gods! there is not the smallest, nor the poorest beast that liueth, but will reuenge it selfe, if it be*

be ſtir'd. An ancient Comedie-player, named *Publius*, ſaid to the like purpoſe, in my opinion: *The leaſt haire hath his ſhadow.* To bee ſhort, the leaſt thing in the world can doe ſomething: and the ſmalleſt ſometimes ouerthrow the greateſt. Wee read in the fragments of *Terentius Varro*, of which *Plinie* maketh mention, That Conies vnder-mined and ruined a citie of Spaine, and Moales another citie of Theſſalia: that Frogs forced the inhabitants of a citie of the Gaules to leaue their place, and to get themſelues elſewhere: that Graſhoppers did the like to the citiſens of a citie in Africa; and Miſe to the dwellers in the Iſle of Cyaca, one of the Cyclades; and that the inhabitants of Amyclæ, a citie of Italie, were deſtroyed by Serpents.

In the 8 booke chap. 29.

CHAP. IX.

Ill Counſell prooues worſt to him that giueth it.

Ellius in his *Atticke Nights* telleth a ſtorie of the falſhood of the Hetruſcean Soothſayers, by reaſon wherof the children in Rome ſang throughout the citie a common ſong, the foot whereof was this; *Leaud counſell ruines him that giueth it.* At this it ſeemeth the Poet *Auſonius* glaunceth, who in his *Trochaicks* ioyneth with the prouerbe in *Terence* (which ſaith, *Tute hoc intriſti, quod tibi exedendum eſt*, and may bee expreſſed thus; *What thou haſt brewed, that thy ſelfe muſt drinke.*) another prouerb giuing a gloſſe to that, and ſaith; *Vetus verbum iubet, compedes quas ipſe fecit, ipſus vt geſtet faber:* that is, *The old law biddeth, that the Smith ſhould bee tied by the feet with the yrons that himſelfe hath wrought.* This that wee haue alleaged of leaud counſell, is taken out of *Heſiodus* his Poeme, entituled *The works, and dayes:* and thereof we haue many proofs in examples both ancient and moderne. Touching the moderne, I will not take in hand to bring them in, becauſe the alleaging of them would be odious and offenſiue. That which *Philip de Comminés* reporteth of the Cardinall *Balue* is worth the remembring. This man was he that executed the cruell counſels of king *Lewis* the XI. He inuented horrible priſons that are yet to be ſeene in Paris, namely, certaine cages, partly of yron, partly of wood, couered with plates of yron, hauing eight feet in breadth, and fiue feet in height. Hee cauſed alſo yron fetters to be made, very heauie, to chaine priſoners by the thighes, at which there hung an yron buckle for the feet, and at the end a bowle that weighed certaine kintals. This good Prelat was himſelfe impriſoned in the firſt of theſe cages that was made, and there had leaſure to learne to ſing; for hee continued in it full fourteene yeares. The king himſelfe had not much more roomth to remaine in; for, ſo great a maſter as he was, yet (as if himſelfe had bin fettered by the necke, hands, and feet) he liued in greater feare than the priſoners did, that he before had kept in cruell captiuitie. He ſhut himſelfe vp within a caſtle, compaſſed about with ſo many guards (ſaith *Philip de Commines* an eye-witneſſe) that it was impoſſible to locke vp a priſoner more ſtraightly than he had coffered vp himſelfe. To ſuch hiſtories wee may adde that which *Froiſſart*, and the Lord of *Hallian* writ in the life of *Charles* the VI. of the poyſoned apple, prepared for the kings ſonne, to whom it was giuen in play, but eaten by his ſonne that had poyſoned it. *Peter Portius Vincentin*, a Captaine following the partie of the Emperor *Charles*, offring to ſurpriſe by treaſon ouer the Frenchmen, a ſtrong place in Piedmont called Barges, loſt in the attempt more than fortie of his beſt ſouldiers, and was himſelfe ſo ſore hurt, that he died in the place, being ſurpriſed by thoſe whom he thought to ſurpriſe and deſtroy.

Arn. Ferron in the 9 booke of his hiſtorie of France.

Wrong and Violence at last the wicked man doe ouertake,
And his life commonly they waste, where they their first abode did make.

Among the stories that are memorable to this purpose, I thinke there cannot be found a more notable one for many yeares past, than that of *Maion* Admirall of Sicilia, in the time of king *William*, about the yeare 1164. This man being the sonne of a Regrater of oyle, ascended to such credit, that hauing obtained the state of Admiraltie, he managed all the affaires of that kingdome; putting to death the great lords, rauishing and deflouring Ladies and Gentlewomen, and preferring to dignities whom he would. At the last he went about to make himselfe king, keeping a great coyle, and leauing not one stone vnremoued to bring his purpose to passe. But when he thought himselfe at the top of the wheele, and there meant to fasten a peg, suddenly it turned about; for he was killed by a lord of the kingdom, named *Mathew Bonell*, to whom he had promised his daughter in marriage. To this storie the Readers may adde the memorable example of *Eutropius*, Chamberlaine to the Emperour *Arcadius*, whom *Chrysostome* doth sharply taxe in his oration of riches and pouertie. In times past, the authors of lewd inuentions, the counsellers of wickednesse and crueltie, haue made an ill end. *Perillus* the Athenian, hauing cast a brazen Bull for *Phalaris* the tyrant of Sicilia, with such cunning, that the offenders which were put within it, feeling the heat of the fire that was made vnderneath, seemed to roare like a Bull, not to crie with mans voice; when he came to demand the recompence of his paines, was himselfe first of all cast into the Bull, that hee might shew the proofe of his owne inuention; the which *Ouid* expresseth in certaine verses thus,

The Tyrant Phalaris *within a Bull of brasse*
Inclosd Perillus, *who inuented had the same:*
The Authour with his owne deuise first punisht was,
And onely then, of Iust, the Tyrant had the name.

We haue this point illustrated with the memorable example of the Tyrant *Maxentius*, of whom *Eusebius* writeth, *That hauing digged a pit, hee fell thereinto himselfe: that his violence fell in vpon him, and that his wickednesse smoothered him.* *Ælius Lampridius* speaking of the ambushes that were laid for *Alexander* (after surnamed *Seuerus*) by *Heliogabalus*, saith these words; *The wicked neuer prosper in their purposes against the innocent; For it could neuer be brought to passe, that any man would vndertake to kill* Alexander: *Contrariwise, the shafts which* Heliogabalus *made readie against others, were found to bee whetted against himselfe, and himselfe was caught in the snares which he laid for good men.* Hereof we haue another example in *Titus Liuius*, and *Valerius Maximus*, of the women poysoners in Rome, who hauing compounded certaine poisons, which many lighting vpon, died of, as if it had bene of a common Pestilence, none being able to tell from whence this euill proceeded; at last the truth of the matter was discouered by a woman-seruant, who told, That the women of Rome had compounded this poison: whereupon they are called and examined, and maintaine the same to be wholesome medicines. They are commanded to taste them, which they doe presently; and all that did so, died. Thereupon the rest are sought out and imprisoned, of which an hundred and seuentie were condemned to die. *Iustin* the Historian maketh mention of such a like storie. *Gryphus* king of Egypt had scarce recouered his fathers kingdome, and was but newly gotten out from dangers abroad, before he saw himselfe readie to be ensnared at home by his owne mother: This woman hauing betraied her husband *Demetrius* into the hands of his enemies, and caused one of her sonnes to bee killed, that shee her selfe might reigne; seeing that *Gryphus* remaining

Hugh Falcand setteth downe this storie in many leaues, in his discourse of the calamities of Sicilia.

Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Lib. 9. cap. 9.

In the 8 booke of the 1 Dec. In the 2 booke and 26 chap. of Memorable doings and sayings.

Lib. 39.

remaining conquerour abated her greatneſſe, as one day hee came home from hunting, ſhe preſented him with a poyſoned cup: He being forewarned of the ambuſh, counterfeiting the manerly ſonne, prayeth his mother to begin: which ſhe refuſing, he preſſeth her vnto it: and at laſt plainly telleth her what he heard of the poiſon, reproouing her ſharply, and ſwearing that to cleare her ſelfe of ſuch an accuſation, there was no way for her but to ſwallow downe the drinke. The miſerable Queene ouerwhelmed with her offence, drunk the poiſon, wherof ſhe preſently died, thinking therewith to haue poiſoned her ſonne. *Laodice*, ſiſter and wife to *Mithridates* that famous king, paſt the ſame pikes. For, going about to couer her adulteries with murder, ſhe prepared poiſon for her brother and husband, who hauing vnderſtood of the plot by a chamber-maid, did iuſtice vpon his wife. We reade in the ſame Hiſtorian, the like fortune befalling *Pruſias* king of Bithynia, who determining to kill his ſonne *Nicomedes*, the yong prince being aduertiſed of the enterpriſe by thoſe that were appointed to execute it, ſeiſed vpon the kingdome, and did that to his owne father, which the father had reſolued to execute vpon him. Therefore was it well ſaid by *Arnold Ferron*; *That wiſe men haue for good cauſe held, that God poureth vpon the inuenters of euil, the euill which they haue determined to doe to others; to the end, that in this reſolution of iuſt puniſhment, each one of them may receiue to his owne confuſion, the harme he deuiſed againſt another.* And ſo haue many been kild with their owne weapons: as we read *Marius* was, one of the thirtie tyrants vnder the gouernment of *Gallienus*. For he hauing been choſen Emperor by the ſouldiers the firſt day, the next commaunded like the Emperor; but the third day he was ſlaine by a ſouldier, who ſtriking him, ſaid, *This is with the ſword which thy ſelfe haſt made*; for this *Marius* had beene before a Cutler. One may heere inſert, among the Hiſtories of our time, that which *R. Gaguin* reporteth happened in the yeare 1478. In this time, ſaith he, there was caſt in the citie of Tours a very great piece of Artillerie, called a Bombard, which was carried to Paris, where it kept a terrible coile: For being mounted, and placed by the Canoniers without Saint *Anthonies* Port, as they were loading it with a great yron ball weighing fiue kintals, and with ſo much powder as the ball weighed, the fire tooke the powder in the piece, which beginning to vomit out the furious ball, the chiefe founder of the piece and foureteene other men that ſtood neere him, were ſo rent and ſcattered abroad, that ſcarce could there be found any little pieces of their bodies. The bullet after all grazing a great way off, killed a poore fowler as he was laying his nets for birds. Six other men being only ſtricken with the wind of the piece, and with the ſtink of the powder, fell extremely ſicke. The Reader may remember many ſuch like examples.

Lib 34. towards the end.

Lib. 8. of his Hiſt. of France.

In his 10 book *cap.* 29. of his hiſtorie.

CHAP X.

Of Grace, Naturall and Affected. Item; *That the Beautie of the face is a fraile and fading thing.*

I Haue many times wondred with my ſelfe at the great incontinencie of ſome Italians, who counterfeit certaine furious paſſions towards the thing they loue, and which they eſteeme of, and magnifie the praiſes thereof as of a diuine thing, and ſuch as could not be ſufficiently extolled. Their life and death is incloſed there (by their ſpeech) and they make good the ſaying of an Ancient; *That the ſoule of the Louer is in the thing loued.* As *Plautus* alſo thus deſcribeth this rage of Loue;

In *ciſtellar.*

I am not where I am; my mind is there (God wot)
Still present, where I find my body (sure) is not.

And *Plato* saith, *That the soule of the louer dieth in her owne bodie, and liueth in another:* albeit some attribute this saying to *Cato*, because hee had it often in his mouth. But that which I most wonder at is; That many Ladies of Italie (I speake not here of the Curtezans) to seeme fairer than the rest, take a pride to paint themselues, and of set purpose besmeare, and plainely marre all the beautie that they haue of nature. Saint *Ierome* said christianly; *The women that paint their faces with vermilion and other painting, offend the eyes of Christians. Such faces (foule with making faire) are like the Idols of Egypt, which being old, appeare new. These women weare false perewigs, and in their old wrinkles repolish their passed youth. Let the Christian woman that forceth nature to appeare liuely, & hath care of her flesh to please her desires, blush for shame.* And in another Epistle; *What good* (saith he) *doth Vermilion and Ceruse to a Christian face?* And in the Epistle to *Læta*; *Take heed*, saith he, *of making holes in thy daughters eares; and daube not her face that is consecrate to Christ, with vermilion, and painting; presse not her necke with carkenets of gold, nor ropes of pearle, and lade not her head with precious stones.* Saint *Augustine* was of the same mind, saying; *What a folly is it to change the naturall beautie, and to seeke after painting? the crimes of adulterie are in a manner more tollerable: for there chastitie is corrupted, and heere nature is forced.* Saint *Ambrose* also saith; *Woman thou defacest the features of God, if thou couer thy face with painting.* The ancient Pagans vsed to mocke women that were painted, as one may see in *Plautus*, who in a certaine place saith;

That woman smelleth sweet that smels of nought.
But these old Hagges that grease themselues with oyles,
Old Carkasses, new Trimmers of old things,
Tooth-lesse, that hide the bodies faults with painting,
If once their sweat meet with their new complexion,
They smell like sundrie sorts of greasie pottage
Made in a Hotch-potch mingled all together.

Epist. 8.

Epist. 98.

In one of his sermons of the words of the Lord.

In his worke of the Creation.

In Mostell.

Hereby it is plaine, that although in times past paynting was vsed among women, yet some there were that would euer censure and reprooue such foolish dotage. To this purpose an ancient writer taxed the curiositie of painted women, with this Dilemma following: If women be naturally faire, nature sufficeth them; and there is no reason that Art should plead against Nature, nor painting against the truth. If they be foule by nature, the painting which they lay vpon them, bewrayeth their foulenesse the more. For this cause, *Pythagoras* forbad women to paint themselues, ordayning, that they should be content with their naturall beautie, should wash themselues with pure water, and be adorned with modest shamefastnesse. *Plautus* hauing regard hereunto, saith in the Commedie we now alleaged:

Hide not thy Age with faire vermilion.
She that is Wise is fairer manifold
Than she that daubes her selfe with painting fine:
The woman that wants Vertue, though she glitter
In gold and iewels, yet is all that while
But little better than a dung-hill vile.

The Philosopher *Nicostratus* propounded this precept; *Let a wise woman not paint her selfe, let her not vse ceruse, nor anie other paynting to colour and shadow her eyes with.* It were to be wished, that these women so painted, or rather masked, might be often at *Phrynees* feast. This *Phryne* was a very faire woman, or (as some

ſome ſay) a courtizan, famous in times paſt amongſt the Greekes; and being at a banquet, where many gentlewomen were, who had a certaine play, wherein the cuſtome was, that all the men and women in the companie, muſt doe that which one of them (to whoſe lot it fell to begin the ſport) ſhould firſt doe; She comming by chance to be miſtreſſe of the game, wet all her hand in a baſon of faire water, and with the ſame rubbed her fore-head twice ouer: Which the reſt likewiſe doing, the water falling from the fore-head downe the cheekes, tooke off the painting from their faces, and made them ſhew old and wrinckled; whereas *Phryne* after ſhe had waſhed, ſhewed a better liking, becauſe of her naturall and ſimple beautie. We read in *Cedrenus*, that king *Salomon*, by ſuch a deuiſe, diſcouered the ſubtilties of the Queene of Saba, who in the confeſſion of the faith of the Abiſſins is called *Maqueda*, as *Damian de Goës* ſaith, who addeth, That ſhe had a ſonne by *Salomon* named *Melech*, called afterwards *Danid*. *Cedrenus*, (whom herein I follow, the ſacred Hiſtorie ſaying nothing of ſuch particularities, though they be not impoſſible) telleth, how this Queene, when ſhe ſaw that *Salomon* had expounded all her hardeſt riddles, cauſed (one day) certaine yong boyes and girles apparelled all alike, to be brought and ſet before the king (none being able by their faces and lookes to diſcerne the one ſex from the other) to the end ſhee might therein trie king *Salomons* wit. Hee knowing the Queenes intent, preſently made ſome water to be brought in a great Baſin, bidding them all to waſh their faces. By which deuiſe he eaſily diſcerned the males from the femalls: for the boyes rubbed their faces hard and luſtily; but the maides being ſhamefaſt did ſcarce touch theirs with their fingers ends.

In his Annals.

In his booke of the Cuſtomes, and faſhions of the Abiſſins.

To returne to our purpoſe. It were to be wiſhed, that whoſoeuer he be that is fore-gon with fooliſh loue, would (for remedie) read and remember that which *Chryſoſtome* obſerueth, whoſe words tranſlated be theſe: *When thou ſeeſt* (ſaith he) *a faire woman that hath a twinckling eye, and a ſmiling face, a looke pleaſant, attractiue, and amiable, ſuch as putteth thy heart into a heat, and ſetteth on fire thy deſire; thinke, that that which ſo rauiſheth thee, is nought elſe but earth; and that the fire which burneth thee, is but dung: and then will thy furie be aſſwaged. Raiſe vp the skin of her face, and thou ſhalt ſee all the vileneſſe of that goodly ſhew. Stay not vpon the outward maske, but pierce with the eye of thy thought, into that which is within, and what elſe ſhalt thou ſee there but bones, ſinewes, and veines? But this is not enough. Remember, that beautie changeth, groweth old, and withereth; that the quickneſſe of the eyes waxeth dead; that the cheekes grow hollow; that all that faire flower paſſeth away. See what it is that maketh thee (as it were) a beaſt: it is aſhes, duſt, and filth that burneth thee. For, what is the ſubſtance of this beautie that thou ſeeſt, but ſnot, ſpettle, corrupt blood, and the iuyce of rotten nouriſhment? what commeth there out of the eares, out of the eyes, out of the noſe, out of the mouth? And if theſe euacuations and ordinarie deſluctions of excrements ſhould ceaſe, and that the breaſt, the liuer and the braine ſhould leaue to purge themſelues that way; all this parado and goodly ſhew declineth and decayeth, the skin withereth, and the eyes ſinke into the head. Therefore, if thou conſider what is in the bottome of theſe goodly eyes, what is within that faire and ſtreight noſe, in the mouth, and vnder the cheekes, thou wilt confeſſe that this bodie ſo amiable, is nothing elſe but a Tombe whited ouer; wherein all is full of filthineſſe, of rottenneſſe, and of ſtinke. If thou ſee a handkerchiſe full of that which commeth out of the noſe, and out of the mouth, thou preſently turneſt thine head away, thou abhorreſt to touch it; the hollow ſtooles that theſe beauties vſe, doe make thy ſtomack riſe, and thee to ſtop thy noſe. Hee therefore that maketh ſo great account of the outward ſhew, and ſeeing a maid of a good beautie becommeth fond like a bodie without a ſoule,*

In his ſpeech of Beautie, and of a woman.

if

if hee consider that which transporteth him, shall know the fowlenesse of the thing, which he will not indure that another should tell him by words: for manie as faire, yea, and sometimes of a better beautie than she that maketh her selfe to be so much looked after, being once dead, are at the end of foure and twentie houres assaulted with stinke and miserable corruption, and lie gnawne with wormes. Therefore bethinke with thy selfe a little what a beautie thou loueſt (poore soule as thou art) and at the appearing whereof thou looseſt all thy countenance. The same Doctor saith in another place, *What is a faire woman? a whited Tombe, except shee be chast, sober, and shamefast. Beautie without such Vertues is an open gulfe, a drinke-poisoning all those that cast their eyes vpon it.* Saint *Gregorie* hath in his Moralls giuen a most sure remedie against these wanton affections; *When a man coueteth* (saith hee) *the flesh that appeareth, let him consider what the same is after death, then it is knowne what one loueth. For there is nothing that so much mastereth the desire of the flesh, as to thinke, what that is which one loueth, after it is once dead.* This the Grecians would bring to remembrance, by the ceremonie they obserue in the obsequies of their dead. They make a commemoration thereof three seuerall daies after the decease, to wit, the third, the ninth, and the fortieth. Because the third day, the dead bodie is so changed, that a man cannot know it anie more by the face: the ninth, the whole bodie is dissolued, sauing the heart: the fortieth day, the heart is perished, as all the rest is. *Crusius* addeth another interpretation, which applieth this ceremonie to the Resurrection, Apparition, and Ascension of Iesvs Christ.

Vpon the 58. Psal.

Lib. 16.

Crusius in the hist. entit. *Turcogræcia.*

To returne againe to the remedie against wanton and leaud affections. *Suidas* reporteth, that a wise Ladie of Alexandria called *Hypalia* shewed her selfe discreet in the consideration of the defect & frailtie of her sex. For, being not able to rid her selfe handsomely of the importunitie of a certaine yong man which sollicited her to naughtinesse, she shewed him some clouts fowled with her menstruous disease, saying vnto him, *See heere (young man) what it is thou loueſt: verily nought else but filth and ouglinesse.* Saint *Isidor* hath a memorable storie to this purpose, and it is thus. A certaine man in the flower of his age being much giuen to women, seeing vpon a day a very faire maid, was taken with her loue, and left nothing vnassayed to haue the enioying of her. At the first she flatly gaue him the repulse; for she was a chast damosell and had promised Christ Iesvs to keepe her bodie and her soule pure and vndefiled for him. Hearing by chance, that this wooer was readie to fall mad by reason of this passion which tormented him sore, she deuised a way whereby to preserue her chastitie, and also to quench the fire of this miserable wretch. First, she made her faire locks of haire to be cut off and shauen away, she rubbed her face all ouer with a kind of durt made of ashes wet with water: and afterwards sent for this foole, to whom she said; *Now, canst thou loue this foulenesse?* He (by that stroke being freed from the rage that pressed him) felt the fire of his desire slaked, and (which is more) alwaies after he shewed himselfe very honest and temperat.

The Venetian wanton, described by *Leander* the Monke and other Italians, should haue learned and meditated vpon this storie. *Dominicus Siluius* Duke of Venice had married a gentlewoman of Constantinople, a woman hugely proud, and so daintie, as she would not vouchsafe to wash her hands, or any other part of her bodie in cleere water, nor yet touch her meat with her fingars: but she fed her selfe ordinarily with a golden forke. In her chamber she had so many sweet perfumes made, and so much sweet water spent, that the smoke thereof made such persons as were not accustomed with such things, to ouer-

come

come, and almost to swoon. These shamefull vanities, these daintie tricks, these vnmeasurable delicacies had the end (at last) that they deserued, as all worldly prosperities resemble shadowes and vapors of smoake, then neerest breaking, when they are most excessiue. All these things in the end were but intollerable stinkes in our delicate *Seniora*, who was so infected with her smells, that from all her bodie there began to drop most stinking humors, and a kinde of matter so filthie to behold, and so noysome to smell, that euerie man plainely knew that her dissolute daintinesse too too excessiue, had caused this infection in her.

In the liues of the Fathers.

For the end of this Chapter, the storie of an ancient Hermit sheweth what a fraile thing, and of how short a continuance, the outward beautie of the face of any person is. This Hermit stirred with dishoneſt desires, and with the beautie of a certaine woman, which he had drawne into him with a wanton eye, comming euerie foot into his thought, hauing no power to make head against the shocke of temptation; was aduertised by another Hermit, that this woman was departed the world some daies before. Thereupon this old Louer goeth by night to the place where she was buried, and hauing opened the graue, did with the lap of his mantle wipe away some of the filth of the dead corps being halfe rotten: Afterwards being returned into his Cell, when the vnlawfull desires pricked him, he layd abroad his mantle that was foule & stinking, and said thus to himselfe; *Go to now, see what it is thou desirest, and take thy fill of it.* This spectacle was to him in steed of a check-master, vntill such time as his hot cogitations were alaied and quenched.

CHAP. XI.

That of the Marrow of mans bodie serpents doe breed.

Linie writeth, that a Serpent is ingendred of the Marrow of the back-bone of a man. The truth of this testimonie appeareth by experience, and is made manifest by an example that we reade in *Plutarch*, for the king of Egypt hauing made the dead bodie of *Cleomenes* to be hanged vp, and they that watched it hauing spied a great Serpent winding about his head, and couering the face in such sort as no bird that preyes vpon carrion durst soare thereabouts; the people of Alexandria running thither (saith he) in troupes to see this spectacle, called *Cleomenes* a demi-god, and the sonne of the gods: vntill such time as the best in knowledge among them had called to minde, that as of the putrified flesh of a dead oxe, there grow Bees; of a horse, Wasps; and of an asse, Beetles: so likewise, when the matterie substance which inuironneth the marrow, gathereth togither and thickneth, Serpents are ingendred thereof. I haue oftentimes seene in a well-knowne place of Germanie a yong gentlemans tombe, who was buried in a chappell where his predecessors lay. It is said, That he was the faireſt yong-man of his time, and being troubled with a grieuous sickneſse in the flower of his age, his friends could neuer get so much of him (no more than *Agesilaus* friends could get of him) as to suffer himselfe to be represented in sculpture or picture, to serue for posteritie: onely this through their importunitie he agreed vnto, that after he should be dead and some daies in the ground, they should open his graue, and cause him to be represented as they then found him. They kept promise with him, and found that the wormes had halfe gnawne his face, and that about the midriffe and the back-

Lib. 10. cap. 66.

In the life of *Cleomenes*.

back-bone there were many Serpents. Vpon this, they cauſed the ſpectacle (ſuch as they found it) to be cut in ſtone: which is yet at this preſent to be ſeene among the armed Statues of the Anceſtors of this yong gentleman. A notable example of the fragilitie of mans bodie, how faire and goodly ſo euer it be; and that all the ſplendor and magnificall ſhew that may be ſeene therein, is nothing elſe but rottenneſſe and wormes-meate: as the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* ſaith; *When a man dieth, he is the heritage of Serpents, Beaſts and Wormes.* Which is confirmed by a certaine inſcription grauen vpon a tombe at Rome in Saint *Sauiours* church, where are two latin verſes to this effect:

Eccef.10.12.

When in my bodies priſon I was pent,
I was compact of ſhamefull filth and ordure:
Now to this lower dungeon being ſent,
To crawling Wormes I ſerue for food and paſture.

In his booke of Meditations.chap.3.

Saint *Bernard* aymed at the ſame when he ſaid, That man was nothing but ſtinking ſeed, a ſacke of excrements, and the food of Wormes.

Of bodies dead ingender Wormes, of Wormes a rotten ſtinke,
And then as horrible a ſtate as mind of man can thinke:
This is our very caſe, for all our pride and hie conceit,
Nor can we ſtay the ſtroake of death when he our life doth threat.

So then, nature ingendring of the carrion of our bodies, a Serpent, or a Dragon, it ſeemeth to ſhew vnto vs (as it were with the fingar) the author of our calamities and corruptions; as alſo the enemie that hath an vnreconcileable warre with vs: to wit, that old dragon and ſerpent, who not onely laieth traps for the liuing; but beſides neuer leaueth renting and deuowring thoſe that be dead and buried.

CHAP. XII.

Of the doubtfull, vncertaine, inconſtant, and miſerable condition of Mans life.

Lib.3.de Oratore.

Cicero ſaith, That a Roman captaine although victorious, doth yet tremble in his heart. Shewing thereby, how vnaſſured the ſtate of worldly affaires is: of which thing the Romans (exerciſed aſwell by proſperitie as aduerſitie) could well skill how to make their benefit. This appeareth by the anſwere of *Scipio Africanus* to the Ambaſſadors of king *Antiochus* who was ouerthrowne in a ſet battell by the Romans, in theſe words: *If the Romans be ouercome, their hearts for all that faile them not: neither doe they ſwell, if they be conquerors.* And as another ſaith in *Titus Liuius*, *No man knoweth what the euening bringeth with it.* For ſuch is the ſtate of human affaires, that they are ſet, as a white, againſt an infinit number of ſhafts of aduerſitie: ſo that no man ſhould be hautie, in a calme; nor haue a faint heart, in a tempeſt. The ancient wiſe men would meditat hereupon, as may be ſeene in one of *Senecas* Tragedies, where this admonition is inſerted:

Iuſtin.lib.30.

In the Tragedie of *Thieſtes*.

Ye Potentates, to whom the Lord of might
Hath granted power mens liues to ſaue or ſpill;
Beware of Pride: For, what the pooreſt wight
Doth feare from you, is cleane againſt Gods will.
All high Eſtates depend of one more high,
A man may in the morning braue it out,
That e're ſun-ſet may in the aſhes lie:
So ſuddenly doe all things rolle about.

Death

Death makes all euen, impeaching Fortunes keſt.
All that the Moone ſees vnderneath her Round.
Turneth and changeth without any reſt.
Gods fauour is not limited or bound.
When our affaires are ſetled for long while,
And (to our thinking) no miſtruſt remaines:
God in a moment, by Deaths matchleſſe guile,
Ruins the building of our high diſſeigns.

It is written, That the ancient Egyptians were wont to haue a Skelliton or Image of death ſhewed to ſuch as were bidden to their feaſts, to warne them to thinke thereupon; and that at ſuch time as they were eating and drinking. The ſame is ſeene at *Trimalcions* feaſt in *Petronius Arbiter*, as the learned *Lipſius* reporteth. *As we were drinking* (ſaith *Petronius*) *and ſate rauiſhed (as it were) with ſo many dainties diſpoſed ſo neatly, and in ſo good order, a ſeruant brought into the roome a certaine Anatomie of ſiluer, ſet together ſo artificially, that the ſpondiles and ioynts turned as a man would haue them.* Trimalcion *hauing ſet it thrice vpon the Table, as this chaine thus pliable repreſented certaine diuers and ſundrie poſtures, he added;* *Lib.* 1. *Saturnal. cap.* 19.

Poore wretches that wee are, alas!
What is man but a thing of nought?
Thus ſhall we bee to nothing brought,
When Charons *Ferrey we doe paſſe.*
Then while we liue heere vpon earth,
Let vs employ our time in mirth.

What was all this elſe, but an aduertiſement of humane frailtie, and of vnauoidable death? *Thomas Moore* Chauncellor of England had the ſame conceit in a Latine diſtick, the effect whereof is;

As ſoone as we conceiued are, both life and death together
March after vs with equall ſteps, till God the league diſſeuer.

Iſidore writeth, That the cuſtome was in Conſtantinople, when the Emperor vpon the day of his Coronation, ſate in his high throne of Maieſtie, a Maſon would come to him, and ſhew him certaine ſorts of ſtone, that out of them hee might chuſe which ſort he liked beſt, and ſo giue order to haue his tombe made of the ſame ſtone. *Paulus Iouius* reporteth, That *Saladin* the Souldan of Egypt and of Syria, dying, and remembring the condition of mans miſerie, forbade expreſſely by his will, that they ſhould make any funerall pompe for him: Only he commaunded that one ſhould carrie an old caſſock, or a piece of black cloth vpon the end of a launce, and that a Prieſt ſhould crie with a lowd voice in the hearing of all the people, a certaine admonition, conteining in ſubſtance theſe words; In his 1. booke of famous men.

I haue a great Prince liu'd, victorious, rich, renown'd:
Now haue I but one ragge, ſince death did me confound.

The Emperor *Auguſtus*, as mightie a prince as euer any was, had the like feeling of the miſeries of this life. For, as *Cedrenus* writeth, being neere his end, he gaue a generall commandement, that after he ſhould be dead, euery man ſhould clap his hands, in token of ioy; and ſhould laugh without fayning, as was vſually done after a Comedie had been well repreſented. By ſuch a commandement he would be thought to mocke the life of man, as a ridiculous thing. At the ſacring of the Popes; when the new elected Pope paſſeth (as the manner is) before Saint *Gregories* chappell, the maſter of the Ceremonies goeth before him, bearing two drie reeds, at the end of the one a burning wax-candle tied, and at the In his Annals vpon the life of *Auguſtus*.

the end of the other a handfull of flax, the which he ſetteth on fire, ſaying with a lowd voice, *Pater ſancte, ſic tranſit gloria mundi*: that is, *Holy father, ſo paſſeth away the glorie of the world*, and this he repeateth three times. *Paradin* hath from thence drawne an embleme, inſerted among thoſe other which he calleth Heroicall deuiſes, with theſe words, NIL SOLIDVM, that is, *Nothing firme.* The ancient Romans knew that well. For, when the Senate decreed the triumph to any of their Captaines or Generals, for their conqueſts atchieued: this Conquerour being placed in his chariot of Triumph, and entring pompouſly into the citie with a crown of gold ſet with precious ſtones fixt vpon his head; the executioner of iuſtice ſtood in the ſame chariot behind him, warning him to conſider wel what followed after him, to the end he might looke to the reſt of his life, that ſuch honour ſhould not make him proud. Now there was hanged behind them in the ſame chariot a bell, and a whip, to ſignifie, that this great Commaunder might fall into ſuch miſerie, that he might be whipt, and after beheaded. For the offenders that were to be executed, were wont to carrie bells hanged about their necks, for feare leaſt as they went to their execution, ſome bodie hapning to touch them by miſ-heed, ſhould be thought accurſed thereby.

Zonar. in the 7. booke of his Annals.

Wee read to this purpoſe, That the Embaſſador of *Mauritius* the Emperour mollified the cruell nature of the king of the Auarians, by bringing to his remembrance the inconſtancie of humane affaires, in reherſing a ſtorie of *Seſoſtris* king of Egypt. This *Seſoſtris* was wont to bee carried in a chariot of pure gold, drawne by foure kings that were his priſoners: One of theſe foure faſtning his eye with great attentiueneſſe vpon the wheele that was next him a great many turnes, and being asked by *Seſoſtris* the cauſe of his ſo earneſt looking, anſwereth; *In beholding this wheele, which turneth about ſo faſt, wherein, that which was now aboue, is by and by the loweſt of all; I thinke vpon the accident of my fellowes and my ſelfe. Seſoſtris*, by this caueat abating his inſolencie, ſet the foure kings at libertie. Wee read almoſt the like thing of the Emperor *Iuſtinian*; who carrying in triumph *Gilimer* king of the Vandals, with the Queene his wife, and their houſhold, in the ſtate of priſoners: *Gilimer* being brought into the Emperors preſence began to laugh as lowd as hee could. Euery one thought, that ouermuch ſadneſſe vpon his ſo great and ſudden change, had taken his wits from him; but he anſwered graueIy, That ſeeing himſelfe of a king brought to nothing, he was mooued to laugh at the reuolutions of mans life.

Pomp. Lætus in the life of *Iuſtinian.*

Memorable therefore is the act of *Canutus*, a mightie king of England, who deftly repreſſed a certaine flatterer that told him, How all things framed to the beck and will of him being ſo great a king. This prince, mindfull of the inconſtancie of worldly affaires, and of humane fragilitie, commanded his chaire of Eſtate to be placed vpon the ſea ſhore at the beginning of the flood. And as the tide came in, he began to ſay vnto it; *Thou art within my fee, the land whereon I ſit belongeth to me, none euer croſt my commandement without puniſhment: I forbid thee therfore to riſe, or to enter vpon my dominion, and take heed thou wet not my clothes, or any limbe of thy lords bodie.* The ſea comming on as it was woont, begins without any reſpect to wet the kings feet, who therewith remooving backe, and riſing withall, ſaith; *Let all the Inhabitants of the earth know, That the power of kings is frinolous and vaine, and that no man is worthie of the name of King, but onely hee, whom the heauen, the ſea, and the earth do obey by a continual and vnchangeable decree.* After that day, *Canutus* neuer wore crowne any more vpon his head.

M. Camden in the hiſtorie of England.

They are truly wiſe and circumſpect, that conſider the glorie and wealth of the world to be as vnſteadie, as the waues of the ſea that are toſſed with the wind.

They

They flow fairely to those that thinke they haue them; afterwards they ebbe away suddenly, and go to others. Whereunto *Nazianzen* seemeth to haue regard, when as, according to the contents of the 62 *Psalme*, he said, You that gape after riches, hearken to the Prophet, that crieth;

Though goods come rolling on,
Set not your hearts vpon
So light and vaine a thing.

In his Oration of the sute for the Episcopall see of Constantinople.

For, (as it is Christianly said by *Hubert Folietta*) There is not any thing that doth more diuert the wits of men from their office and dutie, than prosperitie, accustomed to make hearts swell, and to fill them with the wind of ouer-weening: whereof it commeth, that all being not able to behold (as they ought) this worlds glorie, they grow insupportable, and make themselues hatefull to euery one, so soone as pride beginneth to master them. Therefore it is requisit by all meanes to represse this furious beast, to put the bridle of modestie into his mouth, and to take heed of a wild and insolent spirit: Contrariwise, to make prouision of great mildnesse, and to furnish ones selfe both in deeds and words with sincere debonairitie; than the which there is not any vertue that commeth neerer to Christian Religion, nor that doth more nimbly beat by the stoccadoes of prosperitie, nor better win the loue and friendship of men.

In his book of the life and studie of a Church-man.

Here we may make vse of the tragicall Historie (that we may not altogether stand vpon ancient examples) of *Hugolin Girardesca* of Pisa. This man (as *Paulus Æmylius* writeth) being chiefe of the faction of the *Guelphs* that stucke to the Pope, hauing foil'd a part of the *Gibellins* who affected the Emperor, & stricken a feare into the rest, became so great among those of his party, that he commanded with a white wand, was both in name and in deed lord of his citie, a rich & noble personage, learned, magnificall, maried to a great ladie, hauing goodly children, and they children likewise, abounding in all maner of wealth more than he could wish, liuing happie, and in all pleasure by the iudgement both of himselfe, and his fellow citizens: and who being plunged in the consideration of his felicitie, delighted himselfe with this thought, That all his hap should continue a long time. He making a solemne feast vpon his birth-day, and hauing inuited all his friends, setleth himselfe to the displaying of his prosperitie, which he magnifieth, admireth, and extolleth aboue the clouds: yea, and at last commeth to this, that he asketh one of his inward friends, If there wanted any thing to make vp his felicitie compleat? Who considering what little stay there is in worldly matters, and the deceitfull vanitie of their rowling and flying away in a moment; or rather being inspired from aboue; *Certainly*, saith he, *the wrath of God cannot be long away from this thy so great prosperity.* And it must needs be, that the good things which were heaped vpon this man alone, who had neuer before felt what affliction was, must be followed at the heeles with some extreme miserie. The forces of the *Guelphs* beginning to decay, the *Gibellines* run to armes, beset the house about, breake downe the gates, kill one of his sonnes and a grand-child that would keepe them from entring; lay hold of *Girardesca*, imprison him with two other of his sonnes, and three grand-children, in a tower, shut all the gates fast vpon them, and throw the keyes into the riuer of Arne that ranne hard by. There *Hugolin* saw those goodly youths of his dying betweene his armes, himselfe also at deaths doore. He cried and besought his enemies to be content, that he might endure some humane punishments, and to grant, that he might be confest and communicate ere he died: but all was denied him, and so he died pitifully with his children and nephewes that were with him.

In the 8 booke of the historie of France.

To returne to ancient examples, the ſtorie of *Polycrates* lord of Samos may ſerue alſo to ſet foorth the notable reuolution of this fraile life. For whereas at firſt he was eſteemed the happieſt; he proued at laſt the vnhappieſt man in the world. He was allied (ſaith *Herodotus*) with *Amaſis* king of Egypt, who hearing of the great proſperitie of his friend, feared (like a wiſe prince) that the ſame would not continue long. Wherefore he wrote vnto him to this effect: *I am glad to vnderſtand, that mine hoſte and good friend doth fare ſo well. Neuertheleſſe, I haue thy great felicitie in ſuſpition, knowing how enuious Fortune is. For my part, I had rather that mine affaires, and the affaires of my friends went in ſuch ſort, as that ſome aduerſitie might croſſe them in this life, than that they ſhould goe alwayes to our liking. If herein thou wilt beleeue me, carrie thy ſelfe in thy proſperitie as followeth. Looke what thou haſt about thee that thou holdeſt moſt deere, and wouldeſt be moſt ſorie to looſe; caſt that away ſo farre, and in ſuch ſort, as none may euer ſee it: If thy proſperitie change not for all that, apply therunto from time to time (for thy eaſe) ſome ſuch remedie as this is which I haue propounded vnto thee.* *Polycrates* liked this counſell, and hauing a Gold ring ſet with an Emeraud engrauen, which he vſed for his ſeale, he caſt it into the ſea: but within a while after, this ring was found in a fiſhes belly, and brought againe to *Polycrates*. Of which when *Amaſis* heard, hee renounced by an expreſſe meſſage the right of friendſhip and hoſpitalitie that he had contracted with *Polycrates*: for ſuch a cuſtome the Ancients obſerued both in binding and looſing the ſame right; alleaging for his reaſon, That he feared he ſhould be forced to ſorrow and lamentation, becauſe of his friend ouerwhelmed with miſerie. It hapned, that after certaine daies, *Orates* Lieutenant of *Cyrus* in the citie of Sordes, drew vnto him by craftie meanes this Minion of Fortune, *Polycrates*, whom he cauſed to be hanged vpon a gybbet. Before he departed from Samos, his daughter dreamed, That ſhe ſaw her father lifted in the ayre, where *Iupiter* waſht him, and the Sunne annointed him. Which came to paſſe: for his body remaining on the gybbet, was waſht of the raine, and the burning Sun melted the fat of it. *Tertullian* maketh mention of this dreame, ſaying, The daughter of *Polycrates* the Samian foreſaw her fathers puniſhment, by the Suns annoynting, and *Iupiters* waſhing. Of this imaginarie happineſſe of *Polycrates* (who thought that all good hap would befall him, though he deſired it not) *Paradin* hath framed a deuiſe, wherein is a fiſh holding a ſeale-ring betweene his teeth, with this word, INVITVM FORTVNA FOVET. Saint *Ambroſe* ſeemeth to haue ruminated vpon this ſtorie: For being one day lodged in a great rich mans houſe, who boaſted that he had neuer in all his life felt any touch of aduerſitie; he ſuddenly diſlodged from thence with his friends, ſaying, *We may not ſtay heere, for feare we be ouerwhelmed together with this man that hath liued ſo much to his owne eaſe and liking.* They were not gone farre, when looking behind them, they ſaw the earth open, and ſwallow vp the houſe, with the maſter, and all that was therein. I could here alledge a number of examples, of ſuch as from the top of great riches and dignities, haue ſuddenly fallen to the bottom of extreme afflictions and miſeries: but it ſhall ſuffice for the preſent to ſpecifie one, memorable among many other. It is a ſtorie altogether lamentable, and a calamitie full of aſtoniſhment, which happened in the parts of the *Cape de bona Speranza*, to *Manuel de Souſa*, ſurnamed *Sepulueda*, Gouernour of the Citadell of Diu for the king of Portugall, and it is this. Hauing long enioyed great happineſſe and honour in Eaſt India, hee came to Cochin not farre from Calecut, where hee embarked himſelfe in Ianuarie 1553 in a great ſhip laden with riches, & about ſix hundred perſons with him, among which was his wife, his children, ſeruants, ſlaues, and a great retinue, to come into Portugall. But the ſhip

Lib. 3.

Marull. lib. 5. exempl. c ap. 3.

Maffeus lib. 11.

ſhip being caſt away vpon the coaſt of Æthiopia, and the ſea hauing ſwallowed vp welneere all that was within it, except the perſons who ſaued themſelues aboord halfe naked, deſtitute of all hope to recouer their loſſe againe: hauing relied vpon the wordes of the craftie and cruell Barbarians, they fell at laſt (ſo many of them as remained aliue, for the moſt part were now dead, what with feare, and what with famine, and other miſeries) into the hands of a pettie king of Æthiope, who hauing them in his power, made them be diſarmed, ſtript, and left ſtark naked vpon the ſand, depriued of all ſuccor, and of all neceſſary things. They that were left aliue, beaten halfe dead with hunger and thirſt, being in a drie and barren countrey, and ouerwhelmed with feare and ſhame, caſting their eyes to the ground, and almoſt transformed into Images, with ſo ſtrange and vnworthie a reuolution; *Eleonor* the wife of *Manuel*, daughter to *Garzias Sala*, Viceroy of Portugall in the Indies, an honourable Ladie, ſeeing the Barbarians buſied about ſtripping and ſnatching away the clothes from her husband, her ſelfe, her children, and the reſt, forgetting her ſex, and her dignitie, begins to fall vpon theſe filchers, and to lay at them with her fiſt, to box them, and to prouoke them by all meanes, to the end they might kill her, but all in vaine. They left her ſtark naked vpon the ſhore. This chaſte Lady ſeeing her ſelfe in ſuch a caſe, and the day-light miniſtring to her more ſorrow and horror, than death it ſelfe, ſhe ſuddenly couered her ſelfe with ſand, caſting abroad her haires confuſedly, vpon her ſhoulders, and ouer her breaſt that lay naked and bare: which done, ſhe commanded the men that ſuruiued of her miſerable companie, to be gone and ſhift for themſelues as well as they could: her ſelfe remaining in that caſe without ſtirring, or ſaying a word. If at ſometimes ſhee beheld her deare children, the teares would flow from her eyes like riuers, with deepe ſighes and ſobbes. As for *Manuel*, the father and husband, ſuch an extreme ſadneſſe and griefe had cloſed vp his heart and his mouth, as hee held his eyes for a long time fixed to the earth, as if he had been ſtricken with a thunder-bolt, or paſt all feeling: yet at laſt, the care of his little ones ſuddenly waking him, he goeth to a forreſt hard by, there to ſeeke for ſome food. At his returne, hee findeth the yongeſt of his children departed, and his wife who had beene three dayes without eating any thing, ouerborne with ſorrow and with teares. His child he buries with his owne hands. The next day he returnes to ſeeke againe, and comming backe, hee findes his wife and his other ſonne dead, and ſome women ſeruants lamenting with great cries ouer their poore bodies. Hauing put by the ſeruants, he layes himſelfe downe vpon the ground, and ſtretching out the right hand of his deceaſed wife, leaned a while with his head vpon the ſame: and then with the helpe of the ſaid ſeruants, he hideth his wife and child within the ſand, without vttering any word. That done, he returnes into the forreſt, where it is coniectured hee was deuoured of the wild beaſtes: for there was neuer any newes heard of him afterwards. About ſix ſcore of theſe miſerable trauailers hauing eſcaped diuers incredible difficulties, did at laſt recouer a port of the ſea, where they found commoditie to paſſe into Portugall, who there declared the particulars of this Hiſtorie, which we haue ſet downe as briefely as we could.

Let no man therefore claw himſelfe with the diſcourſe of the nobilitie of his predeceſſors, nor of his riches and wealth, nor of his credit, as *Agapitus* in his pollitike Aphoriſmes aduiſeth vs. For all men come of clay, as well they that walke in ſcarlet and fine linnen, as beggars, and the poore lazars: as well kings, as they that guard them. Let vs neuer brag then of the beginning of dung; but let vs glorie in vertue. *Philip de Commines* warneth vs in his Hiſtorie to weigh

nothing ſo much as the apprehenſion of Gods iudgement, the loue of vpright-dealing in all matters, and not to vex and torture our ſelues with cares, as the greedie and ambitious doe. If we could light vpon this way, and keepe it, our life would be more peaceable, and we ſhould enioy health, with leſſe trouble. To know the ſtrange vanitie of our life, let vs conſider, That ſo ſoone as any one, whoſoeuer he be, hath his mouth ſhut, all preſently forſake him, and abhor his carcaſſe: in the meane while the ſoule is carried elſewhere, before a Throne which it cannot ſhun. Let euery man then (according to the holy admonition of *Lactantius*) make more account of his ſoule, than of theſe deceiuable goods, whoſe poſſeſſion is tranſitorie and vncertaine: For away they goe, and diſlodge a great deale faſter than they came to their lodging. And if the enioying of them, ſhould be allowed vs vntill our laſt ſigh, yet then muſt we leaue them to others: we can carrie nothing away, but a life ſpent in our dutie towards God, our neighbours, and our ſelues. He that ſhall goe accompained with continencie, with mercie, with patience, with faith, with charitie, ſhall arriue rich and wealthie at Gods euerlaſting pallace. This is our heritage, which can neuer be taken from vs, nor tranſported to any other.

Lib. 7. cap. 27.

Herodot. lib. 5.

It was not then without cauſe, that the Trauſians (neighbours to the Thracians) the day that their children were borne, reckoned vp, with warme teares, how many miſeries they were to ſuffer in this world: Contrariwiſe, they buried their dead with playing and ſinging ioyfully, numbring the miſeries they were freed from: As *Eraſmus* both elegantly and largely ſheweth in his commentarie vpon the Greeke and Latin prouerbs. *Pomponius Mela* writeth alſo of the Getes, *That they were once reputed religious aboue all other people, becauſe they had a very good and holy opinion of the euerlaſting God: and held for certaine, That moſt part of the ſoules among them died not, but after they were gone out of their bodies, they paſt into a more happy life. Therefore they thought it better to die than to liue: by occaſion whereof, they alſo wept at child-bearings, but celebrated their burials with ſongs and ioyfull ſolemnities.* The ſame is alſo attributed to another ſort of people called Cauſians, *Who bewaile the children new-borne, and laugh ouer the dead, holding them for happy.* *Lewis Cortuſius* a Ciuilian of Padua, very famous in his time, pretended (as I thinke) by his laſt will and teſtament, to ſtirre vp the remembrance of this doctrine, for the inſtruction of poſteritie: For, as *Ierom Scardeon* reporteth, a little before his death, doing quite contrarie to the cuſtome then vſed, he expreſſely forbad his kinſfolkes and allies to weepe, and mourne for him, according to the practiſe in other funerals, *But that they ſhould baniſh all hanging & mourning cloaths, with the impoſition of a great forfeiture vpon him that was his heire, if he did not execute from point to point this his laſt will. Contrariwiſe, he ordained that in the place of mourners, they ſhould haue Singers, Muſicians, and Players vpon all ſorts of Inſtruments, who with Flutes, Hautboyes, Trumpets, Cornets, Sackbuts, Viols, Lutes and Harpes, ſhould march among the prieſts before the corps; and that another troupe ſhould follow after both troupes conſiſting of the number of fiftie muſicians and minſtrills, to euerie of which he bequeathed halfe a ducat for their paines. His will was beſides, that twelue young girles apparelled in greene, ſhould carrie the coffin from the place where the corps ſhould be incloſed, to the church where he meant to be buried: permitting them to ſing aloud ſongs of mirth, giuing them therefore a certaine ſum of money towards their aduancement in marriage. He was buried at Saint Sophia, and at his funerall there were a hundred wax-candles, and twentie torches borne by the prieſts, who were followed by the pariſhes, and all the conuents of monkes, except thoſe that were clothed or garded with black, which he excluded from his buriall, for feare leaſt by that colour they ſhould abate the pleaſantneſſe of the funerall.* He died *an.* 1418.

Vpon the prouerb. *Optimum non naſci.* in the 2 booke of his Geography.

In his hiſt. of the famous Ciuilians of Padua. *lib. 2. claſſ. 8.*

the

the seuenteenth day of Iuly, as his Epitaph sheweth. *Paulus de Castro* a Ciuilian maketh mention of this Will, & disputeth of it, as of a thing made by a man that was not then in his sound wits: which (as it seemeth) is notwithstanding allowed of by the text vpon the law, *Seruo. de Legat.* 1. And therefore *Artabanus* perceiuing that *Xerxes* began to weepe when he saw, that of many millions of men whereof his Armie against the Greekes was composed, not one should remaine aliue within a hundred yeares, saith vnto him; *That in this short space of mans life, many things should fall vpon the liuing, which would make euery one of them to wish for death, and to care little for their life: and therefore this so short course of the world seemed yet ouer-long to those that liued not at their ease.*

In l. quidam in fuo. De cond. inftis.

Herodot. l. 7.

And indeed, what is our life? *A vapour* (saith Saint *Iames*) *which appeareth for a little while, and then vanisheth away.* Or, as *Aristotle* saith, *What is man? the example of weakenesse, the spoile of time, the pastime of fortune, the picture of inconstancie, the balance of enuie and calamitie: and for the rest, nothing but spettle and fleame.*

Chap. 4. 14.

What is this human life? an idle hope, or feare
Of hidden things to come; a minute-while of time;
Where each one feeles the griefe and torment of his crime;
Where ioy is kil'd so soone as it doth once appeare.

Therefore Saint *Augustin* writeth like a good Diuine in these words; *This present life is a life that is doubtfull, blind, miserable, beaten with a flowing and ebbing of humors, weakened with griefs, dried with heat, puft vp with meates, made leane with abstinence, dismembred with pastimes, consumed with sadnesse, strained with cares, dulled with arrogancie, shaken with riches, beaten downe with powertie, loftie in youth, crooked in age, broken with diseases, ouerwhelmed with griefs; after all commeth death cutting her throat, and burying all her pleasures: so as leauing to be, one may thinke that it neuer was.*

An ancient prouerb, very well knowne, saith; *That man is a bubble of water.* Whereunto *Lucian* seemeth to haue regard in one of his Dialogues, where he compareth our liues to little bubbles that are made by the raine vpon the water, whereof some breake so soone as they are made, to make place for others that presently follow them: in such sort that all this shew is as much as nothing. It is (in a word) a flake of smoke, a shadow that passeth, a dreame, a pace halfe stridden, the shadow of a dreame, a nothing, if it be compared with the true and euerlasting life.

In his Dialogue intituled *Charon.*

Commendable therefore is the pietie of our predecessors, who haue erected tombes to Kings and Emperours, whereby posteritie may be made to vnderstand, That after death there is no respect of persons, but that the flesh of all men is a lump of clay, of rottennesse, and of filth. Hereof we may read yet at this day, a memorable Epitaph, among many other, in the Cathedrall church of Brunswike, thus translated out of the Latin, which was reasonable bad for that time.

Duke Henry *lieth here, that did this Temple found,*
A good and godly Prince, as euer went on ground:
His wife so vertuous doth lie here by his side,
Who was of poore distrest the succour, stay, and guide:
A Princesse fearing God, and wise in euery thing,
Mechtilda, *daughter deere to Englands mightie king.*
God feed them with the bread of Saints, and Angels blest;
King Otho, *borne of them, within their armes doth rest,*
Who now for food doth serue to wormes that gouern there,
Together with his wife, a creature passing faire,

Who of her beautie hath the colour chang'd to duſt.
Thou paſſenger, that this do'ſt read with ſorrow iuſt,
Wiſh happineſſe and peace to him that ſhall take heed
How that our bodies, goods, and our whole life indeed,
Are nothing elſe (alæs) but duſt, but wind, but death,
A thing of nought, that paſſeth ſooner than ones breath.

Sabbas de Caſtilion, a knight of Saint *Iohns* of Ieruſalem meant the ſame in the Epitaph which himſelfe made, and is to be read in the beginning of an Italian booke of his, which he intituleth *Ricordi*. The Epitaph goeth thus:

D. O. M.

PVTREDINI ET CORRVPTIONI RESVRRECTVRIS VTINAM IN MELIVS SABBAS MEDIOLAN. EX GENTE CASTIL. FR. ET MIL. HIEROSOLYM. PARVO CONTENTVS VIXI. PARVO CONTENTVS ET SOLITARIVS HIC IACEO ANGVSTE. QVALIS EGO FVERIM NEC EGO SCIVI NEC TV QVÆRAS. QVISQVIS ES SI PIVS ES DEPRECARE DEVM PRO ME. HOSPES SOSPES ABI. VALE, ET VIVE MEMOR LETHI. VIVENS MIHI MORITVRO POSVI. MORTALIVM VITA ORTVS LABOR ET MORS. OBIIT AN. DOM. SAL. M. D. LIII. DIE XVI. MARTII.

RELIQVVM MORTALE ET CORRVPTIBILE FRATRIS SABBÆ.

That is to ſay,

To God all-good, and all-mightie.

Sabbas, *a* Milannois, *of the houſe of* Caſtilion, *religious, & knight of the order of Saint Iohns of* Ieruſalem, *wiſheth this rottenneſſe and corruption may riſe againe in better ſtate. I haue liued content with a little. I lie here in a narrow roome content with a little, and alone. What I haue beene, I neither knew, nor doe thou enquire. Whoſoeuer thou be, if good, pray God for me. Paſſenger paſſe in peace. Fare well, and be mindfull of Death. Aliue I made this for my death. Mans life and birth is labour and death. He died in the yeare of our Lord* 1553. *the* 16 *day of March.*

Here reſteth the reſt that was mortall and corruptible of Frier Sabbas.

For good cauſe then doth the learned *Buchanan* in his Tragedie of *Iephtè* deplore the miſerable condition of mans life, as followeth:

I neuer yet could happie peace obtaine:
But as one waue another driueth on,
And one day ſecondeth anothers courſe;
So doth one trouble which tranſporteth me
Follow another that before it goes.
One ſorrow by another is renued,
As from one teare another is deriued.

Our life may be compared to the life of him that ſayleth in a ſhip; Who, whither he ſit, ſtand, or lie, alwaies maketh way, being carried by the veſſell that goeth either with wind, or tide: So we, both waking and ſleeping, winded vp vpon the wheele of time, draw euerie minute towards our point. *Seneca* remembreth vs hereof. *We paſſe this life* (ſaith he) *as if we were ſayling vpon the ſea, for ſo* Virgill *ſaith,*

In the 71 letter to *Lucilius.*

——— *the fields and cities from the ſhoare retire.*

Euen ſo, in this ſudden courſe of time, firſt we loſe out of our ſight and remembrance, our Infancie; then our adoleſcencie; after that, all the betweene-time of youth and old age; conſequently, the beſt yeares of our laſt age: In the end, we deſcrie death, the hauen of all mankind.

kind. Foolés that we are! doe we thinke it is a rock? no, it is a port, where we must anker soone, or late, and it may not be auoided.

In his speculatiue Dialogue.

I thinke it not amisse to insert here the note which the Lord *Gabriell Simeon*, a Florentine, draweth out of certaine Hieroglyphicall figures, and which the late Archbishop of Mentz, *Daniel*, one of the Princes Electors wrote with his owne hand in a praier booke of his: *Life is short, Beautie deceitfull, Money flieth away, Rule-bearing is odious, Victorie doubtfull, Peace fraudulent, Old age miserable, Death happy, the fame of Wisedome, euerlasting.*

Here it would not be much amisse to set downe some few examples of great men, who hauing been from meane estates aduaunced to the high dignities of swaying crownes and scepters, yet by their humble and low carriage, would (as it were) guard themselues against the crosses and ouerthwarts of fortune, by keeping themselues as low in heart, as they were eleuated in the shew of the world. Many Authors haue written of *Agathocles* king of Sicilia, who of a Potters sonne, by his prowesse and vertues came to gouerne that kingdome: He was not free from many enormous vices, yet this is written of him to his commendation, That though he had as royall authoritie as any king his predecessor had before him, yet he would neuer weare the diademe, nor haue any guard, but gaue free accesse to all that would come to speake with him. Moreouer, though no other prince was euer more furnisht with money, or with richer mooueables than he, yet he caused his name to be engrauen in Greeke letters vpon vessels of earth, which he placed among his rich pots of gold and siluer, that vpon sight thereof he might call to mind the place from which he was descended. Another like memorable example wee haue in *Willegis*, Archbishop of Mentz, who from a very base condition being ascended to most high dignities, would leaue a perpetuall marke of humilitie, and of the remembrance of his meane qualitie to his successors: Being issued from a base house, and sonne to a Carter, he caused these words following to be written in great letters in his lodging chamber, *Willegis, Willegis, remember from whence thou camest.* He caused also the wheeles and other implements of a cart to be there hanged vp, for a remembrance of his pedegree. And at this day there are to be seene, as it were two cart-wheeles in the Armes of the Archbishop of Mentz, and one in the scutchion of the church of Mentz.

Lesc, the second of that name, though a base fellow, was yet (becaus of his vertues) chosen king of Polonia in the yeare 780. But he carried himselfe like a prince descended from ancient kings: and all his life time tooke especiall care vpon the solemne dayes, when he was to appeare in his roiall robes, to cast ouer them a garment of course cloth which he had worne before; thereby to keepe in remembrance his former life, that so he might not be ouertaken with the inconstancie of this worlds affaires, which throweth those to the ground whom it hath highly exalted. Many kings of Polonia did afterwards solemnely obserue this custome.

When *Libussa*, princesse of Bohemia, had enobled and after maried *Primislaus* the third of that name, who before was a plaine husbandman, in remembrance of his first condition, he brought with him (at such time as he was to mount on horsebacke, to receiue the royall pompe) a paire of woodden shooes: and being asked the cause, he answered, That he brought them to the end they might be set vp for a monument in the castle of Visgrade, and shewed to his successours, that all might know that the first prince of Bohemia had been called from the cart to that high dignitie; and that he, who from a clowne was called to weare a

crowne,

a crowne, had nothing whereof to be proud. These wooden shooes are still kept in Bohemia, as a precious relick, and the Priests of the Church of Visegrade cary them about in procession vpon euery coronation day.

In the life of the Emperor *Claudius*.

Now although *Trebellius Pollio* may write, That the most learned Astronomers are of opinion, That the longest life of man is limited at six score yeares, and that none euer obteined a time exceeding that; adding, That euen *Moses* the friend of God (as the books of the Iewes say) liued six score and fiue yeares, and being asked Why he would die so soone, being of strength to liue longer; he answered, That he had heard by a voice from heauen, that none should passe that time: yet notwithstanding, if men should liue now adayes as long as *Adam* & the other Patriarks liued before the flood, it would be but a small matter. To draw to an end, in the prayer of *Moses* the seruant of God, Threescore and ten yeares are allotted to mans life, and fourescore yeares to the strongest: *If any man goe beyond that, it is but labour and sorrow*; in a word, *wee passe away, and our dayes flie apace*, as *Moses* saith in that Psalme. The Ancients haue distinguished mans age into diuers parts, as *Peter Messie* a Spaniard showeth in a collection that hee hath made thereof. To make it appeare what it is, we will adde (for conclusion) the distinction of ages, made by *Solon*, and reported by *Phylo Iudeus* in his Commentarie of the creation of the world, and is thus much in effect:

Psalm.90.

In the 1 part of his diuers Lectures, *ca.40*

The Child that cannot yet by words his meaning show,
May at seuen yeares enclose with pales of double row
The parke of his faire mouth: but at the fourteenth yeare
He hopes to see the downe in his red cheekes appeare.
His one and twentieth yeare no sooner doth begin,
But one may see a beard all ouer cheeke and chin.
Then growes he into strength; but though he think it long,
Vntill the twentie eighth he is not counted strong.
From twentie-eight, before to thirtie-fiue he get,
He mariage will desire some children to beget.
When fortie-two arriue, thoughts of a manly straine
Doe make him quite forgoe things of a childish vaine.
And then at fortie-nine his tongue and trauell tend
To courses all of gaine, as to their proper end.
The seuen yeares that doe next to this account assemble,
Are most entire of all, and most themselues resemble.
At sixtie-three yeares age, though he grow weake and languish,
Yet Wisdome and aduise doe in him chiefly flourish.
But he that can the point of seuentie yeares attaine,
May with him carrie hence a mind both prompt and faine.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the miserable condition of the Acridophagi, a people of Æthiopia.

Strab. lib. 17. Diodor. lib. 3. cap. 3.

THe Acridophagi (that is to say Locust-eaters) are a people of Æthiopia, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* write, inhabiting neere to the Desert, of a lower stature than other men, leane, and very black. In the Spring time certaine hoat winds out of the West, doe take vp and bring to them out of the desert, an infinit number of locusts, which these people powder with salt, whereof they haue abundance, and keepe them for daintie meat, and feed vpon it, hauing no other

other victuals all their life time. For they cannot digest oatmeal, and they eat no fish, because they are far from the sea, and haue no relief or succour any way else. They are not much loaden with fat: they run as swift by as is possible, and the eldest of them neuer passeth fortie yeares. Their death is strange: for when they draw neere to their old age, there breed in their bodies certaine winged lice, of a diuers shape, stinking, and ougly to behold, which in a short time eat their belly, after that their breast, and at last their whole bodie. The disease beginneth with an itching, which the patient feeleth in mingled with griefe and pleasure, and scratching himselfe vntill he haue made an open passage for the lice, and for the matter that floweth forth; the sickenesse groweth so outragious and vehement, that with greedie nailes and loued cries he teareth all his bodie, out of which the vermin come forth in such abundance (as out of a pierced hogshead) that it is impossible to cleanse the poore bodie of the sicke: the sicke, by reason of the blood so corrupted with the aire, and with the feeding, being no other thing but rottennesse and vermin, doth in that sort miserably die and perish.

One may therefore say, That the locusts feed the Troglodytes, and the Troglodytes eat them. There is no great difference betweene those Acridophagi (although their manner of life differ) and those Ethiopian Negros, which the Portugals bring by troops out of the farthest Ilands. I haue heard them tell that haue seene some of them come out of the ships that vnladed in their hauens, that those Negros (such almost as the Himantopodes of Libya, described by *Solin*, that haue scant any thing of man but the face, and seeme to creepe rather than go, hauing their thighs and knees vpon their feet and heeles, hauing a voice and speech betweene beastly and humane) are vnladed & bestowed in certain warehouses built of purpose vpon the shore, where the Portugals locke them vp like beasts, without difference of sex or age, vntil they find a Marchant for them. He that buyeth them, hath much adoe to apparel them, and to make them conceiue that they are men or women, and not brute beasts. Such (in a word) as were the ancient Psammi Corsi mentioned by *Strabo*, which were seene at Rome (saith he) with admirement, by reason of their sauage gate, their furious looke, and all their other carriage cruell and beastly. For either they suffer themselues to die with anger, or hoping (as it were) mad, they strangle and crush their maisters, if they haue neuer so little libertie or leasure. To be short, though they haue them at neuer so vile a rate, yet they soone repent the buying of them.

Lib. 5. de sa Geographia.

CHAP. XIIII.

Brasse doth not rust, and keepeth other things from rotting. A strange way of burying bodies.

BEing at Venice with some of my companions (among which number was *Anthonie de Haussy*, a young gentleman of Pomerania, learned, valiant, and taking great delight in Antiquities and rare things) we saw in the house of the Magnifico *Lunedan*, afterwards Duke of Venice, little images of Brasse, which his son (who had caried vs in a Gondala, after the fashion of that Cittie, and brought vs into his fathers house) very courteously vnwod vs. He affirmed, That these Images were found in Egypt hid in the bodies of the dead, whereout that is taken which at this day men call (after the Arabians) Mommy, or Mummy. I haue many times since thought, that they hid these Images in the earth of a superstition, as the ancient Romans hid their Puppets vnder ground, which

which they called *Sigilla* (like as in our time some for deuotion doe shut vp in sepulchres certaine relicks and images of Saints:) or, that there was some other mysterie in it. Now, as I haue vpon other considerations, admired more than once, the great prudence of the Ancients, ioyned commonly with their superstitious ceremonies, and haue seene, according as an excellent Poet saith, that

Nought without reason hath been done by wise Antiquitie:

So haue I found out, That these little Images of Brasse were not without cause annexed to the dead bodies. For the holy Histories do shew, That the Ancients (and namely the Ægyptians) were very carefull and curious to preserue whole and entire the dead bodies within the sepulchres, and to keepe them from corrupting, so much as possibly they could. When a dead bodie shalbe embalmed, as they vse to doe in Ægypt, it continueth whole, saith *Plato*, a very great and almost innumerable number of daies. And if some members of the bodie do putrifie, yet the bones, sinewes, and some other pieces continue. To this purpose they were wont to employ the sweet drugs and spices of Arabia Fœlix. They knew well besides, that brasse is a mettall very solid and lasting, for in that qualitie *Virgill* and *Horace* commend it: Experience hauing taught them, That brasse keepeth it selfe a long time from rust and corruption, yea that it is endued with a particular vertue against putrifaction (and such a little image may that be of which *Suetonius* writeth, that was adored thrice a day by *Nero* with sacrifices, as it had beene some god.) I thinke they tied and fastned them to the dead bodies (and I denie not but there might be some superstition ioyned with it) to preserue them the longer from rotting: Epecially seeing, that the Ancients for the same consideration, fastned nailes of brasse within the dead bodies, saith *Pierius*. Not long since there was found in a certaine wood neere to Nuremberg, very ancient tombes, and among the bones of the dead, some of these nailes and buckles of brasse.

In the liues of the Patriarchs *Iacob* and *Ioseph*.

In the Dialogue entit. *Phædon*.

In the life of *Nero* *cap.* 56.

In his Hieroglyphicks.

Now albeit I am not ignorant that there is another manner of burying and imbaulming, of which *Lilius Gyraldus* and others haue written: yet this that I haue now said may so much the easilier be brought to passe, as there is a great difference betweene the dead bodies of the Orientals, and of the Europeans. The Orientals are of a drier temperature, and therefore lesse subiect to putrifaction than the Europeans. This we learne of *Ammian Marcellinus*, who saith it was an easie matter, after a battell giuen, to know the dead bodies of the Romans from those of the Persians: *For those of ours* (saith he) *after they are killed, doe presently melt away, so that the fourth day a man cannot know a dead Roman by the features of his face. But the bodies of the Persians wax drie like a woodden stake, so that a man cannot perceiue them to melt, or marre with corrupt matter; because while they liue, they eate little, and withall their natiue countrey is extreame hot.* Hereunto agreeth that which *Varro* saith, That the Persians had gotten this aduantage, for that they exercised themselues moderately in their youth, and had made their bodies so drie, that they neuer spet, nor blew their nose, and were maruailous actiue and nimble. Therefore, as *Xenophon* writeth, They did eate commonly water-Cresses, because, saith *Suidas*, This herbe staieth spettle and vrine, a thing that our Phisitions vtterly deny. Howsoeuer it be, the Persians abstaine much from spetting, pissing, and blowing their nose. They had also learned (as *Varro* saith) if children eate and sleepe too much, they wax thereby the duller of spirit, and their bodies grow not so well. But although such vigor of bodie be attributed to the Persians, yet *Herodotus* writeth, That the Persians heads are so soft that if they be hit with a little stone, it will breake the skin and hurt them; contrariwise,

In his Fragments.

In the institution of *Cyrus*.

Lib. 3.

In the 19 booke of his historie.

riwise, that the heads of the Ægyptians are so hard, that no blow with a stone can scarce breake the skin. The reason is, for that the Ægyptians begin from their childhood to shaue their haire, so that the sutures of the skull grow firme and hard with the heat; and that is it which keepeth them from being bald: For there is hardly a bald man to be seene in Ægypt, because all of them haue their heads hard and strong. But the Persians are contrarie, because that from their yong age, they are taught to couer their heads, with high and sharp hats, and with turbans.

A man may say of the Spaniards that haue conquered the New world, the verie same almost that *Ammian Marcellinus* writeth of the drie bodies of the Persians; as may be gathered by a letter of one of their souldiers, sent from Lima a citie of Peru, to a Physition, in the yeare 1568. and alleaged in the additions of *Benzo*. The Indians, after they had massacred a very great number of Spaniards, said one to another, that their flesh was too hard, and that it must needs be mortified three or foure daies before they could eate thereof. *Benzo* giueth another reason, why the Indians would not eate of the flesh of the Spaniards: For he, hauing discoursed at large of this peoples vnreconcileable hatred towards the Spaniards, and hauing called his fellowes (for he was a Milannois, and the king of Spaines subiect) wicked, traitors, vngracious, vnworthie the name of Christians, and to tread vpon the earth; addeth, that the Indians could not behold them but with horror, and would call them *Viracochies*, that is to say, The froth of the sea; *Although* (saith he) *all the inhabitants almost of that sea-coast were wont to eat mans flesh, yet some of them seeing their neighbours eat the Spaniards killed by them in fight, trembled at such meat, and feared least that flesh of the* Viracochies *would be hurtfull to their health.*

See the historie of the New world, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 23.

To returne to our purpose: that which *Abraham Ortelius* reporteth after *Gyrald de Cambren* is wonderfull, That the bodies of men rot not after their decease, in the Isles of Arran; and that therefore they be not buried, but left in the open ayre, where putrifaction doth them no manner of hurt: whereby the families (not without amazement) doe know their fathers, grand-fathers, great grand-fathers, and a long race of their predecessors. *Peter Martyr* a Milannois saith the same of some West Indians of Comagra: These be his words, *The Spaniards being entred the lodging of this Cacick, find a Chamber full of dead bodies hanging by ropes of cotton. And asking what superstition that was, they receiued this answere, That those were the fathers, grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers of the Cacick of Comagra. The Indians say, That they keepe such relikes preciously, and that this Ceremonie is one of the points of their religion. According to his qualitie while he liued, his bodie being dead is richly decked with iewels of gold, and with precious stones.*

In his great Theatre of the world, Table 10.

In the 2 *Decad. de Reb. Oceanicis, lib.* 3.

CHAP. XV.

Punishments ordeined against idle persons. How much Idlenesse is detested.

IT is a common saying, *He that nought doth, naught doth.* Againe, *He that will eat the kirnell, must cracke the nut:* that is to say, He that will haue the profit, must not shun the labour. For this cause, and also to banish vices, or (at least) to better them, many good Statutes and Ordinances haue beene made, which doe shew, in how many sorts (& that worthily) Idlenesse hath been euer detested; and contrariwise, industrie, and loue of labour had in singular commendation. They that sit crowching in the world, with their armes acrosse, their mouth gaping,

Otia dant Vitia.

gaping, and both their feet in one shooe, lead a beastly not a human life: for they breathe onely, and so doe beasts, as *Crinitus* saith. Which occasioned the Law-makers to Enact fit and conuenient lawes with punishments annexed, against Idlers, branding them besides with notes of infamie. *Solon* in his lawes condemneth this vice mightily; *Whosoeuer* (saith he) *shall giue himselfe to Idlenesse, let him be bound ouer to answere it in place of Iustice, before those that shall accuse him.* *Draco* the Athenian Law-maker condemned Idle persons to death. In the ciuile Lawes, *Iustinian* saith, *That the mind of the Idler hatcheth no good.* Which sentence (it may be) was borrowed out of the Iphigenia of *Sophocles*, where it is said, That

There neuer was good thing brought foorth by Idlenesse,
And him that loueth Sloth the gods doe neuer blesse.

It is said of the Philosophers called Brachmans, That they kept their boyes from food, and would not let them eate their dinner, till they had first done some seruice to their parents, or spent the time about some other necessarie thing. The ancient Monkes and Friers tooke not their meat, till they had giuen an account to the common father, of their taske of worke. The Parthians had a custome among them, not to suffer their children to eat in the morning, before such time as they had beene abroad, and were come home againe hot and sweating, with force of running and shooting, striuing who could doe best. This moued *Plato* to make a law against Idlenesse; and to this purpose alleageth the saying of the Poet *Hesiodus*, That

The gods haue Vertue set vpon a lofty hill,
Whereto none can ascend but by a certaine way
Of toile and sweat; long, rough, to passe exceeding ill,
But at the top is full of ease and pleasant stay.

These wise men did well consider, That without trauell there is nothing durable in this world, and that the gods haue sold to men all things by the weight of trauell, as another of them said. Therefore *Cicero* writeth, *That Nature had not formed vs of such a fashion, as that we should thinke our selues made to play and to sport, but to appeare graue, and to apply great and weightie matters.* *Cato* the Censor was wont to say, and to repeat often to his souldiers, this, which euerie one should well remember; *If with trauell you doe any good and honest thing, the trauell vanisheth, the vertuous act remaineth: But if to please your foolish desire, you commit some leaudnesse; that filthie desire flieth away, but the wickednesse abideth, sticking alwaies to the soule as a brand which can neuer be raced out.* I haue read a certaine Christian and memorable exhortation tending to this end, The effect whereof is this;

Gods will is, that the way which to the Heau'ns doth lead,
Should be rude, rough, and steepe, ill-fauour'd for to tread:
And he vouchsafeth not the entrance in his gates
To men benum'd with Sloth; a thing he hiely hates.

We might produce many examples of Idlenesse, but they are very triuiall and common: among the rest there be two worthie the remembring, of two kings of Ægypt, who not able to liue in quietnesse themselues, hated those extremely that were sloathfull. *Herodotus* writeth that *Sesostris* was the first of all the kings of Ægypt, that with a fleet of ships passed the Arabian Gulfe, and brought in subiection the inhabitants about the coast of the red sea: Afterward, returning back againe, he entred with a huge Armie into the firme land, assaulting and subduing all that euer he encountred; and so passing out of Asia into Europe, ouercame the Thracians, and the Scythians. Departing thence, he drew towards Colchos, and the riuer Phasis. If he met with warlike people, that fought cheere-

In the 2 booke of honest discipline chap. 12. *Plutarch.* in his life.

In Auth. de monach. & c. col. 10, *tit.* 133.

In the 4 booke of his lawes.

In his first booke of Offices. *Plutarch.* in his life.

Lib. 2.

cherefully and valiantly in defence of their libertie, he cauſed certaine Mount-ioyes of ſtone to be ſet vp in diuers places of the countrey, wherein was grauen the kings name, his kingdome, and the ſucceſſe of his victorie, with addition of certaine notes teſtifying the valour of that people. And as for others that yeelded without blow-ſtriking, and ſhewed themſelues womaniſh, he cauſed to be grauen vpon the ſame Mount-ioyes the tokens of their idleneſſe and cowardiſe. *Alexander* of Alexandria, and *Pierius Valerianus* make mention hereof. An other king of Ægypt, named *Amaſis*, made an expreſſe law againſt idle and ſlothfull perſons: which was, That once a yeare euery man ſhould appeare before the Nomarcha or Gouernor of that Iuriſdiction wherein hee liued, to yeeld an account, and make it appeare before him, what meanes he had to liue vpon. Hee that failed, or was found to be a Loiterer, was puniſhed with death. *Solon* borrowing this law of the Ægyptians, made it to be of force in his Commonwealth with great honour, and the Athenians obſerued it with great commendation. Whereupon *Athenæus* noteth, That the Areopagites (the Iudges for life and death in Athens) followed carefully the ſame law in euery terme and tittle. For he ſaith expreſſely, that *Phanodemus*, *Philochorus*, and many other Hiſtorians doe write, That the Areopagites called in queſtion, condemned, and very ſharply puniſhed all diſorderly perſons, makers of good cheere without working, and ſuch as did eat vp their wealth. Whereupon the ſame *Athenæus* bringeth in this example following: There was, ſaith he, two young Athenians, *Menedemus* and *Aſclepiades*, much giuen to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, but poore. The Areopagites according to their charge determin to ſend for them, and to examine them how they liued, conſidering they were in good ſtate, went euery day to the Lectures, and yet they had no reuenue to keepe themſelues withall. They being adiourned to anſwere, prayed, that a certaine Baker whom they named, might alſo be warned to appeare, and that he might be interrogated about their behauiour. This Baker depoſed, That euery night theſe two young men came by turnes to his houſe, and there wrought at the Mill; in the morning he that had laboured, went his way, carrying with him for his wages a Drachma of ſilũer, being about a groat ſterling. The Counſell wondering at the trauell of theſe two young men, ordeined, that there ſhould be giuen them out of the common treaſurie two hundred drachmaes in commendation of their vertue.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 22. *de dieb. genial.* *Lib.* 34. of the *Hieroglyphicks.*

Plutarch in his life. *Lib.* 4.

For this cauſe is the induſtrie and diligence of *Scipio Africanus* much praiſed, who was wont to ſay, *That he was neuer leſſe alone, than when he was alone.* And the other *Scipio* ſurnamed *Naſica* anſwering ſome that ſaid, That the affaires of Rome went well, ſeeing Carthage was ruin'd, and the Greekes were made ſubiect to the Romans: *We are*, ſaith he, *in greater danger than euer we were, ſeeing wee haue no more enemies to feare and to fight againſt.* He knew that it is profitable for vs to haue aduerſaries by occaſion, ſeeing that ſo long as they ſtand vp, we may not be ſuffered to ſit couring vpon the ground, and to doe nothing. At this old *Cato* glanced, who would haue euery one that thought to enter into any credit, bethinke with himſelfe what account he might be able to make, not of his trauaile only, but alſo of his reſt. For Hiſtories do ſhew, That the greater part of the moſt excellent Romans, from the beginning of their Commonwealth, haue wrought with their hands. Whereof we haue example in *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, who from the plough was brought into the Counſell-chamber. In thoſe times all the chiefe men of the citie liued in the countrey; and if there were cauſe of aſſembling the Councell, they were called from their farmes to the Senat-houſe. Hence came the old prouerbe among the Plow-men; *That the beſt manure is made*

Titus Liuius, *Plutarch*, and others, witneſſe it.

of the Lords steps in the land: And, *The masters eye fattens the horse and the field.* The Censors also blamed him that plowed ill, and punished him that plowed least and harrowed most. *Cato* spake thereof thus, as *Gellius* writeth: *If any man,* saith he, *did suffer his field to be ouergrowne with weeds, and weeded it not: if hee did not plow it and harrow it: if he let his trees or his vine be vntrimd or vndrest, he was punished, and condemned to pay a fine by the Censors.* *Ouid* considered this trauell and good husbandrie of the Romans, when he said,

Lib. 4. cap. 13.

Lib. 1. Fast.

The Palaces that now with golden Workes are seeld,
Were then all ouer set with boughes brought from the field.
A Senator that had a Countrey life possest,
When he was ouercome with great desire to rest,
Would lay him downe on straw (that was his onely bed)
And get a wadde of hay to lie vnder his head.
The Pretor hauing left his Plough-taile, would come home,
To iudge in Hall and Street with iust and rightfull doome.
And if a Siluer boule in any house were seene,
The Owner had beene thought a Traitor to haue beene.

The Ancients liked well the Apophthegme of the Spartans, who said, *That a man should call vpon the Gods, and keepe his hands working,* because they neuer heard idle fellowes. To this purpose *Cato* said, *We get not our succour from the gods by effeminat praiers and requests: all things fall out well to those that Watch, that Labour, that Consult: if thou giue thy selfe to Sloth and Idlenesse, in vaine thou prayest to the gods, who are then angrie and wish thee ill.* The old Romans were of the same opinion, who worshipped and reuerenced with sacrifices, certaine little gods or Patrons, putting them in mind of trauell, and among the rest, *Agenorius, Stimula,* and *Strenua:* saying, That the one prouoked them *agere,* to doe or to worke; the other *stimulabat,* spurred them forward thereunto; and the third made those that laboured *strenuos,* strong and valiant. And they would not assigne a chappel within the citie to the goddesse *Quies,* which signifieth Rest, but appointed her one in the suburbs. Therefore *Ennius* said in his Tragedie called *Iphigenia,* as *Gellius* reporteth it:

In Salust. in coniurat. Cat.

Lib. 19. cap. 10.

Who cannot leasure vse, and idle time out-weare,
Is troubled more in mind than if he busied were.
For hee that knoweth well himselfe how to employ,
Will settle thereunto, and follow it with ioy.
The Idler doth not know what will his purpose be,
For neither at the Boord, nor in the field is he.
He ploddeth heere and there, and euer hauing bin
At his proiected end, he must againe begin.

But not to stand alwayes vpon the lawes, precepts, and actions of the Pagans, let vs heare what the holy Scripture saith, in the which Idlenesse is no lesse condemned and branded than other vices. *Salomon* in his Prouerbs doth censure it liuely, when *hee adiudgeth the Sluggard to beg in Winter, because hee would not plow his ground in season.* Euery one knoweth that which the Apostle saith, *If any will not worke, let him not eat.* And it is a common sentence, *That euery man shall receiue his wages according to his worke.* *Ignatius,* a disciple of the Apostles, and of their time, said; *Let no idle person eat, for feare lest hee become a Robber and a Ruffian.* Againe, *Let none be idle among you: for Idlenesse is the mother of want.* To come againe to the holy Scripture; It is said in the booke of *Iob*, *That man is borne to labour, as the Bird to flie.* Let vs ioyne hereto the notable saying of Saint *Augustine, That God approoueth*

Pro. 10. 5.

2. Thess. 3. 10.

In his Epistle to those of Antioch.

To those of Tarsus.

Iob 5. 7.

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the Almes which proceedeth of iuſt Trauell. But Idleneſſe is merely deteſtable, *Which* (according to Saint *Bernard*) *is the kindler of wicked thoughts and affections*. No man was receiued into the Monaſteries of Ægypt (ſaith the ſame Father) if he could not take paines, and applie himſelfe to labor, not ſo much to gather goods, as for the ſoules health. For like as Brambles grow in a ground that is not laboured, and Toads in mariſhes and ſtanding waters: ſo doe leaud and wicked thoughts heape together in an idle heart. Our mindes are created and made fit to doe ſomething: Trauell fatneth them, reenforceth them, delighteth them; Idlenes melteth and conſumeth them. And as a Bow would be bent, ſo the mind requireth the ſame, and is marred if it be kept looſe and vnbent. It can neuer reſt; but will giue it ſelfe to doing of euill, and run riot, yea, and will plunge it ſelfe in all kinds of execrable filthineſſe, rather than doe nothing. Sathan neuer putteth his ſleights ſo much in practiſe, as when he diſcouereth Idleneſſe: then doth diſſolution put it ſelfe into the field, aſſaulting not onely women, but the ſtouteſt men that are, as *Lodouicus Viues* wiſely warneth Chriſtian women.

In his letter to *Ruſticus*.

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Lib. 1.

Papyrius Maſſon writeth, That by the conſent of *Stephen* Biſhop of Rome, and in fauour of *Pepin*, *Childerick* the king was depoſed, ſhauen, and confin'd within a Frierie, by an example profitable for the Commonwealth, admoniſhing kings not to ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome of Idleneſſe, much leſſe to make a vertue of it. For Idleneſſe hath euer been the deſtruction of Noble and moſt excellent families. Therefore in all well gouerned countries and commonwealths, Loiterers and vagrant perſons are narrowly look't after; and diligent inquirie is made, whence they are, and how they liue in their places where they ſwagger and cut it out ſo brauely. And particularly in Saxonie there be certaine ordinances made by the Electors, by which In-holders and keepers of Ordinaries, Tauernes, and Tap-houſes are forbidden to lodge ſuch vnthrifts aboue three daies: And if they walke from one Tauerne to another, and are ſpied, they are brought before the Iudges of the place, who examine the matter diligently, and puniſh them as they ſhall deſerue. And namely there is a citie in Miſnia, called Weſſenfels, vpon the borders of Turingia, where they vſe to make very ſtraight ſearch after ſuch Rogues and Vagabonds: inſomuch as at a gallows ſet vpon a little hill neere to the high way, one may commonly ſee ſuch naughtiepackes both men and women hang by dozens. For it hath been auerred by the proceſſe, that ſuch monſters are very often indited, found guiltie, and condemned of thefts, robberies by the high way, and other horrible crimes: and not without cauſe, ſeeing no bodie will thinke that a man can liue by the aire, as *Alexander* the Emperour ſaid.

In his 1. booke of the Annals of France.

L. fin. C. de alim. pupil. præſtand.

This conſideration hath occaſioned the Ancients to enact lawes and ſtatutes againſt exceſſiue & ſuperfluous expenſes. The Corinthians were of this number, as indeed their citie had need of ſuch phiſicke, of which *Athenæus* maketh mention after the Poet *Diphilus* in one of his Comedies entituled the Marchant, where he bringeth in one of the Players, ſaying:

Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Wee haue in Corinth this good Law in vſe;
If wee ſee any perſon keepe great cheere,
We make inquirie, Whether he doe worke,
Or if he haue Reuenues comming in?
If either, then we ſay no more of him.
But if the Charge exceed his Gaine or Rents,
He is forbidden to run on his courſe:
If he continue it, he payes a fine:

If he want wherewithall, he is at last
Taken by Sergeants and in prison cast.
For, to spend much, and neuer to get ought,
Is cause of much disorder in the world.
One in the night-time filcheth from the flocks;
Another breakes a house or else a shop;
A third man gets a share his mouth to stop.
To beare a part in this good fellowship,
One feignes a suit his neighbor to molest,
Another must false witnesse beare with him:
But such a crue we vtterly detest
And banish from our citie like the pest.

For conclusion, *Poliphilus* in his Hipnerotomachia hath a good expositon of Hieroglyphicall figures in these tearmes.

EX LABORE DEO NATVRÆ SACRIFICA LIBERALITER. PAVLATIM REDVCES ANIMVM DEO SVBIECTVM. FIRMAM CVSTODIAM VITÆ TVÆ MISERICORDITER GVBERNANDO TENEBIT INCOLVMEMQVE SERVABIT.

That is to say,

Sacrifice liberally of thy labour to the God of nature. Thou shalt by little and little bring thy soule in subiection to God. He it is that shall safely keepe and graciously maintaine thy life, gouering and preseruing it whole and sound.

CHAP. XVI.

Of lustie and stout Beggars.

I Hapned by chance vpon a booke, wherein I read these words; *There be three sorts of people that must be cast out of cities: Leapers, Dead persons, and sturdie Beggars.* Therefore it was not without cause, that God made *Moses* forbid the Iewes to suffer Rogues and Beggars to be among them: whereby we are to gather, how greatly those people haue in all times beene hated, which, like waspes, would eat the honny gathered by others, and steale that which belongeth to those that are poore indeed. Wherefore, if the Imperiall lawes ordeine, that the sonne, who by his owne industrie can get his liuing, ought no longer to be nourished nor maintained by his father: lesse to be borne with are these great knaues, that can maintaine themselues by their owne labour; nor should they be suffred to fatten themselues to the hurt of others. And therefore when any of these loytering fellowes holdeth out the hand to beg, it were a better almes to giue him a good schooling, than to bestow vpon him a piece of bread, or of money. *Plato* giueth vs a law vpon this matter, saying; *Let there not be a Beggar in our Common-wealth.* The same saith in another place. That in euery citie where Beggars are suffred to walke, there filchers, cut-purses, breakers of shops, hie-way-thieues, and other such naughtie fellowes doe commonly swarme. The Emperours *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* haue made almost the like law, inserted in the Code of *Iustinian*, vnder the title DE VALIDIS MENDICANTIBVS. There is also a constitution made by *Charlemaigne*, forbidding to giue any thing to these Beggars: and willing, *That euery countrey should nourish their poore, that such as are able and strong should get their liuing, and that their labour should furnish*

L. si quis. §. Sed si filius. de lib. agnosc.

Lib. 11. de Legib. Lib. 8. de Repub.

furniſh what they deſire. The moderne Ordinances of the Empire haue had the like regard; for they command expreſſely that theſe dregs of the people (not worth the ground they goe vpon, and which liue onely by prey) ſhould be baniſhed out of all company.

For theſe reaſons, the ancient Sages that had authoritie in kingdomes and other publike ſtates, would neuer indure theſe coſiners, that went about to couer their knauerie with the cloake of religion, and to make merrie with others coſt. For *Valerius Maximus* ſaith theſe words of the common-wealth of Marſeilles, *Their gates are ſhut againſt all thoſe that ſeeke to maintaine their begging vnder colour of deuotion: being of this opinion, that ſhameleſſe and masked ſuperſtition ought to be driuen farre away.* We haue an excellent leſſon in Eccleſiaſticus, where the Author of that booke ſaith, *My ſonne, lead not a Beggars life; for better it were to die than to Beg. The life of him that dependeth on another mans table, is not to be counted for a life: for he tormenteth his ſoule after other mens meat; but a wiſe man and well nurtured will beware thereof. Begging is ſweet in the mouth of the ſhameleſſe, in whoſe bowels there is kindled a fire.* To this, *Iohannes Auentinus* ſeemeth to haue aymed, a very learned man, who ſaith theſe words; *Since theſe Begging fellowes went abroad, with the wallet on their ſhoulder, the Church was neuer at eaſe. By their new deuiſes they haue alwaies gon about to ſet the Pariſhioners againſt the Curats and Biſhops: like Rauens they haue with open throates euer fluttred after dead bodies: they haue buried the ancient writings and inuentions of the Philoſophers both Chriſtian and Pagan. Whatſoeuer gloſſe they ſet vpon their hypocriſie, yet it is certaine that God forbiddeth Begging, no leſſe than whoredome. The holy Scripture condemneth this diſorder, as an infamie altogither intollerable. The ancient Chriſtians deuided the Tenths into three parts: whereof one was for the poore, which by reaſon of old-age, or ſickneſſe, could not labour and worke. Among them, to Beg and to offend God, was all one thing.* Theſe are in effect the words of *Iohn Auentin.*

Lib. 2. cap. 1.

Cap. 40. 28. &c.

In the diſcourſe of the Turks affaires.

If it be an vnhappie, yet it is a merrie conceit that is ſet downe in the old inſtruction; willing, That to theſe great and fat lubbers that make an occupation of Begging, a man ſhould giue a piece of bread, and for a pittance, a box on the eare: the bread, becauſe a man denying ſo ſmall a reliefe to another, ſhould ſhew himſelfe inhuman: the box, to teach them to leaue ſuch roguerie; and to remember, that ſuch a leaud courſe maketh them odious to all good people, as there is iuſt cauſe.

Being vpon this Meditation, I called to minde a pretie Storie which *Ioſſe Damhoudera* reporteth in his Criminall practiſe. As I ſate (ſaith he) with ſome Counſellors of Bruges, before the gate of the towne-houſe, a Beggar that counterfeited weeping, and bare ſhew of the pooreſt wretch liuing, commeth towards vs, and deſireth ſome beneuolence, adding that he was touched with a ſecret diſeaſe, which ſhame would not let him vtter before ſo honourable a company: we tooke pittie of him, and euery one gaue him ſomewhat. One of the company bad his ſeruant to goe after this Beggar, and to ſound him what his hidden diſeaſe might be. He hauing drawne him aſide, praieth him to reueale himſelfe, and to tell what his ſecret ſickneſſe was, ſeeing he had a good freſh colour, his armes were fleſhie and round, his breaſt fat, and all the reſt in good liking; So as (quoth the ſeruant) I ſee no ſhew of any indiſpoſition in this bodie of thine. Ha, anſwereth the Rogue, full little knoweſt thou where the ſaddle wringeth me, nor perceiueſt the euill that ſtingeth me, and (indeed) it is far from thine eyes. It is a diſeaſe ſpread euerie where, and creeping all ouer my bodie; it doth ſo ranſack my veines, and the verie marrow of my bones, that there is not any lim I haue, can ſtur to labour, or to doe any worke. I haue heard that this diſeaſe

is called Lazineſſe,or Sloath. What thinkeſt thou,Is it not a ſecret and ſhamefull diſeaſe,that will take a man ſo? The ſeruant angrie at the ſhameleſneſſe of the Beggar,returneth to his maſter,of whom being asked what the ſecret diſeaſe was, he reciteth the conceit, and diſcouereth the coſinage: the gallant is ſought for,but he was gone;his nimble feet had ſaued him. A man might annex to this tale,many ſuch like,one will bring another to remembrance. *Agrippa* in his declamation deteſteth (and worthily) all this vile company of ſturdie Beggars,ſhewing by many examples and reaſons,that they are the Authors of an infinite number of euils.

Chap.65. of the vanitie of Sciences.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Ægiptians(otherwiſe called Gipſies)or Bohemians.

THere is in Germany,and ſome other countries, a ſort of people gathered togither,that wander vp and downe,and doe no good; whom the Germans call *Zigeuner*; in Italy they are called *Cingari*, in Spaine *Gittani*, in France *Ægyptians* and *Bohemians*. The opinions of their Originall and countrey are diuers. Some thinke them deſcended from the race of *Cham* the ſonne of *Noë*, and that they came foorth at firſt out of Ægypt and Æthiopia,ſo that vntill this preſent time they beare the curſe of their great grand-father,in roauing thus ouer all the world. *Polidore Virgill*, among others,bringeth them from Aſſiria and Cilicia. *Raphaell Volaterranus* thinkes they are come from the Vxians in the countrey of Perſia. But experience diſcouereth the weake ground of ſuch opinions. For theſe gadders are none elſe but camrades and companions of theeues,and a raſcally crue of idle,vnthriftie,and coſining perſons, that neuer came out of the Eaſt or other farre countries,but from the neighbour-people, and out of diuers countries,who gather togither by companies in the fields,and there take vp their lodgings,running into villages, to markets, and other dwelling places; yea ſometimes ſlip into townes, and into cities,where they truck, change,deceiue,play at faſt and looſe, filch,fetch ouer finely,and making as if they were skilfull in palmeſtrey,laugh at people in their ſleeues, looking vpon the lines of their hands,and telling them good fortune,draw a liuing out of ſuch cheating tricks, and keepe themſelues fat and in good liking;but all that they doe is to bring them ill fortune that they come neere. They tell you tales at their pleaſure,That it is enioyn'd them for certaine reaſons to leaue their countrey; That they are forſt to doe it; otherwiſe,if they ſhould faile to ſend away euery yeare ſome Carauanes of men, women and children,as it were into this kind of exile, all the reſt would die with hunger.

In his booke of the Inuentors of things.

Pierius in his Hieroglyphicks writeth, That theſe impoſtors haue borrowed their name and manner of life,from a water-ſwallow, or wag-taile, which the Latins call *Cinclus*, whoſe pourtrait repreſented to the Ancients a man exceeding needie, whereof came the prouerb mentioned in *Suidas*, *Poorer than a wag-taile.* Whereupon he ſaith,*The wag-taile being ſo poore a bird that it hath no ſetled neſt, ſignifieth (after ſome) theſe roguing Beggars that now a daies run vp and downe the world, with women tellers of fortune, and a traine of little children after them,without any place or lodging to goe to, whom the Italians call* Cingari. *Eraſmus* ſaith, That Beggars and Vagabonds are of the Peaſants called *Cincli*,and for proofe alleageth *Ælian*, who ſaith, That among the Greekes ſuch running fellowes are named *Aneſties*, that is to ſay, people that haue neither fire nor lodging. But that we may yet better

Lib. 25.at the end.

Belon in his 4 book. chap.22 thinketh that the *Cincle* is a kind of Snipe.

In his Adages. In the 12 booke of the Nature of beaſts.

better know whence these prating and cosining fellowes are, let vs heare what *Albert Crantz* saith of them: *In the yeare foure hundred and seuenteene, certaine men began to shew themselues vpon the coasts of the Baltucke sea, swarth, tan'd with the sun, clad in ragges, filthie and slouenly in all their fashions, egregious theeues, chiefly the women of their companie, and they that haue men among them. The common people call them Tartars, and the Italians Ciani. They haue a Captaine, whom they all as souldiers follow and honor. The chiefer sort are meetly well apparelled, and keepe hounds: but they haue not a foot of ground to hunt any beast in, if it be not by stealth. They change their horses often: yet the greater part of them walke on foot. Their women are caried vpon iades with their children and stuffe. They shewed forth at that time the Letters patents of king* Sigismund, *and of some princes, requiring that for their sakes they might be suffered to passe freely through the cities and prouinces, without doing them any hurt or molestation. They giue out, That for a penance they are enioyned to goe ouer the world: but that is a tale. It is found, that they are a sort of rascall beggers borne in this gadding too and fro, idle loyterers, without countrey or place to goe to, that neuer leaue rolling, liuing of that their wenches steale, leading their liues like beasts, without care or exercise of Religion, liuing from hand to mouth, gadding from one countrey to another, and comming about againe at the end of some yeares, but in new bands, so as in such places where they haue once been, there are new Gypsies found, if it be not after many yeares. In all prouinces where they passe, they receiue such men and women as will put themselues to their companie. It is a strange heape of people, speaking or vnderstanding all languages, and doing a thousand harmes to husbandmen: for while they are busie at worke in the fields, these fellows are watching how they may rifle their houses.*

In his historie of Saxonie, *lib.* 11. *cap.* 2.

Iohn Auentin hath set foorth this race of Deceiuers: and I thinke it not amisse to adde here what he saith of them, extracted out of the Annals of *Bauieres. In the yeare* 439, *the great theeues of the world began to put themselues into the field, and to walke vp and downe Germanie; heaped together of diuers people dwelling vpon the frontiers of Turkie and Hungarie, vnder the leading of a king named* Zindelon. *Wee call them* Zigener: *They liue by theft, pillage, and such money as they get for telling mens fortunes, without any controllment. They excuse themselues that they are borne in Ægypt, adding and lying impudently, That they are driuen from thence by the iudgement of God, for the sinne of their predecessors, who would not lodge the Virgin* Marie *with her child* Iesus, *and that for the same they are condemned to trot and trudge vp and downe the space of seuen yeares. I haue discouered that they speake the stile of Bergamo, and are traitours and spies, and for such doe the Emperour* Maximilian *the first, and* Albert *duke of Bauieres pronounce them by published Edicts.* And yet so greatly hath vaine superstition dulled and besotted the world, that men would thinke they committed a great sin, if they did but touch these players at fast and loose, who are suffered to beguile, to steale, to rob by the high way, with all freedom from punishment. *Nicholas de Nicholai* lord of Arfeuille, *Andrew Theuet*, and many others in their voyages into the East, witnesse that among the Turks there gad vp and down certain Friers, called Torlaquins, who in theeueries, cosinings, and mischiefes, excell our Gypsies in these parts, with whom they specially agree in this, That they meddle with telling of Fortunes by looking into the lines of ones hand.

Lib. 7. towards the end.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 18.

I will here adde but one storie of the good behauiour of one of these Torlaquins, which *Leonclauius* saith he heard from the mouth of a gentleman named *Iohn de Salzast*, who affirmed that he had beene an eye-witnesse of the fact committed. And to the same I will adde the murder of a Deruis, which is another kind of Monke as bad as the Torlaquins. *Salgast* being in Alexandria saw a Torlaquin standing by certaine Stoues of women, who hauing very earnestly eyed one of those women as she came out of the stoue, being transported with beastly furie,

furie, hee runnes at her, layes hold of her, and forthwith throwes her to the ground, and for all ſhe made great reſiſtance, had carnal knowledge of her in the preſence of a great many ſpectators of this horrible villanie. Her husband without once ſeeming angrie at the matter, begins rather to lift vp his hornes in a iollitie, and to publiſh himſelfe happie, ſaying, That a holy man by ſpeciall motion had called out his wife among all the reſt to lie with her. What a blindneſſe is this of the Mahumetiſts, eſpecially of the Ægyptians! ſaith *Leonclauius*, for end of this tale. And he writeth, That he neuer could heare that any ſuch thing had been offered in the Turks countries ſo long as he ſtaied there. For the other ſtorie it is this: In the yeare 1579, *Mechmet Baſſa*, a great Vezir, ſonne in law to the *Sultan Selim* the ſecond, a perſonage of great authoritie, and the ſecond man in all Turkie, being ſet in a hie ſeat within his houſe (as his manner was) to giue audience to all commers, he ſaw a Deruis entring within the barre of the audience, whom he very well knew. He preſently reacheth forth his hand to him, as if he would haue giuen him an almes. Wherat euery man made roome for the Monke to goe to the Baſſa; and when he was come neere to him, he drew from vnder his goats-ſkin (for that is all the apparell they were) a poinyard, with which hee gaue ſuch a thruſt into the Baſſas breaſt, that he fell downe and died in the place. They that ſtood therabouts cut this murdring Monke in pieces. Another of the ſect of the Torlaquins had offered to doe the like in the yeare 1493 to *Baiazet*, but failed of his blow. Theſe Monks apparell themſelues with a ſheep-ſkin or a goats-ſkin as theſe Deruiſes doe, but beſides they put ouer it a beares ſkin haire and all, in manner of a cloke: vnder which this Monke wore a Cymeter, and drawing it ſuddenly, the horſe whereon *Baiazet* rode, ſtartled at it, which made him miſſe of his purpoſe, and yet *Baiazet* was hurt. Then *Schender Baſſa* gaue the Torlaquin ſuch a blow with a Battle-axe which he wore, that he broke his skull, ſo as the braines flew out. *Baiazet* offended at ſuch an attempt, baniſhed all the Torlaquins out of his empire.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of humane Induſtrie. Of ſome Inſtruments of Muſicke anciently vſed.

WEe ſee in ſome places of Germanie, perſons, both men and women, that are of a wonderfull ingenious wit: And alſo ſome as well children and young folke, as thoſe that are in yeares, and broken with old age, that can find ſomething to ſet themſelues a worke with, ſo that they are able to get their liuing. I haue ſeene in a very famous citie, boyes & girles of fiue or ſix yeares old, and leſſe too, that in playing (as it were) the children haue gained ſome piece of money for the maintenance of their little life. So induſtrious is Nature to inuent Trades, out of which ſhe may hope to draw ſome eaſe and profit to maintaine her ſelfe with. She is content with a little, therein contrarie to opinion, that hath neuer ynough. If there be any people in the world handſome and fit that way, they are thoſe of the Low-countries, who are as painfull as is poſſible, nimble, diligent, and wonderfull ſparing.

The Letter of *Adrian* the Emperour to the Conſull *Seruianus*, witneſſeth that the ſame was practiſed by thoſe that liued in Alexandria. *It is a rich citie*, ſaith he, *and abounding with ſtore, in the which none liueth idle: Some make Glaſſe, others Paper; of whatſoeuer trades they are, they all appeare and are thought to be exceedingly induſtrious. The goutie both in feet and hands are ſet a worke, and the blind alſo.* Beſides this teſtimonie

teſtimonie of *Adrian*, we haue alſo the witneſſe of *Athenæus*, who writeth, That the Alexandrians were excellent Muſicians: *There are no people* (ſaith hee) *better skilled than they, nor that can play better vpon the Harpe. Moreouer, they play very well on Pipes, not onely on the ſmaller and lighter ſort, as Flutes and Bag-pipes, but alſo of Hautboyes, Cornets, and Sagbuts, and all other vſed among the Ancients:* of which *Athenæus* maketh a long deſcription in that place. *Lib.4.cap.24*

It is well knowne how great a working Muſicke hath to ſtir vp the affections of men and of beaſts; a thing which many ſtories recited by *Lilius Giraldus*, verifie: for which cauſe many other (eſpecially the Count *Balthaſar* of Caſtillion in his Courtier) commend Muſicke for an exerciſe well befitting a gentleman. *Nicephorus* reporteth a notable ſtorie to this purpoſe. In the time that the tyrant *Eugenius* raiſed the perillous warre in the Eaſt, which diuers hiſtories make mention of, money grew ſhort with the Emperour *Theodoſius*, who thereupon determined to raiſe a Subſidie, and to gather from all parts more than euer hee had done. The citiſens of Antioch bare this exaction with ſo euill a will, as, after they had diſgorged many outrages againſt the Emperor, they pulled downe his pictures, and thoſe likewiſe of the Empreſſe his wife. A while after, when the heat of their anger was paſt, they began to repent them of their folly, and conſidered in what danger they had brought themſelues and their citie. Then did they curſe their raſhneſſe, confeſſe their fault, beſought the goodneſſe of God, and that with warme teares, that it would pleaſe him to calme the Emperours heart. Theſe Praiers and Supplications were publikely ſung with lamentable tunes, and lamenting voices. Their Biſhop named *Flauianus*, employed himſelfe valiantly for the citie in that needfull time, and hauing made a iourney to *Theodoſius*, did his vttermoſt indeauour to appeaſe him. But ſeeing himſelfe reiected, and knowing that the Emperor was deuiſing ſome grieuous puniſhment; and of the other ſide not hauing the boldnes to ſpeake againe, and yet very much troubled in his thoughts becauſe of the people; there came a deuiſe into his head. At ſuch time as the Emperour vſed to be at his meat, certaine yong boyes were wont to ſing muſicke, to make him merrie: *Flauianus* wrought ſo, that he obteined of thoſe that had the charge of the boyes, that he would ſuffer them to ſing the ſupplications and praiers of the Antiochians. *Theodoſius* liſtning to that graue Muſicke, was ſo moued with it, and ſo toucht with compaſſion, that hauing then the cup in his hand, he with his teares watered the wine that was in it; and ſo afterwards forgetting all his conceiued diſpleaſure, pardoned the Antiochians. In the hiſt. of the Poets, 1. *Dial. lib.* 1. *Lib.* 12. *cap.* 43.

The power of Muſicks mouing the ſpirits, is knowne by the ſtorie which *Pauſanias* and *Strabo* write of *Tyrtæus* the Spartan Poet; who hauing firſt rehearſed his verſes, and afterwards made them to be ſung with Flutes tuned well together, he ſo ſtirred, encoraged, and enflamed his ſouldiers, that where before they were in diuers conflicts beaten, being then tranſported with the furie of the Muſes, they remained conquerors, and cut in pieces the whole armie of the Meſſenians. We read that *Timotheus* a Mileſian, and plaier on Flutes, plaied and ſung a ſong made in the honour of the Goddeſſe *Pallas*, in the preſence of *Alexander*, with ſuch an alluring grace, that the prince (tranſported with the vehemencie of that excellent Muſicke) ſtarted vp, being ſtirred in euery part, and called for his armor: And then againe, when *Timotheus* began to change his tune, and to ſound (as it were) the Retrait, *Alexander* would be quiet and ſtill. *Lilius Giraldus* reporteth a ſtorie, taken out of the Hiſtories of Denmarke, of a certaine Muſician, who did ſo excell, that he was wont to brag, That he would with his Muſick ſet his hearers beſides themſelues, making them merrie, ſad, yea and furious when he *Pauſ. lib.* 4. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Dialog* 9. of the hiſtorie of Poets.

he listed: and this he performed in the kings presence. *Gyraldus* addeth further, That he had seene the same done often at Rome before Pope *Leo* the tenth. For the rest, the Ancients had many kinds of maruailous accords of Musick, inuented for sundrie affections, as may be gathered by a letter of *Cassiodorus* alleaged by *Gyraldus*. The Dorian Musick was graue, and made persons setled, and quiet. The Phrygian, full of noise, and warlike, prouoked the minds to fight. The Æolian being sweet, appeased the trouble of the braine, & lulled men asleep. The Iasian, hie, sharpned wits, and lifted them vp to the contemplation of heauenly things. The Lydian, inuerted to cheere the Spirits, strengthened and brought them againe into forme.

Lib. 2.

Now, although Musick be of a great vertue to mooue and stir the passions of the soule, as *Douzellinus* prooueth learnedly, and with good termes: yet shall it not be amisse to ioyne vnto this Meditation, that which my late father, of happie memorie, wrote to a gentleman, a friend of his, who had asked him among other things, How far yong men should proceed in the learning of Musicke? *Whereas many will haue* (saith he) *that children should learne Musick exactly, not that of the voice onely, but also of all sorts of Instruments carried to the mouth, or but touched with the hands; that requireth a diligent consideration. But in this confusion that is now in the world, I see not how a man may throughly answer this question; for we must yeeld in many things to the custome of the time, although we see the world goe quite acrosse it. In regard of Musick, we must keepe a meane therein, if we will traine vp youth in godlinesse, vertue, and care of some dutie for the time to come: that is, that at certaine houres (which would be otherwise as it were lost) they should intend such exercise, without desire to handle and to know how to touch all sorts of Instruments. There be many Instruments of the Ancients, of which we cannot represent the forme, nor shew the vse. And as for Flutes, it is said, that* Minerua *layd them aside, because they made her cheekes swell, and her face il-fauoured to looke vpon. And* Minerua *was held among the Pagans for the goddesse of Wisdome and Vertue. Which Pagans would not suffer that yong men, of whom there was hope to serue in affaires of state, should learne Musick to make profession of it, and afterward to make shew thereof to others: but would, that youth should haue some reasonable skill therein to recreate themselues with sometimes, that so they may returne the cheerefuller to more graue and serious workes.* For, as an ancient Poet saith,

In his booke of the meanes to beare iniuries.

Affaires both publike and abroad are rul'd by Reasons might,
Not by the songs of Musick sweet, or any such delight.

This was my deceassed fathers opinion. To this may be referred that which *Cicero* saith, *That Common-weales goe according to the Musicke vsed in them. For if it be too gallant and dissolute, the men become foolish and disorderly; If graue, they carry themselues modestly.* Such are the Commonwealths, as the families are. That knew the Lacedemonians well, as they shewed towards *Timotheus* a famous Musician of the citie of Miletus; before mentioned: For he hauing found out certaine new accords, and conuerted them (by the inuention of some strings which he added to the Harp) into a melodie full of mirth and sport, they made this decree following, gathered out of *Boetius*, by *Lylius Gyraldus*. *Because* Timotheus *the Milesian, receiued into our citie, maketh no account of the ancient Musick, and hauing reiected the Harp with seuen strings, to bring in an harmony of many voices, hath corrupted the hearing of yong folke, by the multiplicitie of his strings, setting foorth Musick heretofore vnknowne, and differing accords in the place of the simple and ordinarie, making fayning s insteed of full singing, and quauering in place of an vnison: neither teaching nor singing the songs in publike after the accustomed manner; we ordaine, That the kings and the Ephori shalbe aduertised hereof: That* Timotheus *shalbe accused: That the Harp strung with*

Lib. de Legib.

In the 9 Dialog. of the Historie of Poets.

with eleuen ſtrings ſhall haue the ſuperfluous ſtrings taken away, and be kept to the ſeauen it was wont to haue: to the end, that whoſoeuer ſhall ſee the graue and modeſt carriage of Sparta, *may take heed of bringing in thither any new-fangled faſhions inconuenient and diſhoneſt, practiſed in any other place.*

CHAP. XIX.

We muſt ſhun Diſſoluteneſſe, and infamous pleaſures.

THe Ancients, when they ſaw their youths leaning betimes towards leaudneſſe and filthie pleaſure, as they doe naturally, and of a corrupt inclination that is in them; they wiſely conſidered of ſundrie meanes, firſt to turne them away from thoſe vices, and then to inure them to honeſtie and vertue. They knew, that inticing pleaſures infeeble the ſoule, ouerthrow all good nature, ruin the wit, and riſle prudence: Is there a more dangerous plague in all the world? *Seneca* giueth a good leſſon to this purpoſe, *That there be not more outragious enemies againſt any whomſoeuer, than theſe pleaſures are againſt their ſeruants: for they no ſooner lay hold of one, but they preſently throw him backwards into a bottomleſſe pit of perdition.* And Saint *Ierome* ſaid no leſſe grauely, than truly; *That ſo ſoone as the ſinne is committed, Repentance followeth it; during the time whereof, the ſinner feeleth no other thing but the ſtings of the pleaſure that deceiued him: inſomuch, as out of that which a man deſireth to correct, the matter of new offence is borne.* In the Epiſtle to *Amantius.*

Now modeſt and wiſe antiquitie hath made vſe ſometimes in this behalfe, not onely of true diſcourſes and examples come to paſſe: but euen of that alſo which is ſaid to haue befalne beaſts, whereof we haue thought good to produce here ſome reports among other. They ſay, that cattle feeding in the fields are wonderfully mooued at the ſight and ſent of the Panther: that ſmelling her, they draw themſelues into one troupe without being wood, but at her ſight, which to them is hideous: for which cauſe the Panthers hide their heads, offring all the reſt of their bodie to be ſeene, to the end they may the ſafelier doe ſome ſpoile, while the beaſts and the keepers are buſie in beholding them. *Solin. cap. 21.*

Saint *Ambroſe* vſeth an excellent compariſon to this purpoſe, of the Crab and the Oyſter. *The Crab* (ſaith he) *loueth to eat the fleſh of Oyſters: but becauſe their ſhels are hard and cloſe ſhut, he watcheth diligently when they lay themſelues againſt the ſunne; and as ſoone as they are open to take in ayre, the Crab putteth a little ſtone at the edge of the ſhell, ſo that the Oyſter cannot ſhut it: then putting his claw with eaſe into the lodging, he there rifleth all at his pleaſure. Euen ſo, when men wallow in idleneſſe, and open their hearts to pleaſures, the deuill commeth thither, and throwes wicked thoughts into them; and ſo theſe wretches not able to ſhut the ſhell that preſerued them, are deuoured.* In his *Hexam.*

Thus did the Ancients ſerue their turnes not onely with examples and Hiſtories naturall and true, but oftentimes alſo tooke a delight to aſſure pleaſant tales, for true things: or to goe very neere it, to the end that they might bind by little and little, and retaine in a louing awe the ſpirits of children, making them as well touch with the finger as ſee with the eye, the diſcommodities and miſchiefs that proceed from vnruly and infamous pleaſures. *Plato* wiſely ſheweth vs, what fables ought to be told, and what to be ſuppreſſed. Men of age and ſtaied vnderſtanding need not the knowledge of this diſtinction. For as the Bee gathereth ſweet hony out of bitter flowers, and ſtinging nettles: ſo they that are endued with iudgement may draw profit out of fables, and find pearles in the midſt of their ordure and ſtinke. This is a thing moſt knowne, *Lib. 2. de Repub.*

as

as *Plinie* alſo ſaid long agoe, That there is not ſo bad a booke, but may affoord ſome good: the dregs cannot lie ſo thick in it, but a man may thereout draw ſome cleere lickor. Or, as the French ſay in another prouerb, IL N'EST MAL, DONT BIEN NE VIENNE. *There is no ill, but ſome good may come of it.* For the reſt, fables finely inuented haue this propertie, That they turne the ſpirits round about, chiefely of the ignorant; who willingly heare fained things, and being allured with the pleaſure of the reading, conſent to that which delighteth them.

Quintil. lib. 5. of his Inſtit.

We reade to this purpoſe in *Dio Chryſoſtome* a tale both pleaſant and profitable, repeated by *Pierius* in his Hieroglyphicks. There is found in Lybia a kind of beaſt begotten by the coupling of males of diuers kinds, with the femall that bringeth foorth this beaſt; being cruell, fierce, and furious, liuing moſt an end about the ſandie ſtraits of the ſea, hunting after other beaſts whereon ſhe feedeth, but aboue all deſiring the fleſh of mankind. This monſtrous beaſt is in ſhew thus. It hath the bodie of a woman of a faire ſtature, with the breaſt bearing out, the throat ſmooth and bright, the eyes quick, powerfull and able to allure a man to loue: But from the Nauill downeward all is hard ſcales ending in a long taile of a ſerpent, which hath a head paſſing dangerous, and therein teeth, which ſhe ſheweth; without wings, but made like the Sphynx: for the reſt, not ſaying a word, but hiſſing with a ſhrill noiſe as great ſerpents vſe to doe. There were a very great number of theſe beaſts, ſwift-footed aboue all others, for the reſt ſuch as no other beaſt could brag that he neuer had beene, or could be ſet vpon and hurt by them, who employ in their hunting againſt diuers beaſts nothing elſe but ſwiftneſſe and force, which none is able to reſiſt. But as for man, if he come neere them, they offer not to ouertake him but by craft and faire ſhew, opening their breaſts, wherewith they charme thoſe that behold them, laying ſnares and offring skirmiſhes ſtrangely deceiueable, all their drift conſiſting in this, to make themſelues be well-liked, and ſought vnto. For, without making the leaſt noiſe, without threatning or ſhewing themſelues terrible, they ſtand ſtill, with their eyes modeſtly caſt to the ground, inuiting like beautifull women, and with a comely grace, all that behold them, to court and entertaine them with talke, to which they allure them by all the wily tricks that fraud and impudencie can deuiſe. But he that commeth neere them (as the manner is of voluptuous madlings to doe) he is preſently truſt vp, and carried away by them, hauing crooked hands and cloſe-hidden, till the very point of the occaſion be offred. At the ſame inſtant the ſerpent appeareth, who laying hold of this wretch, tranſpierceth him with his horrible teeth, and preſently taketh away his life: Then the ſerpent and the beaſt togither make merrie with the poore bodie. *Dio* addeth, that *Hercules* of Lybia paſſing that way, met ſome of theſe beaſts, and hauing diſcouered them a far off, made away with all the ſpeed he could; they hauing run after him a long time without ouertaking him, turned their furie againſt themſelues, renting their faces and breaſts very cruelly.

In his 5. Orat. *Pierius lib. 14.*

He ſaith, that by theſe beaſts are meant fleſhly pleaſures, and warneth vs, by the example of *Hercules* to take heed for comming neere them, but as ſoone as euer we perceiue them comming, to betake vs to our heeles, the onely way to ſaue vs out of their danger. For euen as a paſſenger that with a fained kind of modeſtie to fetch vs ouer, deſireth of vs a nights lodging, if we take him not in, keepeth on his way; but if we ſuffer him to enter, he becommeth our gueſt and companion; if we let him alone, he maketh himſelfe at laſt our maſter: So likewiſe, when the ſtings of any leaud and diſhoneſt deſire ſtirre vs, if by and by we frowne

frowne at them, they retire: If we take a pleaſure and delight in them, they maſter vs, and in the end pierce vs quite through. For carnall pleaſure the more it is frequented, the prouder it groweth; by flying it, you put it to flight. *Nathan* the Prophet of the true God, meant to giue the ſame aduertiſement in the parable propounded to king *Dauid*, comparing his concupiſcences in beholding *Bethſabe* (the wife of the valiant *Vrias*) to a paſſenger lodged in the rich mans houſe. 2. *Sam.* 12. Therefore *Thomas de Kempis*, who liued about two hundred yeares agoe, ſaith well in his booke of the Imitation of Chriſt, *That we muſt watch, eſpecially in the beginning of temptation*: becauſe the victorie is more eaſie, if we leaue not open the gate of our ſoule to the enemie, but that from within we anſwere him if he knocke, and denie him all entrance. *Chap.* 13. And this alſo an ancient Poet counſelled for a remedie againſt vnlawfull pleaſures:

Reſiſt the comming ill; for if it once take place,
There is no remedie that can the ſame diſplace.

For firſt of all, the Thought preſents it ſelfe all naked and bare to the Vnderſtanding, next commeth ſtrong Imagination, at laſt Delight, then corrupt Motion, and after all, Conſent: which maketh that the malicious enemie doth by little and little take poſſeſſion of that place, becauſe there was no head made againſt him at the entrance: and the more a man delaieth reſiſtance, the more his forces weaken, and the enemie euerie foot groweth ſtronger. Againe, let vs apply hereunto the admonition of *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, touching the Strumpet; *The lips of the ſtrange woman* (ſaith he) *drop honie-combes, and her mouth is ſofter than oyle: But the end of her is bitter as Wormewood, and ſharpe as a two-edged ſword.* Prou. 5. 3. 4. The ancient Paynims thought heereupon, when they painted the Syrens ſitting in a very faire garden, but compaſſed about with carkaſſes and dead mens heads. By which repreſentation they would ſhew, That wanton and libidinous tricks, although pleaſant at the firſt, are yet accompanied with ſhame, ruine, and horrible death. *Iames Boiſſard* hath an Embleme to this purpoſe; VOLVPTATIS VSVRÆ, MORBI. And another, the inſcription wherof is, DELECTAT ET ANGIT, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. ſhewing thereby the fruits and effects of pleaſure, ſweet at the beginning, but in the end ſharpe and of ſhort continuance. For, vnder the pourtrait of a Bee-hiue, pleaſures appeare very familiar, flattering thoſe that come neere them; but the ſting lies in the taile, & they leaue to them that retire from them nought els but repentance and griefe. Therefore was it wiſely ſaid by *Scipio* to *Maſſiniſſa*, *That we ſhould not ſo much feare armed enemies, as pleaſures that aſſault vs on euerie ſide.* But better yet by Saint *Auguſtine*, *They are right kings and lords that can maſter vices and pleaſures.* For examples obſerued in Hiſtories, it is found that Pleaſure hath ruined more princes and tyrants, than Crueltie: Witneſſes hereof are *Sardanapalus*, *Candaules*, *Dionyſius* the younger, and *Hieronymus*, tyrants of Sicilia; *Heliogabalus*, *Amintas*, *Periander*, *Piſiſtratus*, *Tarquin*, *Ariſtocrates*, *Timocrates*, *Childericus*, *Andronicus*, *Appius Claudius*, *Galeatius*, *Sforce*, *Alexander de Medicis*, *Petruccio* of Siena, *Lugtac*, and *Magel* king of Scotland, and many others, who haue all of them loſt their ſtates, becauſe they deſired to follow their pleaſures rather than vertue.

For remedies againſt Pleaſures, there is nothing better to driue them away, than Watching and Abſtinence; which *Vlpius Marcellus* gouernor of England in the time of *Commodus* the Emperor, did very well vnderſtand: for albeit he ſlept not much naturally, yet to giue himſelfe the leſſe thereunto, he refrained much from eating. And that he might not fill himſelfe with too much bread, he cauſed his owne bread to be brought him from Rome, to the end that the ſame being old, drie, and very hard, he might eat no more of it than ſhould ſerue for his

need. To this purpose is that prettie saying; *Nunquam vidi continentem, quem non vidi abstinentem:* He is neuer continent, that is not abstinent. And againe, *Luxuria non fugatur, nisi fugiatur:* The onely way to put pleasure to flight, is to flie from it.

Liuius lib.10. Decad.3. *Scipio Affricanus* said wisely to *Massinissa*; *Beleeue me, our age ought not so much to feare armed enemies, as pleasures that enclose vs round of all sides. Whosoeuer by his temperance brideleth and tameth them, doth get himselfe a greater honour, and a more excellent victorie, than we shall haue in ouercomming king* Syphax. *Lib.6. institut. cap.17.* *These shakings of the soule* (saith *Lactantius*) *are like a chariot made readie to be driuen; for the sure and safe driuing whereof, it is first of all required, That the Chariot-man doe know the way well; for then, though he driue fast, he neuer ouerturnes; contrariwise, if he be out of his way, though he goe faire and softly, either his way will be rough, or he will goe vp-hill and downe-hill, or else he will be carried whither he ought not. So man in the course of this present life, carried by his affections (horses wonderfull strong-headed, and sometimes plaine furious) shall yet quit himselfe of his dutie, if he follow the right way.*

In his booke of a Christian woman. A certaine wise Spaniard, of whom the learned *Viues* maketh mention, gaue both a prudent and profitable aduice; by meanes whereof, many yong men turned away from the allurements and blandishments of Pleasure, betooke themselues to the exercises of vertue, whereby the whole kingdome receiued great good. For the way to goe where our desire carrieth vs, is easie, and (as it were) descending downe: but the most part not knowing what good things are, seeke misfortune and ruine. I remember (saith *Viues*) that I heard it reported when I was a young boy, how that in a certaine citie of Spaine the young gentlemen abounding in wealth, and liuing idlely, abandoned themselues to riotousnesse, taking no care but for feastings, dauncings, loue-toies, pastimes and exercises of the bodie, which made them neither learned nor wise, to the great griefe of the old men, who of such beginnings coniectured a great ruine of the state: By occasion whereof, many of them consulted together both morning and euening of the meanes to remedie these disorders: plainly seeing, that after their deaths the citie should fall into most vile & wicked hands. There was one among them that propounded a very good aduise: for hauing obserued that these yong gentlemen were louers, and wholly gouerned by the wils and pleasures of their Ladies; he counselled the other old men to let their daughters and their sons wiues at home vnderstand, in what a danger the state of their citie was, which of most flourishing and happie that it had bin, should become the miserablest of all other, so soone as these hare-brains should be masters of it: and that then the women, who now gaue themselues to pleasure, swimming in all kind of delights, the state being turned vpside downe, should scarce be able with all that euer they could doe in the world, to prolong their poore and miserable life. That for these euils there rested but this one remedie, to wit, if they whom the young men so much honoured, would incite them to addict themselues to vertue and prudence, and to thinke of the meanes to preserue the publike state: Which would be easie to doe, if they would turne their backs, and cast a frowning looke vpon Dauncers, Pratlers, Plaiers, Iesters, Feasters, and Gamsters; and contrariwise, if they would graciously fauour the Wise, the Modest, the Sober and prudent, making account of them, and weighing them highly, as those that should in time to come be the stay and safegard of their country, blaming the other, as vnthrifts, naughtipacks, cast-awayes, such as would one day dishonour the citie, and bring it to ruine and ouerthrow. This counsell allowed of all, and imparted to the women, as most profitable in so great a danger, was by them carefully put in execution. The

youth

youth of that citie was in a little time so changed, as that they who were dissolute and past hope, became meerely conuerted, giuing themselues to laudable courses, and making themselues euery day more and more fit for the managing of affaires both domesticall and publike. From that time afterwards, this citie began to florish more vnder these young men, than it had done in all the time of those old, who were excelled by them in wise and vertuous gouernment. To that before said, let vs adde one sentence taken out of *Apuleius*: *If thou praise a man*, saith he, *because he is Noble, thou praisest his race. If because of his riches, that is due to Fortune.* A little after: *But if thou esteeme of him that is painefull, vertuous, and learned, thou accountest of a man indeed: for that commeth not by succession from his father, nor is subiect to the change of time, nor yet dieth together with the bodie.* In his treatise of *Socrates* his God.

CHAP. XX.

Delicacie and Dissolution ruine the Effeminat. Also of Honestie.

Athenæus in his *Dipnosophists*, hauing discourſed of the dissolution and miserable end of many effeminat persons, concludeth thus: *Let vs therefore take heed of being slaues to worldly delights, seeing they destroy our liues.* Which sheweth, that it is no new thing for men to be ouertaken with their delights and effeminat inuentions, as birds are taken in the lime; and perish vnawares in the midst of that which liketh them best, as the flie sinjeth her wings, and burneth her selfe in the candle. To begin with the sacred Historie; What other thing did that faire young man *Absalon*, *Dauids* sonne, by letting his heauie haire grow for a show, than make a rope by which he was hanged at a tree in the forrest of Ephraim? And for profane stories, we haue a worthie example of this matter in *Darius* the last king of Persia. *Chares* of Mitylene writeth (as *Athenæus* reporteth) That in the time of this *Darius*, the excessiue superfluitie of the kings of Persia had so ouerflowne it selfe, that at the royall Beds-head there was set vp a rich closet shut with a partition between, of greatnes able to containe fiue beds; within the which were alwayes kept in store fiue thousand talents of gold: right ouer against that, to wit, at the feet of the Bed royall, was another closet, ynough to hold three beds, and within that were kept three thousand talents of siluer; and it was called, The kings foot-stoole. Moreouer, in the kings chamber there was a Vine all of gold, inriched besides with precious stones, and hang'd ouer the bed in forme of a vine-frame. *Amintas* writeth, That this Vine bare grapes made of pearle of inestimable value. Neere vnto it was the cup of gold wrought by *Theodorus* the Samian, the excellentest Gold-smith of his time. These and such other delights brought *Darius* to such extremitie, that after the losse of some battels, hee that had such a precious pillow to his head, and a foot-stoole of such value to his feet, had his feet and his hands fettred, was basely throwne vp in a chariot, and at last cowardly slaine by traitors whom he refused to obey. *Plutarch* saith, That *Alexander* hauing the first time put *Darius* in rout, slaine an hundred and ten thousand Persians, and gotten the rich campe, when as entring into the stoue that was made readie for *Darius*, he saw the basons, bathing-tubs, and oyle pots, the viols and perfuming bottels all of pure gold, exquisitly wrought and laboured, all the chamber perfumed with so sweet a smell as it seemed a paradise: and then againe going out of the Bath, and entring into his tent, seeing it so high, so spacious, the bed, the table, and the making readie of supper, all in so sumptuous and magnificall an order, as it was a thing worthie of admiration, turning

Lib. 12. *cap.* 10.

2. *Sam.* 18.

Lib 5. About the beginning of the 12. booke of Dipnosoph.

In his booke of the kings lodgings.

In the life of *Alexander*.

turning him about to his Minions, he ſaid vnto them; *Tea marrie, this was a king indeed! how thinke you?* A right Philoſopher would haue laught at all this vanitie, which is at large deſcribed by *Quintus Curtius* and *Arianus* in the life of *Alexander*.

Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 18. To this Meditation may that be very well referred which we read of *Plancus Plotius* brother to *Munatius Plancus* Conſull and Cenſor of Rome. He being ſought for by the ſouldiers during the proſcription of the Triumuirat, to be put to death, and being hid in a ſure place by the faithfulneſſe of his ſeruants, was betraied by the ſmell of his perfumes and muske-bals. Whereupon a learned Poet hath made latin verſes, to this effect:

A cut-throat Crew from the Triumuirat
Demand for Plancus *to be done to death:*
His ſeruants pittying their maſters caſe,
Beſtow him in a place ſecure and free:
But his perfumes and musk-bals him betray
*Vnto the ſword wherewith he ſtricken *.*
So, many men whom Vertue might haue ſau'd,
Are by fond pleaſure of their liues bereau'd.

Lib. 2. of his Rom. hiſtorie. *Velleius Paterculus*, a worthie Hiſtorian, writeth; That the women during this proſcription, ſhewed themſelues excellently faithfull to their husbands; the free-men did good offices to their lords; the bond-men carried themſelues meetly well: but the ſonnes did not helpe their fathers any thing at all. *So hard is it for men* (ſaith he) *to defer the reaping of the fruit of that hope which they haue once conceiued. And to the end it may be knowne that the very principall had forgotten all dutie of pietie, to ſatisfie their greedie ambitions, and cruell deſire,* Marc. Annius *put into the role of the proſcripts his vncle* Lucius Cæſar; Lepidus *his brother* Paulus; *and the Conſul* Plancus *had the credit to put in his brother* Plotius.

Lib. 44. of his Hiſtorie. To the ſame purpoſe we reade the like ſtorie of *Muleaſſes* king of Tunis in Africa. For *Paulus Iouius* writeth, That he hauing beene ouerthrowne in a ſet battell by his owne ſonne *Amida*, as he was flying away to recouer his kingdome, couered all ouer with duſt and with blood, he was diſcouered in the troupe of the runnawaies by the ſent of his perfumes and ſmels, wherewith he vſed to ſweeten and beſlubber himſelfe: Being by this meanes ſtaied, and brought back againe priſoner, his owne ſonne cauſed both his eyes to be cruelly put out. Here may that be fitly brought in, which *Politian* inſerteth in his mixtures, gathered out of an ancient Greeke Author, bewraying the diſſoluteneſſe of the Sybarites; a pleaſant tale, and ſuch as will make one laugh. He ſaith, that theſe pleople did giue themſelues ſo much to delights and ſports, that they would bring into the places of their feaſts, horſes ſo taught and faſhioned, that at the ſound of the Flutes they would ſtand bolt vpright, & with their fore-feet would ſtir & wag ſo nimbly, as a moriſ-dancer would doe with his fingers, and ſo dancing withall, would keepe compaſſe and meaſure. It hapned, that a certaine Flute-plaier hauing receiued ſome great diſgrace among theſe effeminate fellowes, ran away to the Crotoniats their enemies, who but a little before had beene beaten in a skirmiſh by the Sybarites. The Fluter promiſed, that if they would employ him, and truſt to his fidelitie, he would take a courſe that all the horſemen of the Sybarites ſhould be their priſoners. They beleeued him, and thereupon he was made Colonell of the Crotoniats: then he called vnto him all the Minſtrels of Croton, and taught them with the Flute to play

Cap. 15.

play a certaine jygge: and when he ſaw fit opportunitie, he put himſelfe with his troupes into the field. The Sybarites exceeding preſumptuous and forward becauſe they ſaw themſelues a great deale the ſtronger in horſemen, come on to the fight. Suddenly, the ſignall being giuen, all the Flute-players gather togither, and begin to play with their Flutes. The Sybarites horſes, hearing the muſick, and their wonted meaſure, riſe vp and ſtand vpon their hind-feet, caſt their riders backward to the ground, and inſteed of the battell, betake themſelues to dancing and playing in the field, as they had vſed to doe in the houſes. So all theſe wanton Sybarites were taken priſoners, and their horſes too, who danced no longer than the conquerors liſted.

The Philoſopher *Crantor*, with whom *Sextus Empyricus* agreeth, diſtinguiſheth of human actions very well. The firſt place he giueth to Vertue, the ſecond to Health, the third to Honeſt pleaſure, the fourth to Riches. But it is a vaine endeuour and to no purpoſe for men to labour to rid themſelues of vices, and to make prouiſion of vertue, ſubmitting themſelues to ſome diſcipline, and carefully following the precepts of Philoſophie, which by chance may heale ſome ſcratches, not any deepe wounds of the ſoule; although (I ſay) they leuell their actions to this marke, it is all but loſt time and labour if they be not endued with the true knowledge of God, to order themſelues according to his will, and by his fauourable aſſiſtance to begin and to proceed in the right way. Saint *Auguſtin* recordeth vnto vs this leſſon. *Although* (ſaith he) *the Soule doe ſeeme with praiſe to command the bodie, and Reaſon vices; yet notwithſtanding if the Soule and Reaſon doe not ſerue God according as he will be ſerued, they neither maſter the bodie, nor yet vices, as appertaineth. For, I pray you, how can it be that the Soule which knoweth not the true God, and is no way ſubiect vnto him, but is proſtituted to the vncleane and wicked ſpirits which corrupt her, can gouerne the bodie, and bridle vices as ought to be done? Therefore, if man doe not refer to God the Vertues which he thinketh he hath, and by the which he guideth the bodie, and ouercommeth Vices, to obtaine, or to keepe any thing whatſoeuer; ſuch Vertues are rather Vices than Vertues. For albeit ſome thinke, that the Vertues are right, and worthie of that name: when they be referred to themſelues, and are not deſired but for their owne ſelues, they are but blaſts of Wind, mountaines of Pride, vnworthie ſo good a title, and are to be iudged foule ſpots of the Soule. Becauſe, that euen as that which maketh Fleſh to liue, is not of Fleſh, but aboue Fleſh: ſo alſo that which maketh Man to liue well and vertuouſly is not of Man, but aboue Man: and not onely Man, but alſo all heauenly Power and Vertue.*

Lib. 19. cap. 25. de Ciuit. Dei.

Touching the ſecond part of the title of this Chapter. Hiſtories both ſacred and profane doe ſhew how God hath alwaies iudged and puniſhed Whoremongers, Adulterie, & vncleane perſons, that haue abuſed his patience, and perſeuered in their damnable impurities. That which *Moſes* writeth of the cauſes of the Flood, and the ſtrange ouerthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha, is apparant to euery man. The Iſraelits fornicating with the daughters of *Moab*, foure and twentie thouſand of them were deſtroied. For the leaud entertainement giuen to a Leuits wife, the Iſraelits were ſeuerely puniſhed, and the Tribe of *Beniamin* almoſt aboliſhed. The family and crowne of *Dauid* had like to haue falne to the ground, becauſe of his Adultery, and of that which followed thereof. For one womans rauiſhing, Troy was ſacked. For the violating of *Lucretia* the kings were baniſhed Rome. For the like crimes, Athens and Sparta were ſoone changed. Infinite Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Potentates haue beene wip't away, for hauing polluted their perſons and offices, with Fornication, Adulterie, and other filthineſſe. The whole Empire of Rome hath borne

the markes of this fearefull iudgement of God, in the foule luſts of their princes. The Diuines and Ciuilians haue layd open the hainouſneſſe of the crime of Adulterie, in that it offendeth againſt the holineſſe of God, againſt the puritie of the Bodie and the Soule, againſt the publike and particular Honeſtie, it ouerthrowes Families, it foiſteth in vnlawfull Children, it confoundeth the right of Inheritances, it corrupteth human Societie, and cauſeth infinite diſorders. Wherefore this crime hath not onely beene condemned by the lawes of Nations that are not barbarous, but alſo ſeuerely puniſhed by the magiſtrats and people that haue had any feeling of Honeſtie and Reaſon. They that haue made but a mocke of this horrible offence, haue falne by little and little into moſt fearefull precipices of all confuſion, haue been the by-talke or ſubiect of teares to all good men that haue liued to this preſent time: And he that followeth their ſteps, draweth downe the terrible iudgements of God vpon him and his. The law of God condemneth Adulterers to die, and that moſt expreſſely; it being a law vniuerſall, and not peculiar for one people, but ruling the whole company of the children of *Adam* at all times and in all places. Likewiſe among the Pagans, the law *Iulia* puniſheth Adulterers with death. True it is (as all human lawes ſauour of the inconſtancie and vanitie of thoſe that make them, and that ſhould maintaine them) that this law grew corrupted by little and little; yet ſoone after it was reuiued againe, as witneſſeth the Emperour *Alexius*. Whereupon *Conſtantin* ordeined, That the ſacrilegious violators of Marriage ſhould be puniſhed with death. In proceſſe of time, the puniſhment was changed; for, after the woman Adulterer was whipped ſhe was ſhut into a Nunnery. *Xenophon* bringeth in an Armenian, ſaying, That Adulterers were put to death, not for hauing corrupted the women, but becauſe they quenched the coniugall affection. By the Ciuile law and the law *Iulia*, he is an Adulterer that abuſeth another mans wife by carnall copulation, whither he be married, or no. But if the married man had to doe with a woman not married, that was called by another name, to wit, *Stuprum*, as the law *Iulia* obſerueth. But the Canon law termeth all coniunction of married perſons (ſauing the coniugall copulation) Adulterie; though the one of the two be not married. Alſo God is the defender of Marriage, and he will puniſh the Adulterers. 23.9.4. The Ciuile law condemneth thoſe that haue attempted the honour of married women, and ordeineth that they ſhould be puniſhed for that attempt, albeit no effect followed.

L. Caſtit. ad L. Iul. de Adul. L. Quamuis C. eod.

L. Stupr. F. & l. 1. Cod. ad l. Iul. de Adult. C. Significe de Diuort. De extr. criminib. l. 1.

The keeping of a Concubine is vnlawfull, albeit the Roman lawes haue borne with it in the man, not in the woman: but without iuſt ground or ſound reaſon: Fornicators being excluded the kingdome of God, and for the remedie of incontinencie Marriage being permitted and declared honourable among all. Polygamie, pluralitie of wiues at once (whatſoeuer ceremonie come betweene in ſuch copulations) is vtterly vnlawfull, being condemned by the inſtitution of holy Marriage, *Geneſ.* 2.24. and by the interpretation that the Author himſelfe maketh of his meaning, *Matth.* 19.5.

L. Vnica. C. de Concub. l. in Concub.

One man is Married to one woman, and one woman to one man,
God of one bodie two did make, and of two bodies one.

Polygamie was tollerated by the Magiſtrats vnder the Law; but the example of ſome muſt not be drawn into conſequence, much leſſe into a rule or law. Pandariſme, or the practiſe of bawdrie is a thing inſupportable, being an enemie to honeſtie, a traitor to coniugall and virginall chaſtitie, a murtherer of the holy human ſocietie, a firebrand of hell, the right trucheman of the vncleane ſpirit,

was

was neuer ſuffered in a well gouerned Common wealth, and ſauors of nothing but of infamous Paganiſme and Atheiſme.

Touching Brothell-houſes, the common ſchooles of Sathan, ſet vp to ouerthrow the Temples of the Holyghoſt, and to bring in Filthineſſe to triumph ouer Shame and Innocencie; Can he that ſuffereth and alloweth them, ſay, that he euer heard this euerlaſting Law of the Higheſt ſound in his eares; *Let there be no Whoore among the daughters of Iſrael* (among the people of God) *nor a Whorekeeper among the ſonnes of Iſrael?* The Emperour *Iuſtinian* hath expreſſely forbidden them in his foureteenth Conſtitution. *Lactantius* ſaith, That the deuill was the Authour of the Stewes, to draw ſuch perſons in triumph after him, as doe proſtitute themſelues to his and their owne deſires in ſuch places. Some thinke that magiſtrates permit ſuch diſorders to auoid greater, as Adulteries, Rapes, and Inceſts. Whereunto *Cato* ſeemeth to ayme when he ſaith, That they are ſuffered as Vſurers are, to take away the occaſions of theeuing and robbing. But the Chriſtian doctrine beareth not with one fault to auoid another: And this is a true rule in diuinitie, That we may not doe any euill how little ſoeuer it be, that any good, how great ſoeuer, may come thereof. *Deuter.23.17.* *Lib.6.cap.23.*

Touching ſuch puniſhments as are appointed by the Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates of our time, againſt Adulteries, and other pollutions of publicke Honeſtie, their lawes are extant. If the confuſions raiſed vp by the vncleane Spirit (who is a lyer and a murderer) to aboliſh by his Impes all Pietie, Iuſtice, Temperance, and Modeſtie, haue beene a Sanctuarie and retrait for a number of wicked men; If Gouernours of people haue been content to make Ordinances in paper, and haue let vices goe vnpuniſhed: God who hath begun to enter into iudgement with them and their people, liueth ſtill as he hath liued in times paſt, and ſeeth ſtill as he hath ſeene heretofore, and will go on with that which he hath begun. His rods lie a ſteeping in vinegre, he is cutting thongs out of the leather of Europe, and his yrons are euery day in the fire.

But let vs now adde ſome conſiderations concerning the meanes of preſeruing Honeſtie, for good men to prouide both to themſelues and their familie, to the end they bee not plunged in theſe infamous pollutions of the world. One of the chiefe remedies, is Abſtinence from wine and meates. *Bee not drunke with wine* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *for therein is exceſſe.* And *Salomon* wrote long afore that, *That wine maketh a man to looke vpon ſtrange women, and his heart to ſpeake leaud things. Lot being drunke with wine, committed Inceſt with his owne daughters.* And our Sauiour exhorteth vs earneſtly, *To take heed leaſt at any time our hearts bee ouercome with Gluttonie and Drunkenneſſe and cares of this life.* The ſecond remedie, is to flie Idleneſſe. *Loue not too much ſleepe* (ſaith the Wiſe man) *for feare leaſt penurie oppreſſe thee.* Sleepe is an enemie to labour and diligence: The ſoft bed engendreth vncleane thoughts, and hee that lieth wallowing on his couch, thinketh more vpon the ſatisfying of his diſhoneſt pleaſures, than of any other thing. The third is, To ſhun the companie of vncleane perſons, and ſuch as are neuer content but when they may vſe vnchaſte words, and vnſeemely geſtures. He that toucheth pitch, ſhall be defiled with it. Euill words corrupt good manners. A man ſhall learne to howle with wolues: and he that dwelleth with a creeple, ſhall halt with him. *Dina* the daughter of *Iacob* would needs conuerſe with the Infidels, and ſuch as were ſtrangers to Gods Couenant, by whom ſhe was rauiſhed, and ſhe was the cauſe beſides of great euils. It is reported, That *Henrie* the third perceiuing that many diſſolute perſons prepared great reuellings and other doings, which *Epheſ.5.18.* *Prou.23.33.* *Geneſ.19.36.* *Luc.21.34.* *Prou.20.13.*

which they meant to ſhew at his marriage in Ingelheim, daſht it all, and gaue order, that the money appointed for Muſicians, Iuglers, and Mummers ſhould be giuen to the poore. But the world ſcorned to follow his example, eſpecially for theſe hundred yeares. The fourth, conſiſteth in the containing of women, eſpecially maids, in ſome conuenient decencie, according to the exhortation and doctrine of the Spirit of God by his holy Apoſtles. For, except the wanton faſhions inuented within theſe few yeares in deſpite of Chriſtian ſimplicitie and modeſtie, be not repreſſed; the gate is wide open to all licentiouſneſſe and villanie, and we draw neere to the damnable age, that of vice will make vertue. The other remedies are, To baniſh euerie diſhoneſt countenance and word; to auoid the ſights and diſcourſes of vnchaſt perſons; to embrace labour fit for our callings; to liue ſoberly, yea and auſterely ſometimes; to behaue our ſelues in houſhold according to the rules of the Apoſtles, which preſcribe the honeſt dutie of the husbands and the wiues; that the widowes and ſuch as are vnmarried, remember alſo their dutie according to Gods word, whoſe bleſſings are aſſured to thoſe that liue honeſtly: as contrariwiſe, his horrible curſes hang ouer the heads of thoſe men and women who by Fornication, Adulterie, Inceſt, and other execrable contaminations continue to abuſe his long patience and clemencie.

1. Tim. 2. 9.
1. Pet. 3. 3.

The end of the firſt Booke.



THE SECOND BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of Gentleneſſe towards bruit Beaſts.

ALbeit that all bruit Beaſts were created for the vſe and profit of man, to whom they were committed after his fall, and his domination ouer them confirmed againe after the flood: notwithſtanding this, libertie muſt be altogether exempted from tyranny and crueltie, as it was expreſly inioined by almightie God to his people Iſrael when he forbad, that the *dam which ſate vpon her young, or vpon her egs, ſhould not be taken away with the neſt.* The rudeneſſe therefore and crueltie of ſome lobs and lowts towards ſuch beaſts as are bred and accuſtomed to the ſeruice of man, and which theſe bruitiſh fellowes threaten, beat, hurt, torment, euen as their choller and ſome other violent paſſion driueth them, is not to be endured and borne withall. For although the poore beaſts may ſometimes do that which moueth vs, and whereby we receiue ſome offence in our bodies, or in other things belonging to vs; yet we cannot ſay, they doe vs iniurie, conſidering they had neither the thought, nor deliberation of any ſuch thing: but either age or trauel, ſometimes hunger, and oft times the blockiſhneſſe or vnhandſomeneſſe of thoſe by whom they ſhould be guided and gouerned, maketh them do ſuch things as their nature moueth them to, and whereunto neceſſitie enforceth them. For good cauſe therefore is that Perſian named *Pharnuchus* condemned as barbarouſly cruell; for that being one day on horſebacke, his dog running acroſſe his horſe legs, had made the horſe ſo kicke and fling for feare, that he caſt his maſter to the ground; who cauſed the horſe to be brought by his ſeruants to the place where he had kept ſuch a flinging, and there by the commandement of their cruell maſter, they hought him, and cut off his legges.

Geneſ. 1. 2. 9.

Deut. 22. 6.

Let vs ioyne to this ſtorie that which *Sabbas de Caſtilion* a Milanois, knight of Saint *Iohns* of Ieruſalem reporteth: whether it be a thing true, or fabulous, it is worth the relating. He ſaith he read in a little booke (not remembring the Authours name) that there was once in Calabria a law made, That who ſo would complaine againſt any man of Ingratitude, was bound to ring a certaine little bell appointed for that purpoſe; at the ſound whereof certaine commiſſioners met

Lib. intit. Ricordi. cap. 122.

met togither, who hauing heard the complaint and defence of the parties, if they found that the partie grieued had cauſe to accuſe him againſt whom he complained, of ingratitude; they would preſently award the defendant to make the plaintife ſome ſatisfaction, vnder paine of a great fine; and this arbitrement was to be performed without any delay. Now it hapned, that a Calabrian, hauing for ſome yeares togither drawne ſeruice out of a horſe of his (which by trauell and old age was falne blind, ſcabbed, lame, and altogither vnprofitable) drauc and beat the poore jade out of the houſe, ſo that wanting meat he was faine to feed poorely abroad, pittifully tormented with waſpes and other flies. The horſe limping and ſeeking for ſome ſhadowie place, lighted vpon a chappell, which he taking for a ſtable, findeth the way into it, and in the ſame hung the little bell before mentioned. By chance there ſtuck at the bell-rope the ſame time ſome boughs of trees, which the beaſt tugging and drawing at, the bell therewith made a noiſe: The Iudges preſently come togither after the accuſtomed manner, and finding no bodie there but the horſe, which they ſaw ſo leane and in ſuch ill plight, they made him be brought into the market-place, and cauſing the owner to be called before them, ſtraitly enioyned him to take his horſe into his houſe againe, to feed him, and to vſe him in all reſpects as he was wont to be vſed in his ſtrength and ableneſſe to trauell: naturall equitie requiring, That, for as much as the horſe had ſpent his yeares in his maſters ſeruice, he ſhould in his old age be maintained by him. This law was iuſt, and the ſentence that followed thereof commendable, although giuen in the behalfe of a poore beaſt.

In the bookes where hee treateth of Benefits.

For good cauſe therefore doth *Seneca* call him vnthankefull, that denieth the receiuing of a benefit, that doth not requite it, that diſſembleth it; but him aboue all, that forgetteth it. Which ſheweth, that nature hateth nothing ſo much as an vnthankefull man: ſhe hauing imprinted certaine markes of thankfulneſſe and remembrance of good turnes, euen in bruit beaſts, as in elephants, lions, dragons, eagles, and wolues, whereof diuers examples are found in Hiſtories, and which a man may make a whole volume of. They that haue written the Hiſtorie of beaſts ſay, That the ſparhawke hauing in the depth of winter ſeiſed vpon a ſparrow, keepeth it aliue, and all the night laieth it to her breaſt, to heat and keepe warme her bodie therewith: in the morning ſhe letteth it flie away without any manner of harme, & all that day will be ſure not to ſeeke for her prey towards that part whither it flieth for the good turne ſhe receiued of the ſparrow. The like is reported of the eagle and pigeon. *Ælianus* writeth a ſtorie of the thankfulneſſe of a dragon, in theſe termes: There is in Achaïa a citie called Petra, where a yong boy bought a very little dragon, and fed it by hand, making much of it, and playing with it, and laying it in his owne bed. When it was great, and full growne, the citiſens fearing leaſt it ſhould doe them ſcathe, ſent it away into a wilderneſſe. The boy being alſo growne a man, as he returned within a few yeares after from a feaſt with ſome of his companions, certaine theeues lighted vpon them; he beginning to crie for helpe, behold the dragon came vnlooked for, who falling in hand with the theeues, diſpatcheth ſome, puts the reſidue to flight, and ſaues the life of his benefactor. If this tale of *Ælianus* written a great while ſince, be true, it is a worthie and admirable thankefulneſſe. We may adde to this dragon the Lion healed by *Androdius* the Roman ſlaue, whoſe life the Lion ſaued a good while after: the ſtorie is written by *A. Gellius*, and by *Ælianus*; and ſince newly ſet foorth in rich verſe by the lord of Bartas in the ſixth booke of his firſt Weeke.

Lib. 13. *cap.* 46.

Weeke. This picture of thankefulnesse in creatures deuoid of reason should induce men to shew themselues (as their dutie also requireth) the more carefull to requite any good receiued. For it hath beene rightly said by the Sages, *That we must shun an vnthankfull man*, because there is not any thing that can so much rend the vnion of mankind as that fault: As (contariwise) thankfulnesse is a good thing, and much to be desired, for that it bindeth and glueth hearts togither. Therefore it is not without cause that in our Imperiall lawes we haue the naturall obligation of acknowledging a benefit. For which cause the Athenians also suffered that vnthankfull persons should be sued at the law: and good reason, seeing the commerce of giuing and receiuing benefits (without which the life of man can hardly continue) is annihilated and brought to nothing by the careleſnesse of the vnthankfull person. *And it is a point of humanitie* (saith *Plutarch*) *to cherish the Horses whose backs are broken with trauell; and not the yong dogs onely, but also those that can runne no more.* Also we see, that the field of Bountie is more spacious than the field of Iustice. For we employ not the lawes, nor execute Iustice but vpon men; but gentlenesse and curtesie extendeth euen to beasts, and that proceedeth of Bountie. Therefore we must not thinke to serue our turnes of beasts, as of shooes or other houshold things, which we cast away when they can serue vs no more: but we ought to deale kindly with beasts, if it were for no other reason but to accustom our selues to humanitie. And therefore we read that old *Cato*, although otherwise an excellent person, was taxed for this, That he made his old slaues, and his oxen that could worke no more, to be sold away, and for that he let goe a horse very leane and in ill case, whose seruice he had vsed in Spaine while he was Consull: and indeed it is reported that he was too hard a master.

L. Sed etsi lege, S. consuluit. De petit. hered. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3.

In the life of *Cato* the Censor.

To returne to the gentle vsing of beasts: many men, after they haue beene serued of horses and of mules in dragging or carying stones for buildings both publike and priuat, haue for all their life after giuen them leaue to doe nothing, saue only to goe vp and downe and depasture, and then to come againe into the stable. *Plutarch* reporteth to this purpose, That when *Pericles* caused the temple of *Minerua* to be builded, which was called *Hecatompedon*, the stones and other stuffe were brought into the castle euery day in a number of carts and wanes drawne by mules, as the manner is: of which mules some hauing before done good seruice, and falling old and weake were cast off and let goe to feed where they could find any pasture. Among these, there was one that would come euerie day into the Ceramic street, and put himselfe before those that drew vp the stones, and would sometimes goe along by them, as it were cheering them, and encouraging them to worke: the people of Athens praysing the good nature of this beast, commanded that he should be kept at the common charge, appointing prouision for him to liue of, euen as for an old souldier, who by reason of his age could serue no more. Historiographers write of *Selim*, Souldan of the Turkes, That he freed a bay horse of his from all trauell (yet the lord of Busbeck in his Iournall, saith, That the Turks called him *Caraboulak*, that is, *cloud-black*, because he was all black) and the cause was, for that he had saued himselfe by meanes of this horses swift running vpon which he was mounted after an ouerthrow he receiued in a battell of his father *Baiazeth*, neere to a citie called Chiurli. *Ferdinand* king of Naples gaue the like dispensation to a horse of his. And it hath beene found true (they say) by diuers proofs, that the horses had a certaine knowledge proper & peculiar to them: As indeed there haue beene some (and *Solin* inricheth this discourse with many examples) that could neuer

In his treatise of the industrie of beasts. *fol.* 11.

Leonclauius, *Lonicerus*, and others, in the Annals and Histories of Turkie.

Cap. 47.

neuer be vſed but by their firſt maſters, and they would ſhew themſelues fierce and vnruly if they were changed away. They knew their maſters enemies, and would kick at them in the heat of battels: which, *Paulus Iouius* ſaith, the horſes of the Mammeluks in Ægypt were wont to doe. Moreouer, if they loſt thoſe that dreſſed them, and whom they loued, there haue beene ſome that haue let themſelues die with hungar: as *Ælian* witneſſeth of one *Socles* an Athenians horſe, who ſeeing himſelfe too well beloued of that beaſt, which would vſe to faune vpon him infinitly, and fearing ſome ſhame, ſold him away; which the horſe tooke ſo heauily, that it was impoſſible to make him eat euer after, and ſo he let himſelfe pine to death. Theſe be rare qualities, and not to be found but in a kind of horſes more generous than others are that haue not ſo much vnderſtanding.

Lib. 6. of the hiſt. of beaſts. cap. 44.

Furthermore, we reade in diuers hiſtories, That there haue beene monuments erected for three mares that woon the priſe for running beſt and ſwifteſt three ſeuerall times in the Olympick games, as *Herodotus* witneſſeth. Men write alſo of the buriall of the horſes of *Cimon*, and of *Alexander* the great, whoſe horſe called *Bucephalus* (ſo called either becauſe of his great head, or becauſe he had the marke of a bulls head ſet vpon his ſhoulder) would not endure that any but his maſter ſhould get vpon him: and when *Alexander* came neere him, the horſe would of himſelfe kneele downe, to giue him aduantage, and knew as well as could be whom he carried, ſaith *Quintus Curtius* after many other. We reade in *Dio*, That the Emperor *Adrian* cauſed a tombe to be made, and a pillar to be ſet vp, and therein an Epitaph to be grauen for his horſe called *Boryſthenes* wherevpon he vſed to hunt. And *Iulius Capitolinus* witneſſeth that the Emperor *Verus*, ordained that there ſhould be a tombe erected in the Vatican for his horſe *Volucer*, (which he loued ſo well, that he vſed him rather like a man than like a beaſt) and made for him a Statue of gold. So likewiſe *Steuen* king of Poland, who reigned of late yeares with great reputation, cauſed to be ſet vp neere to the caſtle of Vilne a Statue of gold for his horſe buried there. The ſame day that the Vaiuode of Tranſſyluania brother to king *Steuen*, died, this horſe, exceeding ſtrong and ſwift, fell downe ſtarke dead in the plaine fields. There was an Epigram made thereof in Latin, which is thus tranſlated into our tongue

Lib. 6. of his hiſtorie. *Plutarch* in their liues.

Lib. 6. of the deeds of *Alexander*.

In the life of *Verus*.

Neere to Vilne caſtle in the earth was layd
The king of Polands horſe, moſt braue and ſwift:
Which dying did preſage (as fell th' euent)
That the kings brother was this world bereft.
To this faire Courſer thus with death affected,
His maſter made this Statue be erected.

There is yet to be ſeene at Rome in the vineyard belonging to the Cardinal *Sermonetta*, a pleaſant monument of a certain mule (to fal from horſes to aſſes) which was found betweene Rome and Tiuoli, by *Thomas Porcache*, as he reporteth in his collection of ancient Sepulchres: grauen ouer againſt a mounting-place of ſtone, which the ancient Romans (who had not the vſe of ſtirups) were wont to vſe then, and which were ſet in the hie-waies one not far from another. The inſcription is this:

Funerali antichi di diuerſi popoli & nationi.

DIS PEDIBVS SAXVM.

CHIVCHIÆ DORSIFERÆ ET CIVNIFERÆ AC PESSVETÆ ET MANSVETÆ. CVIVS VT INSVLTVRA DESVLTVRÆ COMMODETVR PVB. CRASSVS MVLÆ SVÆ CRASSÆ BENEFERENTI SVPPEDANEVM HOC CVM RISV POS. VEXIT ANN. III. MENS. XV. DI. ET NOCT. 2 ⅓

The

The grace of it cannot wel be expreſſed in Engliſh, becauſe of the featie conceits this Epitaph ſheweth to haue with the ancient Epitaphs erected to men and women, which began commonly with theſe words DIS MANIBVS SACRVM. I leaue the reſt to the conſideration of the curious Reader. To end this Meditation of curteſie towards beaſts; Hiſtories alſo ſpeake of the burying of dogs. *Xantippus* cauſed his dog to be hid in the ground vpon a promontorie, which had followed by ſea the galley wherin he went from Athens to Salamina, ſwimming along by the gallies ſide: and as ſoone as he was arriued, his breath failed him, and he died ſuddenly. The place where he was hid, was commonly called, *Cynoſcema*, that is, The dogs graue. *Plutarch* in the life of *Themiſtocles.*

By ſuch curteſie (of which we haue produced diuers examples) the Ancients haue made proofe of their gentle nature, and would ſhew to poſteritie, that Ingratitude is a deteſtable vice: and that whoſoeuer ſhall accuſtome himſelfe to be worſe than a beaſt towards beaſts, will not thinke much at laſt to be cruell towards men. For the reſt, it cannot be denied, but that the names of vertues, which ought to be proper to men, are alſo ſometimes attributed to beaſts; as Magnanimitie, to Lions; Strength, to horſes; Prudence and Fidelitie to dogs.

CHAP. II.

Of the heroicall nature of Lions, tormented in ſome Countreys with Gnats to the death.

WE read many wonderfull and almoſt incredible things of the marueilous nature and great courage of Lions. Among other things, when this beaſt is hunger-driuen, he ſeemeth to be mad: but when he hath eaten his fill, he is eaſily won, and tamed: in a word, he neuer doth much harme, if he be not prouoked. The Lions that are bred in the country of Suſa in Perſia, haue a great mane, and are crowned, very nobly-minded, forbearing to touch men, but when they are hungar-ſtarued and cannot find other prey of great or ſmall beaſts. Wherupon *Plinie* writeth, That the Lion is the only beaſt of all other that ſheweth meekneſſe to that which maketh reſiſtance againſt him: for when he hath ouerthrowne any, he pardoneth whomſoeuer it be that doth (as is were) intreat him; if he teare and deuoure, it ſhall be rather a man than a woman, and he neuer falleth vpon children, but when he is pincht with extreame famine. The hunting of Lions was a very hard thing at the firſt, and it is dangerous yet at this day. For they that haue trauelled to the Eaſt, and to the South, where Lions haunt, report, that many a hunter looſeth his life there. For the meanes to take them, *Beliſarius* Duke of Nerito writeth a Chapter thereof apart. And hiſtories witnes, that as this beaſt doth ſhew himſelfe very thankfull for any pleaſure done him, as it befell to *Helpis* the Samian, who vpon a certaine coaſt of Africa hauing drawne out a bone that ſtucke in a Lions throat, was in recompence of that cure fed and maintained by the Lions hunting, ſo long as his ſhip lay at anchor on that ſhore. And *Gellius* maketh mention of *Androdus* or *Androcles* the ſlaue, who was at Rome knowne of a Lion whom he had healed of a hurt, wherupon followed the ſpeech of the people, tearming this Lion the mans hoſt, and calling the man the Lions phyſician: ſo is he much inclined to reuenge himſelfe. For it hath beene tried by experience, and *Plinie* alſo confirmeth it in the place before alleaged, That the Lion being hurt, doth take exceeding good note of him that ſtriketh him, ſo that long after he can picke him out in the midſt of a troupe, *Lib.* 8. *Nat. hiſt. Cap.* 16. In his diſcourſe of hunting. *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 14.

troupe, though it be neuer so great; and then (if possibly he may) he runneth vpon him, and teareth him in pieces: witnesse hereof the memorable example in *Iuba* king of Mauritania. It is said, that this king had in his traine a braue young gentleman, and that marching with his armie by the desarts of Africa, to goe and take some order in certaine affaires, they met with a Lion, at whom this gentleman shot an arrow, wherewith the Lion being hurt, betooke himselfe into the next forrest. *Iuba* hauing dispatched that he went about, and returning with his troups the same way, the Lion among all the horsemen pickt out him that had hurt him, and with a violent course ran at him, and tare him in pieces for all they could doe to saue him: which done, the Lion being content with his exploit, and not medling with any other, retired himselfe into his den.

Lib. 4. of the hist. of beasts, *cap.* 45.

By that which *Ælianus* saith, it may appeare that Lions are endued with iudgment both to haue compassion and to shew rigor and crueltie. He writeth that a Lion, a Beare, and a Dog were nourished and brought vp together, and that for a long space they liued quietly and in peace together, as if they had been tame and of one familie. It hapned that the Beare transported with rage, rent the Dog in pieces, whereat the Lion mooued, rushed vpon the Beare that had broken the familiaritie, and tare her in pieces for that she had done to the Dog. It hath been knowne, saith *Aristotle*, that this beasts greatnes of courage is such, that he neither flieth nor feareth any thing; but if he be constrained to giue place to the hunters, because of their great number, he goeth away softly, and with a little pace, turning about oftentimes to make head, and euer now and then looking behind him: Being come into couert places, he hieth him away as fast as he can, till he be in the open plaine, then he setteth himselfe againe to march faire and softly. If he be forced sometimes to flie away in the open and champaine country, he runneth, but it is without skipping: if he be followed hard, he staieth till the hunter come neere, and then runneth vpon him, noting and assaulting him by whom he is hurt. Now the Lion is not content alone to fall vpon him that hath hurt him, but also very often, without standing vpon the hunters and the meanie, he setteth vpon those whom he seeth by likelihood to be the masters, and that are best mounted.

In his history of Beasts.

In the historie of *Alexander*.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 28.

Q. Curtius enricheth this point with a goodly example, reporting how a marueilous great lion inuaded *Alexander* at a certaine hunting, for all he was compassed about with his friends and his guards. *Robert Gaguin* witnesseth the same in the historie of France, where he saith, that a tame Lion in Auergne, being gotten out of his masters house, deuoured many men and women, vntill the owner of him being followed by a great many paisants shewed himselfe to the Lion, who taking knowledge of him, came and yeelded to him: but at the instant so many shot were discharged against him, that he was kild dead in the place.

Lib. 8. *cap.* 16. of his Nat. historie.

Moreouer, it hath been obserued, that the principall force and vigour of the Lions consisteth in their eyes; and that if one couer or blind them, they loose all their naturall fierceneſſe: and *Plinie* saith that a Getulian shepheard was the first that discouered this secret. For one day, as he would haue defended his flockes, hauing neither weapons nor companions; and seeing a roring Lion comming to set vpon him, to saue himselfe, he put off his coat, and throwes it vpon the Lions head. It hapned that the coat did so double about the necke and the head, that it couered the beasts eyes, whereby his violence so swaged, that he stood still all amazed, giuing good leasure to the shepheard to prouide for his safetie. They that seeke out the causes of naturall things attribute this force of the lions eyes, to their drieneſſe: which they proue by this, That nothing putteth lions sooner to flight, than the brightneſſe of fire. Indeed they that haue hoat and drie eyes,

feare

feare very much the bright fire. Now, as Lions exceed other beasts in force, and sudden violence; so (of the other side) the diuine prouidence hath brideled (as it were) that part which maketh them most fierce, to the end that their number increasing, might not too much damnifie men and beasts. Besides, it hath ordained that the beasts which are timorous and good for meat, are fruitfull; not willing that the race of them should decay. And therefore the females of Deere and of Sheepe bring forth oftentimes two, and sometimes more. The Hare hunted by man, by fox, by hound, by the Eagle and other birds of prey, is so fertill, that of all other, he is the only beast, whose female being great with one young, conceaueth another, and so soone as she hath discharged her selfe of that, she taketh the male and conceaueth againe. But the beasts that liue by rauening are barren in comparison of the other. *Plinie* saith, That the greatest beasts are least fruitfull. *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 63. The Lioness, a mightie and rauenous beast, bringeth forth but one Lionet in all her life, by the saying of *Herodotus*, who writeth, That when the same being a little one, beginneth to stirre in the belly of the Lioness, hauing the clawes sharper than any little beast, it pearceth her belly; and as fast as it groweth, the claws worke, and the wound increaseth, so that working it selfe out, all those parts of the belly being rent, come forth together with it. To this the fable of *Æsope* hath relation, where the Lioness is brought in, answering the Fox, who twitted her with this, That during all her life time, she brought forth but one whelpe. It is true (quoth she) but it is a Lion. Neuertheless, *Solinus* and the rest, as well ancient as moderne, write more certainely hereof, and as experience sheweth. *Solinus* saith, That the Lions haue fiue young ones the first litter, foure the second, three the third, two the fourth, and one the last, and all in the space of fiue yeares; and after that beare no more. This doubt is now dissolued; For in parkes and chases of Lions belonging to the princes of Germanie, the Lioness bringeth forth yoong oftentimes. *Lib.* 30. of his Nat. historie.

He that is the Creator of all things, the fountaine and wel-spring of all wisedome, hath repressed the Lions violence by another meane, and hath prouided that such beasts should not multiply too fast, to the annoyance of other beasts. For he hath stirred vp an enemie against him that is very vile and of no shew, yet sharpe and vncessant, and that eagrely prosecutes his purpose with such seconding force of companions like to himselfe, that the Lions can find no certaine remedie, nor safe retrait against the assault of such an enemie, but in death. Which hapneth so much the more easily, as the Lions are by nature cholericke, and vtterly inclined to furie. Therefore we read in *Virgil*,

The dreadfull furies of the Lions fierce. And in *Ouid*,
Their fuming snowt a dreadfull furie shewes.

Which *Lucretius* setteth forth in excellent verses, the substance whereof is this:

Such is the furie of the Lions fell,
Who with the force of roaring doe so swell,
That oft they burst, not able to digest
The wind of anger that doth them infest.

To proceed with our Meditation; Touching this enemie so contemptible, but most hurtfull to Lions, let vs heare *Ammian Marcellinus*, who writeth thus: *Among the marishes and thickets of Mesopotamia are an infinit number of Lions, the which during the Winter (which is calme and gentle in those countries) liue at ease. But when Summer commeth, the heat being intollerable, the lions are tormented with the heat of the Sun, and with an innumerable armie of gnats. And for that these insects doe chiefly flie at the eyes which are moist and bright, stiffely and eagrely assaulting the eye-lids; the poore lions being* *Lib.* 18. of his historie.

not able to endure any longer, run with furie to the riuers, into which they cast themselues, and are drowned: or else with sore scratching of their eyes, they pull them out, and fall starck mad. If this were not, all the East would swarme with lions. The gnats haue the better means to annoy their enemie continually (who is otherwise cruell and mightfull of all other beasts) for that the lion sleepes very little, and his eyes are glaring continually halfe open. Which hath made many thinke that the lions sleepe not at all, and the rather for that when they rest, they alwaies wag their taile. The which yet *Aristotle* denieth may be by naturall reason, namely, That a creature may liue without sleepe: although I am not ignorant that *Olympiodorus* of Alexandria writeth, That a certaine man who susteined himselfe with nothing else but with the ayre and the light of the sunne, had liued without any sleepe. The Ancients, because of this watchfulnesse of the lions, placed their statues before the gates of temples, establishing them (as it were) the guards thereof, as we see at this day in many porches, lions made of stone. *Alciatus* remembred this, speaking of watching and guarding, where he concludeth the Epigram which he made of it, in words to this effect:

In his Comment. vpon *Phædon.*

This lion fitly stands here sentinell,
For when he sleepes, he sleepes with open eyes.
His picture at an entrie, signifies
A faithfull guard, and one that watcheth well.

For which cause the Ægyptians, to represent a man carefull and vigilant, or else a porter, paint a lions head: because the lion when he waketh, shutteth his eyes; and when he sleepeth, openeth them: which is the signe of guarding. In like manner the Ancients, to signifie force, drew all the fore-part of a lion; because that is it which seemeth to be most strong and vigorous in him.

Many examples might be alleaged out of Stories, to shew, how fierce and mightie this beast is to doe an infinite sort of mischiefs. But there is one remarkable among many other, mentioned by *Plutarch*, concerning the citizens of Megara, with whom *Cassius* had left certaine lions in keeping, which he had prouided for the sports of his Ædileship. Megara being taken by *Calenus*, the citizens (ill aduised) brake open the dens wherein these lions were and let them goe, thinking the beasts would haue kept the enemies aworke, and that they in the meane-while should prouide for their affaires. But it happened quite contrarie: for the lions fell vpon the miserable Megarians being vnarmed, making such hauock of those they met withall, that the enemies themselues pittied to see so bloudie a spectacle. Such another like thing hapned in our time within the castle of Naples surnamed the New, as hath beene told by many souldiers that were there at that time in garrison. They told, how of a long time the custome was to keepe lions in a place that looketh towards the sea; some enemies comming in the night vpon that side with their gallies, and meaning to surprise the castle, set vp their ladders so secretly, as they got the wall, and entred into the void place, where falling against all expectation into the pawes of the lions, many of them were miserably torne in pieces: and the rest faine to get them downe againe with speed, followed by the souldiers of the garrison whom the roaring of the lions had awaked. We read also in the Holy historie, That God sent lions against the idolatrous and profane Babylonians or Chutæans, whom the king of Assyria had sent thither to people the countrey. When *Salmanasser* carried away the ten Tribes into captiuitie, these Chutæans were placed betweene Iudeæ & Galile, for which cause they were called Samaritans, as who would say, Wardens, or Borderers. Likewise the Prophet *Ezechiell* reckoneth vp

In the life of *Brutus.*

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foure fearefull iudgements of God againſt the wicked, namely; war, peſtilence, famin, and wild beaſts. We read alſo the pittifull ſtorie of the Prophet, who for that he tooke not heed to the commandement of God, was ſlaine by a lion. *Daniels* enemies were torne in pieces by the ſame lions, whoſe mouthes God had ſhut but a little before that they ſhould not hurt his faithfull ſeruant. *Cap.* 4. 1. *Reg.* 13. *Daniel, cap.* 6.

There be ſome lions cowardly and baſtard: but the royall (as they call them) are ſo generous and of ſuch courage, that they can alſo note men that are couragious and valiant, yea and can be affraid at their words. We reade a memorable ſtorie hereof written by *Albert Crantz*, touching *Henrie* Earle of Holſacia, ſurnamed of Iron, becauſe of his ſtrength. This Earle being gotten into great fauour (by reaſon of his valour) with the king of England, was enuied by the courtiers; who one day ſpying the abſence of the King, counſelled the Queene, That, for as much as the Earle was preferred before all the Engliſh nobilitie, ſhe would make triall whither he were ſo nobly borne as he gaue out, by letting looſe a great lion vpon him, which the king cauſed to be kept in a cloſe and ſure place: ſaying withall, That the beaſt greatly reſpected nobilitie, and would not once touch *Henrie* if he were noble indeed. They get leaue of the Queene to make this triall vpon the Earle, who had vſed to riſe before day, and to walk (for taking the aire) in the baſe court of the caſtle, looking well if all the gates were faſt ſhut: The lion is let looſe in the night, and the Earle hauing a night-gowne caſt ouer his ſhirt, with his girdle and ſword, and ſo comming downe the ſtaires into the court, meeteth with the lion briſtling his haire, and roaring. He nothing aſtoniſhed, ſaith with a ſtout voice to the beaſt, *Stand, ſtand, yee dog*. At theſe words the lion coucheth at his feet, to the great amazement of the courtiers, who looked out of their holes to ſee the iſſue of this tragedie. But the Earle did more; for he layeth hold of the lion, and ſhutteth him within his cage. Some ſay, that ſtanding by the bars of the cage, he ſaid to certaine Engliſh there preſent, If there be euer a noble man among you, let him come and doe that which I will doe. Whereupon he goeth in, and laieth vpon the lions neck the night-cap which he had worne on his head, and ſo goeth foorth without once looking behind him, the lion neuer ſtirring out of his place. Then the Earle calling to them, Let him among you all (quoth he) that ſtandeth moſt vpon his pedigree goe and fetch my nightcap. They all bled at the noſe; and vtterly aſham'd, withdrew themſelues. A while after the Earle, to free himſelfe out of the pawes of enuie which he had meetly well taken downe, got him away with the gracious and bountifull leaue of the king. In his hiſt. of Saxony, *lib.* 9. *cap.* 24.

In that booke, and the ſame chapter, *Crantz* maketh mention of another ſtrange thing which hapned in the court of *Mathias* king of Hungarie. There was (ſaith he) a Polonian ſouldier in the kings pay, a man that boaſted much of his valiantneſſe, and who in a brauado would ordinariy challenge the Hungarians to wreſtling, and to skirmiſhing with the ſword, and with the pike, wherein he alwaies had the better. His brags made him ill beloued: But among other knacks of his boldneſſe, one day as he ſtood by a great yron cage in the which a lion was kept, the greateſt and fierceſt that had beene ſeene of a long time; he begins to ſay to thoſe that were in his company, Which of you dares take a piece of fleſh out of this lions throat, when he is hungrie? None daring to take it in hand; you ſhall ſee (addeth the Polonian) the proofe of my ſpeech. All that day following the lion had not any meat giuen him: the next day they threw him the foure quarters of a ſheepe. The lion begins to grunt, to couch downe at his prey, and to eat greedily: Herewith the Polonian enters, and

locking the lion betweene his legs, giues him a blow with his fiſt vpon the iaw, crying; *Ha ye dog, giue me the piece.* The lion amaſed at ſuch a bold voice, lets goe his hold, ſhewing no other countenance, but caſting his eye after the Polonian that caried the fleſh away. The newes hereof being brought to the king, he licenſed the Polonian; ſaying, That a man ſo venturing his life vpon a iolly humour, might be corrupted by promiſes, or by money, to execute ſome notable villany. Yet he ſent him not away emptie handed, but becauſe of his valor, gaue him good preſents. The Naturaliſts ſay, as *Crantz* addeth, That the lion feareth nothing ſo much as the voice of a bold man. *Iulius Camillus* reporteth, That as he looked one day in the Tournells at Paris, out at the windowes of the ſquare tower, into the garden, with many other gentlemen, a lion that had eſcaped out of his cage, came and layd hold of him behind, all the reſt hauing ſaued themſelues here and there. Seeing himſelfe ſo taken, and abaſhed at the firſt, he ſettles himſelfe, and begins to looke vpon the lion boldly, and with a frowning eie, who preſently doffing his naturall fierceneſſe laieth himſelfe along at his feet, as it were flattering him, and asking him forgiueneſſe. *Camillus* attributeth this efficacie to ſome ſolarie vertue predominating naturally in him.

In the Idea of his theatre.

This (to conclude) hath induced me to marke that which many hold for certaine, (as both experience ſheweth, and I haue learned it of eye witneſſes and ſuch as cannot be reprooued) That lions are much afraid of the crowing and ſight of cocks, either becauſe they be more ſolarie than the lions, or for ſome hidden propertie. *Albertus Magnus* maintaineth it, as many others did before him; but he yeeldeth not this power of making lions afraid to any but to white cocks. The Poet *Lucretius*, as a diſciple of *Epicurus*, thinketh, That out of the bodies of cocks there iſſue certaine toies, idols, or images which flie right againſt the lions, ſo ſharpe and pricking that they cannot endure the violence of it: A ridiculous opinion, ſauoring of the draffe of Epicuriſme, as his verſes thereof ſhew;

In the 5 booke of the Nature of things.

The rau'ning lions cannot brooke the ſight
Of the braue cocke, if he before them ſtand:
But ſeeing him they take their ſudden flight.
For that they ſpie in him a kind of ſand
Or ſparckling moates, with ſtriking to the great
And quick eies of the furious lions, pierce
Through their eie-lids with ſuch a griefe and heat,
As they cannot endure, it is ſo fierce. &c.

Well, whatſoeuer they ſay, it hath beene found not long agoe, in the court of a prince of Germanie, That the lion feares neither cocks nor hens: For a lion hauing got looſe, and eſcaping out of the parke where he was kept, getteth by chance into a place where many cocks and hens and other pultrie were a feeding for the princes table. But he in ſteed of being afraid at their crowing and crying, fell a killing and deuouring the greateſt part of them.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſtrange antipathie and diſagreement that is betweene Horſes and Wolues.

He hath ſeene the wolfe (ſpoken of one that hath loſt his voice.) *Lupi Mœrim videre priores.*

THere be ſtrange things reported of the wolfe, a beaſt knowne euerie where, eſpecially in Germany, where he is greatly hated becauſe of his ſuttletie. But among other fabulous tales that goe of him, this of the common people is one, That the man that is firſt ſeene of the wolfe, preſently groweth diſmaied and paſt all ſenſe, euen to the looſing of his voice: As contrariwiſe,

wise, if the man haue the aduantage of seeing him first, the wolfe will not be able to howle. For though it may so fall out, that the wolfe being neere some persons, may by the contagion of his breath, either take away their speech, or cause hoarsenesse in them; which aboue all commeth very easily to fearefull persons: yet to say that the same is done alwaies, & in all places, I haue found (by leaue of *Aristotle*, of *Plinie*, and of *Solin*, great and learned naturalists) that it is a vaine persuasion; when I haue, either trauelling in the country, or walking about villages, spied wolues vnawares, that had with leasure ynough beheld both me and my companie, all and euerie part of vs.

Touching the marueilous antipathie or dissention that is betweene the horse and the wolfe, it were easie to make triall thereof. For they say, That a mare casteth her foale, if she haue toucht a wolfe, or but trod where the wolfe hath past. Therefore the Ægyptians, when they would signifie a woman that had brought forth a dead child, painted a mare treading vpon a wolfe. Some also are of opinion, that a horse, though neuer so fierce & furious, standeth still when he treads vpon the steps of a wolfe, and that his thighs become altogether benumb'd, saith *Iohn Baptista Porta* after *Pamphilus*: and that the horse refuseth to passe by the place where he smelleth the wolfe to be couered with earth. *Pierius* saith, That certain discreet men could well skill how to make their profit of this antipathie, to rid themselues handsomely of the importunitie of princes that will haue all they can get: for when they haue commanded some goodly horse to be brought them, the owner not daring to resist that commandement, hath secretly hidden vpon the way by which the horse was to be led, the guts of a wolfe, which so soone as the horse smels, he growes restie, and by no meanes can be made to goe any further, and so is reckoned but a Iade, and lead backe againe to the stable. The Ancients knew this tricke (or some other as good) as may appeare by that which is recited by *Amphion* the Theban, who furnished *Pelops* of certaine drugs to hide all along the way, wherby both the horses of *Oenemaus*, and all other that would afterwards run that way, had their edge taken off, and grew restie. In like manner, Saint *Ierome*, *Arnobius*, and others do write, That in times past the wagoners, and they that run vpon chariots, to win the prise in the playes of the Cirque at Rome (where the chariots made seauen turnes with an incredible swiftnesse, in which a marueilous dexteritie was required, for feare of ouerturning, as also a nimblenes to know how to out-strip the horses and chariots of the other competitors) did vse magicall charmes and imprecations to stupifie the horses, and to make them grow restie: Which serueth for the better vnderstanding of a certaine law found among the ancient lawes in the Code: where the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius* adiudge the magicall wagoners and runners to be put to death. *Iames Reuard* a Ciuilian hath learnedly noted that, and reporteth to this purpose a notable storie, touching the counsell which Saint *Hillarion* gaue to a Christian borne in Italie, against a Pagan of Gaza, who by his spels made his horses nimble for the course, and staied those of the Italian, who for all that (by the counsell that was giuen him) got at last the prize.

Orus Apollo in his Hieroglyp.

Lib. 1. of his *nat. Magick. cap.* 9. In his Hieroglyph. *lib.* 11.

L. Vlt. C. de Malef.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 14. of his diuers readings vpon the law.

But let vs goe on with our Meditation. There is no lesse disagreement betweene the wolfe and the horse while they are aliue. For the wolfe (a flesh-rauening beast) lieth in wait euermore for the horse as he is feeding, surpriseth him, throttles and deuoures him. Sometimes the horse defends himselfe, and with blowes with his heeles keepeth him off, and grieuously woundeth him, and so saueth himselfe with swift running away. For all beasts haue this by nature, that they know not onely the aduantages, but also the disaduantages and discommodities

Plinie li. 8. *c.* 25.

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His generous breaſt to wounds and dangers he preſents:
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That which *Iohn Lopes* a Spaniard writeth, and is alleaged by *Nicholas Boyer*, is worth the marking. He ſaith, he had heard a man worthie of credit report, That he had ſeene in Andolouſia, a braue horſe brought by deuices and ſmels, to leape a mare that had foaled him: And that when he came to ſee what he had done, with his teeth he bit off his ſtones, to the great wondring of many men that were beholders of ſuch a puniſhment. Beſides that which hath been ſaid before of the docibilitie of the Sybarite horſes, we haue a memorable example in *Dio*, who writeth, That the Parthians among other guifts preſented *Traian* with a horſe taught and trained to reuerence the prince: for he held vp his forefeet, as a ſuppliant would doe his hands, leaning his head vpon him that ſtood next to him. Now, as this beaſt being tamed, is eaſily made gentle, & becommeth (as it were) a ſeruant to men, and obedient as a dog: ſo on the contrarie, if he be fierce, vntamed, and furious, they that are not vſed to the ſight of him, will be afraid once to looke vpon him. Therfore was it not ſaid in vaine by a Poet, ſpeaking of horſes, that

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Let vs bring for witneſſes the Weſt Indians, whom the horſes (backt and managed, which they call *Pacos*) and the great dogges, did ſtrike ſo much feare into, as they feared nothing ſo much as thoſe beaſts; ſo that three men on horſeback put to flight a thouſand Indians: and it appeareth, that theſe poore people haue been ouercome and put to rowt more by the Spaniards horſes, than by the Spaniards themſelues. For which cauſe *Benzo* writeth, That the Indians were a great deale more afraid of one horſe, than of all the weapons of the Spaniards: which they did not conceale, but ſaid openly, That it was neither the courages, ſwords, launces, croſſe-bowes, nor gunnes of the Chriſtians that had ſubdued them, but their fierce and furious horſes, as both the effect and experience ſhewed. For in all places where the Spaniards were driuen to make war on foot, being not able to bring their horſes with them, they alwaies had the worſt, and were ouerthrowne by the Indians.

In the Treatiſe of Marriages, *Deciſ.* 318. *num.* 2.

In the 20. chap. of the firſt booke, In the life of *Traian.*

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CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the industrie and fidelitie of Dogs. Their Elogie, or memorable praise.

In the hist. of *Tiberius, sect.* 8. *Lib.* 5. of the Hieroglyphicks.

THere be found many discourses almost incredible in histories, concerning the industrie and fidelitie of dogs. *Dio* reporteth notable things of the fidelitie of *Sabinus* his dog. *Pierius* recounteth out of ancient Authours, that *Minerua Iliada* had a temple in Daulis, wherein certaine dogs were kept, which neuer shewed themselues gentle to any, and to be plaied withall, but to the Greekes; for against the Barbarians, they would euer be barking and still troubling and biting them. *Plinie* saith the like of *Diomedes* his birds, which were neuer seene any where else but in a certaine Isle vpon the coast of Apulia, famous for the sepulchre of *Diomedes*, and for a chappell dedicated vnto him. These birds by reason of their cryings and croakings, bred great annoiance to the Barbarians that landed there: but they fluttered & reioyced at the Grecians. The same *Pierius* reporteth ancient Authors to haue written, That neere to Mount-Gibell in Sicilia there was a temple builded to *Vulcan*, the groaue wherof was guarded by dogs (as *M. Marlianus* also reporteth, That in old Rome before *Vulcans* chappell, in the Flaminian Cirque, were certaine dogs that would neuer barke but against Church-robbers) which would run with great fawning to meet the good and deuout pilgrims: but if any that were villanous and dishoneſt came thither, they were miserably torne in pieces by those dogs. *Thomas Fazel* writeth, that the Pagans held these actions for so many miracles: but we make account (saith he) they were the deceits of Sathan. The same saith, That at this day there is not seen any trace or token of this temple, and a man cannot say in what part of the Mountaine it was. *Cœlius Rhodiginus* and *Alexander* of Alexandria write hereof at large.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 44.

Lib. 6. of the Topography of old Rome, *cap.* 8.

In the end of his 2 booke, and first Decad.

Lib. 23. *cap.* 29. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

The faithfulnesse of a dog, hath beene cause that many haue chosen to trust their liues with that beast, and to commit themselues to the good of him, rather than of reasonable men. As we read of king *Massinissa*, who by the barking of dogs freed himselfe many times out of the ambuscadoes that were laid for him, discouered a far off the comming of his enemies, stood vpon his guard, and, by the helpe of dogs, sometimes carried away the victorie. *Plinie* reporteth to this purpose, That the Colophonians tooke great care to traine their dogs and make them fit for war, in so much as they made squadrons of them, which fought in the first rankes with a wonderfull boldnesse, and would neuer giue back: Aboue all, they did good seruice in the night. We read also that the king of the Garamantes, driuen by sedition out of his realme, was re-established againe by the helpe of two hundred hunting dogs. It may be that *Henry* the VIII. king of England (according to the purport of a letter which his Ambassador sent from Spire to the king of Polonia, *An.* 1544. by the report of *Olaus Magnus*) had an eie to this prompt fidelitie of dogs, when in the armie which he sent to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth against the French king, there were foure hundred souldiers that had the charge of the like number of dogs, all of them garnished with good yron collers after the fashion of that countrey: no man being able to say, whither they were appointed to be sentinels in the night, or to serue for some stratagem for obteining the victorie. *Strabo* saith, That the like was practised in old time, and that the English dogs went to war with the Gaules: and there is mention of a Procurator or Commissarie that had charge of the dogs of Britanie, in the Emperours behalfe. And at this day there be some

Lib. 8. *cap.* 40.

Lib. 17. *cap.* 5.

ſome of them found, which *Camden* calleth Agaſe-hounds, & named Agaſæi by *Oppian*. *Andrew Theuet* ſpeaking of the king of Cephala, writeth; That when he will giue battell to his enemies, he commonly mingleth many troupes of dogs among the ſquadrons of his ſouldiers. We will hereafter make mention of a dog ſo couragious in the war, that the Indians were more afraid of his teeth, than of any other Spaniſh weapons; and that the owner receiued extraordinarie pay euerie monethfor the ſeruices that were done by that dog.

Camdenus in the hiſt. of England, in his Coſmographe. In the 18. chap. of this 2 booke.

We muſt not forget what *Michaell Voſmer* writeth of the goodneſſe and fidelitie of dogs. It is a ſtrange thing (ſaith he) that is found written in the Annals touching the dogs of *Florent* the fifth Earle of Holland and of Zeland, who being once at a hunting wounded in twentie places of his bodie, his dogs neuer forſooke him, but went with him to the caſtle of Mude, from whence being taken away, as he thought to ſaue himſelfe, he was ſlaine outright by certaine traitors and cut-throats; but the dogs neuer left the dead bodie. At the laſt when his ſeruants had taken vp the bodie to carrie it by water to the citie of Alcmar, the dogs got into the boat without eating or drinking any thing all this while. The bodie being carried into the church, they went and lay them all by it, without euer going away, but there languiſhed vntill at laſt they were driuen from thence by force. The lord *de la Scale* reciteth ſuch another example of a certaine hound belonging to one of Corſica, whoſe bodie being dead by reaſon of the cold ſnowes, the dog would neuer part from the ſame nor ſuffer any to come neere it: ſo that they were faine firſt to ſhoot the dog to death with arrowes, that ſo afterwards they might take and beare away their maſters bodie. The ſaid lord addeth, Certainely I ſhould rather erect a tombe with an Epitaph to this dog, than to the Sultan *Solyman*. In the ſame place he maketh mention of another ſtorie, which is this. A courtier enuying the credit of a certaine friend of his, or carried away with ſome other malice, came ſuddenly vpon him, and killed him, and after buried him in a place beſides the way. The partie ſlaine had at the ſame time a hound with him, who lay a long while vpon his Maſters graue. Hunger for that time ouercomming loue, he returnes home, and being ſeene without his Maſter by ſome other friends, who thought the dog had beene ſtraied from him, they bad that ſome meat ſhould be giuen him. Hauing let downe a few morcels, he returnes to the graue, which courſe he continued ſo often, that the friends of the dead began to ſuſpect, and at laſt beleeued that the dog ſought for his Maſter: They follow him, and comming to the place where the earth was caſt vp, dig into it, find the bodie, take it away, and cauſe it to be buried in another place. The ſolemnities ended, the dog keepes with them whom he had lead to this diſcouerie. A good while after, the murtherer comes againe to the court; the dog knowes him, and begins to run at him with great cries, & ſo earneſtly purſueth his point vpon him, that ſuſpition begins to enter into the minds of a great many, that there was ſome euill in the man. The dog continuing ſtil to vex him, the king was at laſt aduertiſed of the caſe, who commanded that the man ſhould be ſtraitly examined touching the fact. He affirmeth himſelfe innocent: the dog, when the murtherer denied that he knew what was become of the dogs maſter, neuer left barking and bawling; in ſo much as all that were preſent tooke the ſame as a diſproofe, that the dog made againſt him. Well, the matter proceeded ſo far, that the king ordered it ſhould be decided by a combat betweene the man and the dog. To make ſhort, the dog had the day: and the combat is painted and finely ſet foorth in the hall of a certaine caſtle in France; & the worke wearing out with age hath ſometimes

In the liues of the Earles of Holland and Zeland.

In his Diſput. againſt *Cardan*, *exercit.* 202. *ſect* 6.

times beene renewed by commandement from the king. It deſerueth (ſaith the lord *de la Scale*) to be ſet foorth in pictures of braſſe, that it may neuer periſh.

Lib. 17. cap. 32. Let vs inſert here that which *Nicephorus* writeth of a blind dog who wrought wonders, giuing againe to euerie one readily that which was his owne, and by ſignes diſcouering ſecrets. The tranſlator addeth this, That he pointed at the women with child, the whore-maſters, the adulterers, the couetous, and the valiant: Therefore men thought he was poſſeſſed with ſome wicked ſpirit. He belonged to one *Andrew* an Italian mountebanke. But I thinke it is done by the teaching of theſe plaiers of legerdemaine; for they acuſtome beaſts to vnderſtand the twincklings of their eies, their voices, the geſticulations of their feet and hands: as I haue obſerued in a little horſe, whoſe ſignes (yet) for the moſt part were falſe. There hath beene ſeene a ſea-fiſh taught to doe very ſtrange things by a certaine fellow yet liuing, but it was killed by an enuious fellow. And of late daies a Scottiſh-mans horſe gaue occaſion of great ſifting and wonderment to many perſons that ſaw him at Paris and other places. Neither muſt we forget that which *Iouian Pontanus* an Author worthie of credit writeth of his dogs, which could neuer be brought to line the bitch that had whelped and brought them vp. Beſides all this, We muſt confeſſe that there is in this beaſt I know not what particular ſenſe and aduice more than men know: as appeareth by a memorable example that hapned in our time at Nouara in Lombardie. The Swiſſers and the Frenchmen being vpon the point of giuing a battell, a great number of dogs that had followed their maſters in the war, ſuddenly left the campe of the French, and ran (as if they had beene beaten away) to the Swiſſers, and being come to them, they began to lick their feet, to fawne on them with their tailes, and to lie downe before them, as preſaging that they ſhould carrie away the victorie, and taking them alreadie for their maſters. Which thing did the more encourage the Swiſſers to the fight, from whence they returned victorious, with a very memorable ſucceſſe.

P. Iouius. P. Iuſtinian in the hiſt. of Venice, and others, make mention here of.

As I haue not vndertaken to write the whole hiſtorie of dogs: ſo neither muſt I forget, that there be ſome of them ſometimes ſo generous, that their courage increaſeth, according as the beaſts with whom they fight are ſtrong and fierce. We haue hereof a notable example in that which befell *Alexander* the great, as *Plinie* writeth. This prince being on his voiage towards the Indies, receiued for a preſent a verie great dog, which the king of the Albanians ſent vnto him, with aduice, That he ſhould not ſet this dog againſt wolues, beares, boares, and other ſuch beaſts of meane force; but againſt lions or elephants. *Alexander* deſiring to ſee ſome ſport, made a lion to be brought, whom the dog ouercame, and with a trice tare in pieces. Then he commanded to ſet an elephant vpon him, longing to ſee the iſſue of that fight. The dog ſeeing his aduerſarie, begins to buſtle himſelfe, and to briſtle his haire all his bodie ouer, and caſting out a furious bawling maketh the elephant turne taile, and proceedeth on ſo couragiouſly, that he groundeth his aduerſarie, to the great applauſe and aſtoniſhment of all that beheld it. *Solinus* recounteth the ſame ſtorie, but a little differingly, for thus he ſaith; The dogs of Albania bring vnder all other beaſts, throttle bulls, kill lions, ſtay all that is throwne againſt them: and therefore are very famous in hiſtories. We reade that *Alexander* going to the Indies receiued two of them, which the king of Albania preſented him with: one of the which ſeeing wild boares and beares brought againſt him, would not ſo much as looke vpon them, or offer to riſe from the ground; in ſo much as *Alexander* thinking that this diſdaine grew of cowardiſe and feare, made him be kild:

Lib. 8. cap. 40.

Cap. 20.

kild: But they that knew the qualitie of such dogs, and had procured them to be sent, caused a lion to be presented to the other, which he suddenly dispatched: and afterwards perceiuing an Elephant, first being very cheerefull, he tugd and trownst his aduersarie, and after cast him to the ground, to the great wonder of the beholders. These dogs grow very high, and barke with a stronger voice than the roaring of lions. Perhaps *Andronicus* his dog, Emperor of Constantinople, was of this race. This prince much hated because of his villanies and mischiefs, made himselfe be guarded, not onely with companies of strange souldiers, but also with a very great dogge, who made no bones to fight with lions, and could turne ouer a man all armed off his horse: The Guard kept watch in the night a prettie way from his chamber, and at his chamber dore this dog was tied, who at the least noise that was, made a terrible barking. *Quintus Curtius* writeth such a storie of the valour of dogs in the East Indies, foure of which in a moment defeated a very great lion, in the presence of *Alexander*. It is thought they are engendred of a Dogge and a Tigresse, and are as couragious and strong as possibly may be.

Nicetus in his Annals.

Lib. 9.

To returne to our purpose, If that which we said at the beginning of the dogs of Daulis, and of the Sybarites, seeme too stale, & scarce likely, let vs heare what *Sabellicus* a moderne historian writeth of this beast. The Rhodians (saith he) held a very strong and well fortified citie, called the castle S. *Peter*, in a place of the firme land, ouer against the Isle Coos, being the onely retrait for the Christians of Asia, that saued themselues from being slaues to the Turks. The enemie was master of all without and about this place, in so much as the citisens could not safely fetch wood or other fuell for their vse. Some bodie had told the Venetians strange things of the sence and seruice of the dogs that were within the citie, to the number of fiftie, all which the Inhabitants put forth euery night (as it were) for Sentinels. If during the night, these watchers met with any Christian, they would receiue him, and with fawning and ioy conduct him into the citie: contrariwise, if they discouered a Turke, they would first keepe a great barking, and then falling vpon him, pull him down and teare him in pieces. These are the words of *Sabellicus*. At Renes in Brittaine, at Saint *Malo*, and at Saint *Michels*, they keepe a great many dogs, that watch & ward both night and day, as I haue heard reported by many. *Plutarch* sheweth that it is an ancient custome; for he saith, That the enterprise of *Aratus*, which he vndertooke for the freeing of his countrey, had like to haue bin mar'd, by the watchfulnesse of a dog. By this it appeareth, what moued *Socrates* to sweare commonly by the dog, as *Plato* noteth; who thereby would point out an vnmatchable faithfulnesse, such as is seene in those creatures. For which cause the same Philosopher esteemeth the franke and readie nature of a dogge worthie admiration in this, that he is angrie with one hee knoweth not, and that neuer did him hurt before, and fawns vpon one he knoweth, though he reuer receiued any good from him. If I could not by strange examples, it were easie for me to confirme this by that of mine owne dog, which hath faithfully serued me in my iourney into Italie, as well going as comming backe againe; his speciall direction (next to the mercifull prouidence of God) hath made me somtimes escape great dangers, both alone and in companie: this I noted for a rare thing in him, that he would neuer in my presence fawne vpon any Italian, or Iew; but (contrariwise) would barke at them, or bite them. He hated the bitches of Italie, like serpents. And for all he was found & yong, being at Ferrara, I could not possibly make him come neere one, though she were in heat.

Decad. 3. lib. 9.

In the life of Aratus.

The marks of a good dog, and of a gentle kind, are these that follow. He must

Richard Dinoth in his Memor. of beasts.

In his booke of Hunting.

be fleshie, great, of a large forhead, and full of appearing veines, eyes blacke and flaming, eares thin and long, the necke long, the breast bearing out, the shoulders broad, the thighs high, the flanks set forward, the legs equally distant, the haire small and thicke, the colour mingled. *Belisarius* duke of Nerito discourseth amply hereof, to content the curious Reader. And *Suidas* in his Recuels representeth all sorts of dogs: Some are good for the hunting of little beasts, to sent and discouer them; others to set vpon great beasts, others to guard houses & parks: others are cushin-dogs, and for pleasure. But to close vp this Meditation, we wil adde hereunto that which *Iames Micyllus* a learned Poet hath written in praise of a dog, in good Latin verses, expressed thus in our tongue:

Of any beast, none is more faithfull found,
Nor yeelds more pastime in house, plaine, or woods,
Nor keeps his masters person, or his goods
With greater care, than doth the dog or hound.
Commaund: he thee obeyes most readily.
Strike him: he whines and fals down at thy feet.
Call him: he leaues his game and comes to thee
With wagging taile, offring his seruice meeke.
In Summers heat he followes by thy pace:
In Winters cold he neuer leaueth thee:
In mountaines wild he by thee close doth trace;
In all thy feares and dangers true is he.
Thy friends he laues; and in thy presence liues
By day: by night he watcheth faithfully
That thou in peace mayst sleepe: he neuer giues
Good entertainment to thine enemie.
Course, hunt, in hills, in valleyes, or in plaines;
Hee ioyes to runne and stretch out euery lim:
To please but thee, he spareth for no paines:
His hurt (for thee) is greatest good to him.
Sometimes he doth present thee with a Hare,
Sometimes he hunts the Stag, the Fox, the Boare,
Another time he baits the Bull and Beare,
And all to make thee sport, and for no more.
If so thou wilt, a Collar he will weare;
And when thou list to take it off againe,
Vnto thy feet hee coucheth downe most faire,
As if thy will were all his good and gaine.
In fields abroad he lookes vnto thy flockes,
Keeping them safe from Wolues and other beasts:
And oftentimes hee beares away the knocks
Of some odde thiefe that many a fold infests.
And as he is the faithfull bodies guard,
So is he good within a fort or hold
Against a quicke surprise; to watch and ward;
And all his hire is bread mustie and old.
Canst thou then such a creature hate and spurne?
Or barre him from such poore and simple food?
Being so fit and faithfull for thy turne,
As no beast else can doe thee halfe such good?

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The white colour maketh Elephants fierce, and the red, Buls. The Elephant seemeth to be endued with Iudgement and Reason, as man is. Of the Elephants enemies.

IT is a thing well knowne, that in Italie, and namely in the parts about Naples, there feed in the medowes, fields and forrests, whole herds of Buffes. But as this beast and the name of it is held a new thing, and vnknowne to our elders: so I leaue the search to other men, whether the Buffe come of wild oxen, or of some other beasts. These Buffes once stirred and heated, are very dangerous; because, that albeit nature hath created them with hornes turned backward, so that they can doe no great hurt with them; yet with the force of their bodies which are strong and massie, they can easily ouerthrow all that commeth against them. They differ quite (in regard of their hornes) from those of the Lotophagi, which are constrained, though they goe forward, to feed backward, because their hornes stand so farre out, and hang so much down vpon their nose, as in feeding forwards they should sticke them in the ground: in all other points like to other oxen, but that they haue a thicker and harder skin. To come again to our Naples Buffs; men say, That when they haue once thrown any other beasts to the ground, they lie still vpon them vntill they haue smoothered them to death. My selfe, and some companions with me trauelling in those parts, were twice or thrice in very great danger of our liues, meeting with these Buffes being put into a heat; and once among the rest, could not saue our selues from them, but that by running we recouered certaine old walles, which we clambred vpon. There is nothing that maketh them so wild and furious, as the colour of red, and so likewise fareth it with the Buls of Germanie. Therefore one day as wee past the plain of Arpi, where the Buffes feed in great herds, tumbling in marishes and ditches to coole themselues, our guide (whom they call *Procache*) was carefull to giue warning betime, that all they that wore neuer so little red about them, should take heed (if they would passe safely) to hide the same so, that the Buffes might not perceiue any part of it. The Emperour *Iustinian* in his Institutions of the Ciuile Law obserueth, that *Plutarch* likewise maketh mention hereof in a Treatie of the fortune and vertue of *Alexander*, where he speaketh of the industries of men, and the propertie of certaine beasts. *The men* (saith he) *that will entrap any of the beasts, couer themselues with skinnes, and the fowlers decke themselues with certain feathers. They that wear any red cloathes, take heed how they shew themselues before the Buls, as they that haue any white about them, shun the Elephants: because these colors prouoke these beasts to furie. Leuin Lemnius* proueth by the historie of the *Macchabees*, That Elephants cannot endure the colour of red, no more than Buls: For king *Antiochus* hauing brought two and thirtie Elephants to the fight; to make them the more fierce, caused certaine linnen clouts dyed in red to be displayed before them. He addeth, that the Elephants become more furious, and run more violently into the fight, when they are set into a heat with such a sight.

Herodot. lib. 4.

In the *Parag. Interdū de obligat. quæ ex delict. nasc.* in the first booke.

In the similitudes and parables of the Bible, *cap.* 35.

The working of nature is strange, that Buls should grow so fierce when they see any red, whereas otherwise though they be neuer so terrible, yet are they made calme and tame being tied to a fig-tree, as it is assured by many, and after other by *Michael Glycas*. Moreouer, *Hannibal* was not ignorant how violent the force and fearefull impetuositie of Bulles is when they are prouoked, seeing he vsed the seruice of them to disingage himselfe out of a streight whereinto he was driuen by the policie of *Fabius Maximus* that wise Roman Generall. It is a

In the first [illegible] of his Annals.

ſtorie well knowne, and of ancient record. But the ſtratagem of the people of the Terceres not many yeares agoe, is no leſſe memorable. They are Iſles, otherwiſe named Aſores, lying in the Weſt Ocean. After the ouerthrow of *Sebaſtian* the king of Portugall, in the battell againſt the king of Fez, and that *Don Antonio* was put to flight, driuen away, and depriued of all his claime to that kingdome, they that were in the Terceres refuſed to obey the Spaniard. Whereupon king *Philip* ſent thither an Armado, of which *Peter de Valdes* was Admirall, who had atchieued notable feats of war in the Low-Countries, in the duke of *Aluaes* time. This *Valdes* landed fiue hundred men in the Iſle, who tooke a hollow ſtraight among the mountaines, out of which they did much miſchiefe to the Iſlanders, and hard it was to driue them out of a place ſo ſtrong by nature. The inhabitants thereof deuiſed this pollicie: In the Iſle were many wild bulls running and feeding here and there, of the which, by force of dogs, of darts, and of torches they droue a great many into the narrow places where the Spaniards were incamped: the buls being wood with ſuch a driuing, ran violently and headlong vpon the whole garriſon, trampled to death one part of them, and forced the reſt to diſlodge, of whom the Iſlanders had an eaſie hand, cutting welnere all their throats.

But let vs come againe to the elephant; and ſeeing we are entred into talke of this beaſt, which ſeemeth to be endued with iudgement and reaſon like to man, in ſo much as no other creature goeth before him in this regard (without touching that which the ancient and moderne writers report at large of the docilitie, faithfulneſſe, diligence, greatneſſe of courage, clemencie of theſe beaſts, yea and of their deuotion and religion, if I may ſo ſay, and of other their affections almoſt like to mens) I haue thought good for the preſent to ſtand vpon ſome memorable particularities knowne in our time, and will begin with the diſcourſe that *Pierius* maketh of an elephant called *Hanno*, which *Emanuel* king of Portugal preſented to Pope *Leo* the tenth. The king hauing determined to ſend him to the Pope, and the ſhip wherein he was to be carried, being readie to depart, they could not get *Hanno* for ſome daies to ſuffer himſelfe to be lead to the ſea-ſide, much leſſe to goe a ſhip-board; ſo greatly he ſeemed to miſdoubt that voiage. The king diſpleaſed at the delay, promiſeth a great reward to any man that could win *Hanno* to ſhip himſelfe, or that would vndertake to carrie him aboord. None offred to doe it: but at laſt the king was ſecretly enformed, That all this was done by the cunning of *Hannos* gouernor, who being in loue with a certaine wench, had no great deſire to leaue Portugall and to make a long voiage to Rome, and that therefore he had counſelled his ſcholler *Hanno* not to ſuffer himſelfe to be carried away, making him beleeue that he ſhould be tranſported into wild and terrible deſerts in the enemies countrey, where he ſhould be mocked and outraged of all, ill fed, badly lodged, badly tended; in a word, where he ſhould be deſtitute of all neceſſarie prouiſions; beſides, that the way was long, dangerous, and all by ſea, in ſo much as it were better for him to be preſently kil'd vpon the land where at that time he was, than by ſo many waies both painefull and perillous, to vndergoe a condition altogither moſt miſerable. The king informed of this wile, commandeth the maſter to be brought before him, who hauing diſcouered this his pollicie, was there enioyned by the king to prouide, That the elephant might be imbarked within three daies after; and that, if the ſame were not done by then, the maſter ſhould be ſurely hanged for an example to all thoſe that ſhould dally with their princes commandements. The maſter ſeeing the rope twiſted, and his head halfe in the nooſe,

Lipſius hath made a great collection hereof, in the 50 Letter of the firſt booke.

In the 2 booke of the Hieroglyph.

nooſe, turneth ouer the leafe, and beginneth to teach his ſcholler a new leſſon, telling him, *That ſome enemies had gon about to deceiue him for enuie they bare to their felicitie, and to moone rebellion againſt the king; that the matter was nothing ſo as they had ſaid; for they ſhould not go into any deſerts, but to the ladie-citie of all the world, ſeated in a place the pleaſanteſt that poſſibly could be, where was abundance of victuals, and of all delicates that one could wiſh; that there was a prince whom all the world worſhipped, with whom* Hanno *ſhould haue all the beſt ſport and pleaſure he could deſire: and therefore that he ſhould be merrie, and make himſelfe readie to go cheerefully with his maſter a ſhip-boord, and ſhould aſſure himſelfe of a good and a pleaſant voiage.* Hanno changing aduice vpon his maſters new inſtruction, when the ſignall was giuen, went willingly towards the ſhip, ſhewing himſelfe all the way verie obedient and tractable.

I remember that at an Imperiall diet holden at Spire, my ſelfe and certaine friends ſaw an elephant which the good Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond had cauſed to be brought thither. This beaſt is rare in Germanie, albeit once the king of Perſia (among other exquiſit preſents wherewith his countrey abounded then) had ſent to *Charlemaigne* an elephant, named *Abulabaz*, as the hiſtories of Bauieres and of France witneſſe. We vnderſtood by the gouernor of *Maximilians* elephant many things of maruellous nature and docilitie. One of the companie at the ſame time mooued this queſtion, Whither the teeth wherwith the elephant is armed, and which come foorth of both ſides his throat, may be called Hornes, or no? many held for a thing reſolued that they ought to be called teeth, and not otherwiſe: whereupon ſome buſineſſe happing betweene, the queſtion remained as then vndecided. But afterwards thinking more exactly thereupon, I found a place in *Plinie*, where it is ſaid, That king *Pyrrhus* being the firſt that brought elephants into Italy, which were ſeene in the countrey called Lucania, they were called Lucanian oxen: whereby it appeareth that they were taken for horned, ſeeing they were ſurnamed oxen. I haue alſo read in *Pierius*, that he attributeth to the elephant hornes, and that greater and fairer than any other beaſt hath. Which he prooueth by *Pauſanius*, who maketh the elephant horned, aſwell after the example of other beaſts, that haue their hornes growing either ouer their eies, or ouer their noſtrills: as alſo, becauſe the elephants hornes in certaine ſpaces of yeares, doe fall off, and others come in their place: Againe, becauſe theſe hornes grow ſoft with the fire, which the teeth doe not. And beſides, for that the roote of the ſame hornes is in the elephants skull. But we will leaue the ſearching out of theſe things to naturall Philoſophers, and preſent heere ſome ſtories.

Auentin. lib. 4.

Guazin. lib. 4. cap. 1.

Lib. 8.

In the 2 booke of the Hieroglyph.

The lord of Busbeck Ambaſſadour from the Imperiall maieſtie of the Turke writeth, That he ſaw a yong elephant exceeding pleaſant and frollike, who danced, and plaied at tennis. *I thinke* (ſaith he, writing to a friend of his) *you will ſcarce hold laughing, when you heare of a thing ſo ſtrange; and yet I thinke not, when you remember that elephant which* Terence *ſaith walked vpon a rope; and the other in* Plinie *that was learned in Greeke: yet heare how it is, that you ſay not I tell you old wiues fables. When he was bid to dance, he would ſo ſtir his feet keeping a round compaſſe, and moone all his bodie with ſuch a grace, as yee would haue taken him for a dauncer of galliards. For tennis-play, he was ſo cunning at it, that he would nimbly with his trunke gather vp the ball that was throwne at him, and then would caſt it a great way, as we vſe to doe in that game.* We find in Authours three ſorts of elephants, namely, of mariſhes, of mountaines, and of fields. They that are borne and bred in mariſhes, haue more agilitie, and leſſe wit. The mountaniers are wicked and traitrous. They

In his voiage of Conſtantinople.

of the champaine countrey are easilieſt tamed, and apt to learne. The elephants of the Indies are the fierceſt of all other, ſo that it is a very hard matter to make them tame. They of Libya are the leaſt, which cannot abide the ſmell nor voice of man, and flie away before the elephants of India, as the euent ſhewed in that memorable battell that was fought betweene the kings *Ptolomeus* and *Antiochus*, neere to Raphia, deſcribed by *Polybius*: and which ſome thinke was foretold long before by the Prophet *Daniell*.

Lib. 5. Dan. chap. 11.

To grow to an end, we muſt not forget that the elephant, a beaſt ſo ſtrong and noble minded (in ſo much, as, beſides that he is the biggeſt and mightieſt of all earthly creatures; he is noted to be of ſuch vnderſtanding, ſo docile, and ſo conſiderat aboue all other beaſts, that he ſeemeth ſomewhat to participate with the reaſon of man) when he ſeeth two of the leaſt and vileſt creatures that be, to wit, a mouſe, and an emmot, he doth looſe by a certaine ſecret antipathie, not onely all his boldneſſe and force, but being taken with feare and fright, doth tremble and ſhake in euerie part of his bodie. A worthie leſſon to teach vs, what a vaine thing all the loftie and great ſhew of this world is: and how vpon the leaſt occaſion all force and greatneſſe vaniſheth to nothing. Beſides, nature hath oppoſed to the elephant, another enemy, fierce, mightie, and mortall, and that is the Rhinocerot: *This beaſt* (ſaith *Paulus Iouius*) *is of a lower pitch than the Elephant, but almoſt as long, comming neere the ſhape of a Buffe: for he hath his hooſes clouen, the skin of his back yellow, and ſo hard that a man cannot pierce it, ſo that it ſeemeth an armour made of ſcales: moreouer, he is armed with a verie hard and ſharpe horne of a foot long vpon the ſnout, with the which he is wont to ſtrike the Elephant into the belly, and to pierce him thorow, if he can auoide that the Elephant wring not his necke and ſtrangle him with his trunke. For they neuer encounter but the one of them is left dead vpon the place.* This maruellous antipathie appeared, when *Emanuell* the king of Portugall determined to ſend a Rhinocerot to Rome. The ſhip wherein this beaſt was carried, ſuffred ſhipwrack, and yet the Rhinocerot, faſt chained as he was, had ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming if he had had but a little part of the ſea to croſſe ouer: but in the end he was caſt vpon rocks neer the coaſt of Genes, and ſo periſhed. *Paulus Iouius* reporteth, That when they brought this Rhinocerot aliue out of the Indies, and had vnſhipt him vpon the key at Lisbon, the Elephant that was in the pallace diſcouering him by the ſent, was ſo afraid of him, that being not able to tarrie in the place, he brake with his ſhoulders the yron grates of his priſon, & being looſe, began to run ſo faſt and ſo far as he could from the Rhinocerot, caſting out ſtrange cries, roaring, foaming, and ouerturning all that he found before him. Let vs adde this one word more, That nature hath prouided thus for the Elephant, that when he is moſt mooued, and (as it were) ſtarke mad, hee ſtandeth ſtill, and is quiet, if one but ſhew him a ſheepe.

In the Elogie of *Triſtram de Cugne* a Portugais.

CHAP. VI.

Sea-water doth rather make fire burne faſter, than quench it. Certaine worthie particularities of Ships. Alſo of the names of the Citie of Rome, the true name whereof is vnknowne. And of the ſtrange ſuperſtition of the Pagans.

IN the yeare 1574, as I was at Ieina a citie of Saxonie, and at dinner with the moſt famous prince *Fredericke William*, who was then very yoong, I chanced to diſcourſe vnto him of the burning of the greateſt part of the Dukes pallace at Venice, which had hapned a little before. Thereupon his Highneſſe asked me, how the fire could make ſuch hauock, ſeeing there was no want

of

of water In such a citie as Venice is, built in the Adriaticke sea. I answered, that it had been often tried, That Sea-water hath not so much vertue to quench fire as fresh water hath: because of the saltnesse which fortifieth the heat, and increaseth the burning. By meanes whereof, both in former times, and in these dayes it was often seene, that whole fleets were consumed with fire in the maine sea. His Highnesse wondering at my answer, Doctor *Schroter*, one very skilfull in his profession of Phisicke, and of all naturall things, alleaged many good reasons, and discoursed learnedly of the properties of the Sea. *David Ytenhoue*, a learned and well experienced gentleman, was of our opinion, and therewith added his owne also to very good purpose. These speeches gaue me occasion to consider more deeply therupon, when I was returned to my lodging. I called to remembrance what I had read in *Macrobius*, touching the fat of the sea-water, and that the same cast into the fire, in stead of quenching, inflameth it: and in *Procopius*, as also in *Sabellicus*, That water cast vpon Bitume and Brimstone, doth make them burne the faster. Whereupon *Sabellicus* writeth, That in the time of Duke *Mocenigo*, Venice receiued so much hurt by fire, as euer it had at any time before: for the fire hauing flowne from the Dukes pallace (as it were in an instant) and lighted vpon the guilded chappell of Saint *Marke* neere to the pallace, the fire increased with such furie, that all the lead wherewith the chappell was couered, melted, and there was nothing left but the bare wals. Hereupon I met with a place of *Dio*, where speaking of the battell by sea neere the Cape of Actium, he saith, *After the fight had continued a long while, and that it could not bee knowne who had the aduantage,* Augustus *not hauing resolued what to doe, commaunded some fire to bee brought from his campe being on the land, which hee would neuer vse till then, because he desired to saue the spoile for himselfe and for his souldiers; but seeing he could no otherwise carrie the victorie, hee had recourse to this, as to the last remedie. And then was there seene a new manner of fight: For the souldiers of* Augustus *enclosing* Marc Antonies *ships round about, flung into them fierie darts, burning torches, and store of pots full of fire and rozin.* Marc Antonies *souldiers defended themselues so well as possibly they could. When the fire had taken in some matter easie to burne, they in the ship quenched it with fresh water that they had left; which when it began to faile them, they drew vp sea water, and as long as they powred thereof in great quantitie, the fire went no further: But when they could not employ sufficient store euery where hauing not buckets ynow to draw with, and besides being not able (by reason of the amazement and the preasse) to fill those which they had, in stead of slaking the fire, they kindled it the more. For if one throw sea-water which is salt vpon fire in a small quantitie, it maketh the fire burne the faster.*

Lib.7 cap.14.
Lib.2. of the war of Persia, Decad.2.lib.9.

In the life of *Augustus.*

Paulus Iouius in his Histories reporteth, that in a sea-fight between the French and the English, two great English ships grapling with a French vessell of extraordinarie hugenesse, called the Cordiliere, after they had a long time battered one another with canon shot, and fought with fierie speares, and pots of wildfire, at the last (as it were in a moment) they were all three miserably consumed with fire: so that there were aboue two thousand men lost, either slaine, or drowned, and there were sunke in them almost two thousand pieces of ordnance great and small. *Hubert Velleius* hath set out this fight at large, and the losse of these vessels. The like hapned in our time, in that long war betweene the kings of Denmarke and Sweden, as I haue heard from a credible person who was in the same fight. All the fleet of Denmarke hauing inuested one ship of Sweden, the greatest vessell that euer was seene vpon that sea, called (if I be not deceiued) Magala, because of a great Giant that was once named so: this ship stored with valiant souldiers, and well furnished with ordnance and munition, defended her selfe couragiously

*Lib.*71.

In his Additions to the hist. of *Gaguin.*

ragiously a great while, and could neither be taken nor sunke. At last it hapned that some fire-workes being cast into her, they lighted in the roome where the powder lay, by which meanes this great vessell fell a fire, and was lost in the sea with all that was in her. The same partie affirmed, that this vessell was very like to a strong citadell: for she was so high built, and made of such exceeding pieces of timber, so well rig'd, stopt, and pitcht, that she was found cannon proofe: and as the Mariners said, if she had bin succoured, she might alwayes haue saued her selfe, but for this accident. *Ierom Osorius* describeth such another like vessell in his discourse of the sea-battell betweene the Portugals, and the Indians of Diu, seconded by the Mammelucks of Ægypt. *There remained* (saith he) *one ship whole, which was the tallest and best rigged among them all, clad round about with raw leather, to take away the commoditie of grasping it, and also to hinder the effects of all fire, either naturall or artificiall that might be hurled against her. She was full of well armed souldiers, and the best tried and resoluteſt of all the armie. She had her hatches and her sides so strong and so thick, that the cannon could hardly enter into them. After that the Portugall ships had plaied vpon and beaten her a good while, and with great furie, she began to take in water, so that they which had defended her, forsooke her, leaping into the sea to saue themselues by swimming: but they were followed by foists, and the most of them kild among the waues: the number of those that escaped being very small.* In another place he maketh mention of a ship of Iaua Maior, so tall, as her hind-castle was a great deale higher than the top-mast of the best ship in all Portugall. The Portugals were determined to batter her a farre off, wherein they did little good; for she was so strong and of such thicknesse, that the cannon bullets tooke no more hold of her, than if she had beene lin'd with flint.

Lib. 6. sect. 10. of the historie of Portugall.

Towards the end of the 8. booke sect. 23.

We might place in the number of these ships, the great and wonderfull Carracke or Gallion of Venice, builded by the commandement of the Seigniorie with great cost, to bridle the courses of Pirats and Sea-rouers. She lying at anchor neere the citie, one euening there arose a marueilous whirling and violent wind that ouerturned and sunke her to the bottome, being ill builded (as it was said) by him that was her Wright, and it was not possible afterwards to hoise her vp either by force or cunning. The Seigniorie lost in her a huge number of cannons, and great store of munitions and prouisions, saith *Peter Iustinian*, who addeth a discourse of the rare engine that was made with great charges to draw vp this Carracke. For thus he writeth; *After that*, Bartholomew du Campe *a workeman of great cunning builded a Sea-engine full of rare inuention, to hoise vp the Gallion that a yeare before was sunke by a storme in the maine sea. The bodie was made of planks, a foot and a halfe, and two foot thicke, with a great many pumpes and deuices to draw & draine out water. It contained fiftie cubits in length, thirtie in height, and fifteene in bredth; the boards being naild and pind one neere another, which made the engine wonderfull strong. It was besides furnished with ropes and cables much greater than the ordinarie ones, with hookes, crampyrons, grapples, and strong anchors to hold the gallion diuers wayes, when he should bee raised from the bottome. The engine was towed by sea to the sides of the gallion. But all this cost was cast away: yet the excellent compacting and worke of this engine, shall preserue the memorie of the deuiser of it in honour, who had no want of happie inuention; but it pleased not God that such an enterprise should haue fulnesse of successe.* Thus saith *Iustinian*. To conclude, we may not forget that which *Lilius Gyraldus* writeth after *Theophrastus*, That wood rubbed with glew, burneth not. And that the woodden tower built at the hauen of Pyræus in Athens, being assaulted by *Sylla*, could not be hurt with fire, becausse *Archelaus* lieutenant to *Mithridates*, had plaistered it ouer with allume very thicke. The Ancients haue likewise thought the Larix, a tree of the

Lib. 14. of the hist. of Venice.

kind

kind of a Pine, or Firre (which ſome call the Pitch tree) reſiſteth fire, and is not much hurt by it: yea and ſome among them are of opinion, that in a ſcar-fire, there ſhould ſome boords of it bee caſt into the fire to quench it. But in theſe dayes it hath been tried, that it will burne, yet after it hath a good while reſiſted the fire; for it maketh neither flame nor coale, and it laſteth a long while before it be conſumed, becauſe it hath little temperature of fire and aire. *Cæſar* tried this ſecret with much aſtoniſhment in the citie of Larignum (ſo named for the abundance of theſe Larix trees that grow there) when a tower (about which the fire burnt on euery ſide) remained ſtanding, without receiuing any harme at all.

Now we proceed to the ſecond part of our Meditation, concerning the names of the citie of Rome. It is a thing eaſie to be proued by receiued Hiſtorians, that the common ſort doth not know at this day the true and proper name of the citie of Rome, and that it is not lawfull to pronounce or name it, though this citie hath been ſo much renowmed ouer all the world. For the ancient Romans haue been of opinion, that the euerlaſting preſeruation of their citie conſiſted in the ſuppreſſion of her name, no leſſe than in the ſecret keeping of the Palladium, and of the bucklers that fell from heauen, called Ancilia. This coniecture is verified becauſe we haue not any *Synonima* or word anſwering in ſignification to that of Rome. And albeit I know, that *Annius* the Commenter vpon *Berroſus* thought that the name of the citie of Rome was Romaneſſus, and that he gathered out of *Fabius Pictor* and *Varro* (as *Ortelius* ſaith in his Geographicall *Synonima*) that the ſame citie was diſtinguiſhed into foure parts, euery part whereof had his name, to wit, Rome, Velia, Germal, and Forum; and that *Feſtus* ſaith, that the ſame was called at firſt Valencia, and Cephale: yet it is moſt certain, that the Romans (moued with a particular ſuperſtition) would haue the true name of their citie to remaine hid. Which *Plinie* ſheweth in theſe words, where ſpeaking of Rome hee ſaith, *Cuius nomen alterum dicere arcanis cæremoniarum nefas habetur*, The ſecret ceremonies forbid to tell the other (that is, the true and proper) name therof. And it is well knowne, that *Valerius Soranus* was put to death, becauſe he had been ſo malepert as to publiſh this ſecret name, as *Pierius* mentioneth after *Varro* and *Solinus* in his Hieroglyphicks, where he thinketh that the Romans had the Image of the goddeſſe *Angerona* (which word the learned deriue from the greek *anchein*, which ſignifieth to repreſſe) with a mouth ſhut and hid, to ſhew that it was a thing which ought not to be enquired after, vnder what gods the citie of Rome was protected, nor what her proper name was, for feare leaſt the gods that were her patrons and guardians, ſhould be called forth and caried away to ſome other place by charmes, coniurations, and ſecret ceremonies. Yet *Muſſurius Sabinus* ſaith, That the Image of the goddeſſe *Angerona* had a muffler ouer her mouth, and was ſet vpon the altar of another goddeſſe called *Volupia*, to ſignifie, that they who ſuffer their troubles and ſorrowes, doe come by the benefit of patience to an aſſured pleaſure and ioy. *Erithræus* in his Index vpon *Virgil* (who is alſo alleaged by *Ortelius*) ſaith, That Rome had three names; one (ſaith he) is that common name that we ordinarily call her by: the other is ſecret; and *Virgill* in his firſt Eclogue hath touched it vnder the name of *Amarillis*, or of his Miſtreſſe: the third was due and referred to the ſacrifices, and it was giuen to the Florall paſtimes. *Philelphus*, from whom we take theſe things, expreſſeth it in Greeke *Anthuſa*, which is as much to ſay as Flora, or Flouriſhing, or Florence.

Lib. 36.

In fragment.

The cauſe why the Romans haue ſo carefully ſuppreſſed the ancient and proper name of their citie was (as I take it, and as hath beene ſaid before) for feare leaſt, by ſome ceremonies, according to the opinion wherewith their vnderſtandings

ſtandings were led, their patron-gods, the guardians and keepers of the citie, might be called and tolled out of the ſame. For, the ancient Pagans (as *Macrobius* diſcourſeth at large) were of this opinion, That when they beſieged any citie, they would learne of the Sacrificers (if they could) to what Genius and to what Dæmons the ſame citie was recommended: If they could get to the knowledge thereof, they attempted thoſe Dæmons by ſacrifices; which being done, they promiſed to re-eſtabliſh the citie in her former eſtate and dignitie, if the Dæmons would depart out of it for a while. Therefore *Galeot Martius* diſcourſeth thus: The Genius hath a continuall care of that thing whereof he is protector. Which cannot be, except he know the proper name of the ſame, be it citie, prouince, or any thing elſe; for the ſpirits that are tied to her proper name, are neuer drawne away from thence, except they plainely vnderſtand the name. Now, that the enemies might not doe that againſt Rome, the proper name thereof hath beene alwaies moſt carefully concealed, ſo that no perſon durſt euer publiſh it, but preſent puniſhment followed thereupon. For, if the ſpirits that are the patrons of that great citie heard theſe names, Rome, Valence, Citie (which are not proper names, but appellatiues) they neuer ſtir'd, ſo that no man could euer call them out. Thus far *Galeot*. Now, as the Caball of the magicians implieth, That the ſpirits neuer ſtir, but when they heare the true and proper name of things: ſo haue they giuen certaine proper names to euerie one of thoſe ſpirits, by which they may be called foorth; and haue aſſigned ſome to gouerne this thing, others, that. The Pagans haue beene confirmed in this ſuperſtitious opinion by many examples, when they ſaw that the patron-gods abandoned the cities, and retired to the enemies thereof. *Lampridius* writeth in the life of *Commodus* the Emperour, That in the market place at Rome were ſeene the treadings of the gods, as if they had beene gone out of the citie. And *Plutarch* ſaith in his Problemes, That the Tyrians tied their gods with chaines, not that they thought that the Diuine Iuſtice goes ſlowly after the wicked to be reuenged on them; but they had another conſideration at that time, *Alexander* hauing then beſieged them. For, many Tyrians both bare themſelues in hand and others too, that *Apollo* had appeared vnto them in dreames, ſaying, That the manners of the citie diſpleaſed him ſo ſore that he would get him away to *Alexander*. Whereupon, they ſhackled the image of this god with ſtrong chaines (as they would haue kept a man faſt that meant to run away to the enemie) and tied it to his baſe with good great nailes, calling it *Alexandriſta*. *Quintus Curtius* maketh mention thereof after *Diodorus Siculus*, and addeth, That the Tyrians tied to *Hercules* his altar (their patron) a chaine, with the which they meant to ſtay *Apollo*. *Pauſanius* alſo reporteth, That in in his time there was a verie old image of *Mars* in the citie of Sparta tied by the feet: the citiſens perſuading themſelues that with ſuch bonds they ſtaied and held this warlike god, as the perpetuall guardian of their citie and commonwealth, ſo that he ſhould neuer leaue them. See how far the ſuperſtitious dreames and dottages of the Gentiles went, when they thought that by their fooleries they could ſtop the Deitie, as one would ſtay a ſlaue. The Spartans would ſhew an image of *Venus*, ſurnamed *Morpho*, chained by the feet: for which diuers reaſons are giuen. Among them alſo was the image of *Diana* worſhipped, which *Oreſtes* and *Iphigena* brought thither when they fled from *Tauris*, and that image was bound all about with oziers. Among the Caphiats a people of Arcadia, was ſeene the temple and image of *Diana* the ſtrangled: There alſo was ſhewed another *Minerua*, that had her thigh ſwadled; they making

Lib. 3. Saturnal. cap. 9.

In his Treatiſe of mingled doctrine, *cap. 1.*

Plutarch in the life of *Alex.*

Lib. 4.

In his Laconic.

making the world beleeue that the goddesse had beene hurt by *Tydeus*, colonell of the Arcadians, when she offred to withstand him, and to compell him to follow the partie of the Greekes, whom he had left by reason of a quarrell that fell betweene him and *Agamemnon*. The Arcadians worshipped this *Tydeus*, and had him in hie estimation, for that he had so roughly handled the *Minerua* of the Caphiats. *Apollodorus* writeth, That among a certaine kind of people *Saturn* was bound for the space of a yeare with certaine swadling-bonds of wooll, and that he was not vnbound but onely the euen before his feast, which fell in December: and that from thence the old prouerbe came, That the gods had feet of wooll. *Plato* writeth, That the images of *Dedalus* would haue run away, if they had not beene tied; but when they were kept tied, they neuer offred to stir. To mingle moderne stories with ancient, the same superstition possessed the West Indians discouered within these hundred yeares by the Spaniards. There was among them a Cacick called *Gamaret*, who had a Cemi or Idoll of cotton called *Corocot*, which vsed to come downe from the top of the house where he was tied, and walke in the likenesse of a Satire among the women of the citie belonging to that Cacick, and of the places thereabouts, with whom he would play in priuat, and feast, and haue carnall copulation. If the women prooued with child after such dealing, and were brought abed, their children were set foorth with a double crowne, or with some other marke of honour, euerie one thinking for certaine that they were begotten by *Corocot*. Sometimes this wicked spirit would hide himselfe away, making as if he were angrie, if the Cacick had forgotten to giue him his ordinarie worshippings seruices and ceremonies, the least point that might be. Historians write, That another Cacick had a Cemi of wood with foure feet called *Epiguanita*, who would euerie foot, vpon the least displeasure that was offred him, goe and hide himselfe in the forrests: So soone as the Cacick had any wind of it, he would send a number of people to seeke him of euerie side, who hauing found him, endeuored to appease him againe, and then would bring him home vpon their shoulders with great honour and reuerence. Thus we see how Satan plaid his parts among these poore people, vntill the Christians being arriued in those parts, he and all the other Cemies fled away, and were neuer found againe: which made the countrey-people say, That such a going away of the Cemies presaged a changing of the state, and the rule-bearing of a strange nation, as *P. Marty Milanois* reporteth.

In his Dialog. entit. *Menon.*

In the additions vpon the first booke of *Benzo, cap.* 26.

In his first Decad *lib.* 9.

To end this Meditation; the charme which the ancient Pagans vsed to call out the gods from any citie when they besieged it, was this, as it is to be read in *Macrobius* (who hath taken it out of the fragments of *Sammonicus Serenus*, who had written a booke of hidden secrets:) *If it be a god, if it be a goddesse, that hath the people and citie of Carthage in his protection, and thou especially whosoeuer that art the patron of this citie and of this people, I humbly pray, beseech, and require you to abandon the people, citie, streets, temples, holy places, houses, and enclosures of Carthage, to come foorth from thence, to strike into the heads of that people feare, terror, and astonishment, and hauing left it, to come to Rome to me and mine: to haue the places, temples, ceremonies, and the citie agreeable and in good liking: to be pleased to be the heads of me, of the people of Rome, and of my souldiers; so as we may know and vnderstand it. If you so doe, I promise to build temples to you, and to ordaine feasts and sollemne sports in honour of you.* But not to stand any longer vpon these superstitious fopperies of the ancients, there is some likelihood that they are deriued from a further time, lying hauing obscured the truth of the Sacred Histories, wherein we find that Angels haue beene

Lib. 3. *Saturnal. cap.* 8.

established

eſtabliſhed gouernors not onely of whole nations, and diſtinguiſhed the one from the other; but alſo that euerie perſon fearing God hath had for inuincible guards a number of good Angels, ſpirits appointed and ſeruing for the good of all thoſe men and women that ought to obtaine the inheritance of ſaluation. The Author of the booke of *Iudith* maketh *Achior* the Ammonit to tell *Holofernes*, generall of the armie of the king of the Aſſyrians, that he could not make himſelfe maſter of Bethulia, except the God of the inhabitants thereof being angrie with them, ſhould firſt forſake them. The people of Iſrael were drawne out of Ægypt, paſſed the Red-ſea, ouercame the Canaanits, and poſſeſſed their Countries vnder the conduct of the Angel. *Baalac* king of the Moabits, a prince of Idolatrie, endeuoured to call foorth and win to himſelfe the God of Iſraell, by purchaſing and buying with money the curſings and imprecations of *Balaam*.

CHAP. VII.

Of danger not foreſeene. And of the death of ſome princes. Alſo, The benefit a man may make of his enemie.

I Haue oftentimes, when I was yong, heard my deceaſed father ſay, who was a perſonage vnreprooueable and excellent many waies (for me thinketh it vnreaſonable to defraud him, who, next to God, hath brought me into the world, of the teſtimonie that wiſe and learned men giue of him) That the famous prince *Albert*, marqueſſe of Brandenbourg, the ſonne of *Caſimir*, when he was yet verie yong, returning from hunting, went into a chamber new plaſtred with lime, and being there with ſome gentlemen that accompanied him, they being verie drie fell to drinking carowſes, and afterwards lay and ſlept in that chamber. But in the morning they found themſelues all ſo ſicke, that ſome curious and ſuſpicious heads gaue out they were poiſoned, for that two of the companie had died ſuddenly of that drinking. Doctor *Maggebouch*, a famous Phiſition at that time in Nuremberg, was ſent for to the prince, who being come, and hauing made diligent ſearch, found out preſently the cauſe of their ſickneſſe, and the danger of the chamber: and therefore after the application of neceſſarie remedies, and among other, of ſalt extracted out of wormwood, he made the prince be carried into wholſomer places. He ſaid, That the ſickneſſe which the prince had, was ſo violent, that all the nailes of his fingers fell off, and the ioynts of his hands were ſo looſe, that they bent and bowed euerie way that one would haue them. The prince was reſtored and ſet on his feet againe; but with great care and diligence. The danger was ſo much the greater, for that we find other great men could neuer diſcouer the danger and poiſon hid in theſe wals newly plaſtered with lime, aboue all when they eate and drinke their bellies full in ſuch chambers, and therein make a fire of charcoale: in ſo much as many without euer thinking on it, and others, without making any reckoning of it, paſſing the night in ſuch chambers, haue beene choaked with the poiſon-full vapour.

Lib. 25. of his hiſt. towards the end.

Ammian Marcellinus is a witneſſe hereof, who ſpeaking of the death of the Emperor *Iouinian*, ſucceſſor to *Iulian* the Apoſtata, ſaith thus: *Immediatly after, reſolute death ſoone ended the life of* Iouinian. *For being come to Dadaſtana that bordreth Bithynia and Galatia, he was found ſtifled in the night, diuers opinions being giuen out touching his death. It is ſaid, that being not able to endure the venomous vapour of his chamber wall*

new

new plastered with lime, and his head being surcharged with such a vapour, increased by a fire of char-coale, or rather being surcharged with abundance of meat at his supper, he gaue vp the ghost the three and thirtieth yeare of his age. *Scipio* surnamed *Æmilian* died by the like accident: and yet we find not that there was any examination made of the cause of such death in either of them. But *Velleius Paterculus* writeth, That *Scipio* was in the morning found stiffe dead in his bed, and that about his necke were seene certaine marks which shewed he had been strangled. *Plinie* seemeth to confirme this opinion, where he saith, That *Scipio* being found suddenly dead in his house, was taken vp and caried to be buried with his head couered, that none might see the prints of the murder that appeared in his face. *Q. Catulus*, when he would preuent by voluntarie death the cruelties of *Marius* and *Cinna*, as the same *Paterculus* maketh mention in these words: *Q. Catulus, much renowmed for many vertues and great honour atchieued with* Marius *in the warre of the Cimbrians, perceiuing he was sought after to be slaine, shut himselfe within a chamber new couered with lime, and caused fire to be brought into it, to draw on so much the faster the venemous vapor, which choked him, more to his owne content, than to the liking of his enemies.*

In his histories

Lib. 2. of famous men, *Cap.* 58.

Concerning the second part of our Meditation, *viz.* The benefit a man makes of his enemie; *Suidas* saith, That wise men learne much of their enemies: That to stand vpon guard, is to stand sure: That a friend teacheth no such lesson, but an enemie will beat it into one, will he nill he. It is strange, that enemies who doe seeke our life, should maintaine vs in life: for, by fearing them wee aduance our preseruation: In a word, they make vs to comprehend many things which warne vs to lie close and well couered. They are enemies and not friends, that haue taught vs to build cities with high wals, and strong rampiers, to rig and arme fleets, to gather riches and treasure. And albeit the detractions and sophistries of the enemie doe sometimes grieue and seeme insupportable to many: yet noble and generous minds haue euermore scorned reuilings, reproaches, and bitter taunts. Contrariwise, they that are troubled and too much mooued therewith, haue been ranked among vile and contemptible persons: which *Ælian* did well obserue, saying; That nipping ieasts, and iniurious words haue beene esteemed ieasts of straw: For if they hit against a strong mind, they spatter abroad and doe nothing; but they may doe something against a weake and ignorant spirit, casting it into strange griefes, yea euen to death. For proofe, *Socrates* being taunted in a play before the people, laught at it: *Poliager*, on the contrarie, transpierced with impatience for being mocked, hangd himselfe. Hence it is, that the lesse confidence a man hath in himselfe, the more easily doth he sustaine the outrages and wrongs that are done him: but (contrariwise) then is the proud man out of his wits for anger, can neuer be appeased, must reuenge himselfe all manner of waies, thinking that the contempt which is made of him can neuer be sufficiently punished. Therfore *Gomezius* hath said very well, That couragious men, such as haue sufficient testimonie of their prowesse & vertue, contemne the barkings of these little curres, leauing the pleasure of reuenging griefes by outragious words, to men of no esteeme and worth. And then he applieth this saying to the Cardinall *Ximenes* in his time Viceroy of Spaine, who was wont to set light by the libels that were made and cast abroad against him. Pope *Adrian* the sixth shewed a great leuitie, in that he would haue had the statues of *Pasquill* and *Marforius* at Rome to be thrown into the Tyber, vpon which men vse to set vp sharp and pleasant inuectiues both in Rime and Prose against the Pope, the Cardinals, and others: Whereupon the Spanish Embassadour said vnto him, That if those Images were cast into the riuer, the frogs would sing foorth such ridiculous and

Lib. 8.

Lib. 7. of the hist. of France.

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» hatefull rimes. This nip gaue ſuch a full ſtop to *Adrian*, that he neuer ſpake of it
» afterwards. Thus far *Gomezius*. Some ſay, that the Pope being not well pleaſed with the Embaſſadors anſwer, replied with choller, That they muſt then burne that log of wood called *Paſquill*: and that a Cardinall anſwered, That the aſhes thereof would flie not onely throughout all the ſtreets of Rome, but to manie places abroad, whereat *Paſquils* clients and ſeruants would take occaſion to magnifie by their Poeſies the memoriall of their Patron: ſo that after ſuch an execution nothing elſe would enſue, but that the aſhes of it would flie ouer all the world; which happily, if he left that piece of wood ſtanding, might not ſo come to paſſe.

The Emperour *Sigiſmund*, recommended for his vertues, eſpecially for his gentleneſſe, wherein he imitated *Alexander* the great, was wont to ſay, That it was proper for a prince to doe well, and to be blamed. One made a complaint to him, for that he had giuen life and goods to the enemies vanquiſhed, yea, and had receiued them into the number of his friends; Hee anſwered him, Thou thinkeſt that it is a great maſterdome to kill an enimie; but I kill mine enemie by ſauing his life, and make him my friend by aduancing him to dignitie. *Plutarch* hath written a tract of this ſubiect inſerted into his Morals, where the Reader may ſupply himſelfe of that which he findeth ſhort here.

CHAP. VIII.

Why there bee no Wolues in England. A ſtrange diſcourſe of the Wall or Rampier of the Picts.

In his hiſtorie of England.

SIr *Philip Sydney*, ſonne to the Lord Deputie of Ireland, a moſt worthie knight, diſcended of the noble houſe of the Earles of Warwicke, and called by *William Camden, The great hope of men, the liuely picture of vertue, the delights of learned men, who is euery day bewailed for hauing bin taken out of this world very young*: (for fighting in a battell neere vnto Zutphen in Guelderland, he receiued a hurt; the which although it was not very great, yet becauſe there was not ſuch care had of it as was fit, he died thereof ſoone after the yeare 1586.) He being ſent Embaſſador by the moſt excellent Queene of England, to the Emperors maieſtie, as one day he talked priuatly with me & ſome others, he entertained vs with very memorable diſcourſes. And as we fell vpon the ſpeech, Whether it were true (as the Ancients ſay, and the Moderne beleeue) that England cannot indure wolues, either bred in the country, or brought thither out of other places; and whether the ſame proceed of ſome hidden propertie and naturall antipathie, as we ſee ſome other countries cannot endure rats, miſe, ſerpents, or other venemous beaſtes: he deliuered vnto vs the true reaſon thereof in good and proper termes, the which, becauſe it is not (for ought I know) ſpoken of any where elſe, I haue thought good to deliuer in this chapter. *It is a meere tale* (ſaid *Sidney*) *that the reaſon why our kingdome of England hath no wolues, proceedeth of ſome naturall and knowne propertie: for in diuers places of the countrey there are of them to bee ſeene in parks of great lords, who ſend for them out of Ireland and other places, to make a ſhew of them as of ſome rare beaſt: but it is forbidden vpon grieuous penalties to let them eſcape out of their encloſure. And as touching that England hath been cleane rid of them a long time ſince, and is ſo ſtill at this day, the wiſdome of our kings hath effected that. For it is well knowne, that this rauenous and cruell beaſt was in times paſt as common in England, as in Germanie and other neighbour countries, and did much harme to ſheepe, which*

England

England aboundeth with, and of the great flocks whereof there be great reuenues made euery yeare: as appeareth by the good and great ſtore of clothes that are made of their wooll, and that are ſo much ſpoken of among all nations. Now albeit that England is had in eſtimation for her dogs, which are ſtrong and of a noble kind, and which being armed with their collars according to their cuſtome, are not afraid of a whole herd of wolues, but doe brauely ſet vpon them, and if they kill them not, yet doe they giue them the chaſe: Notwithſtanding, for all that euer could be done, this trecherous beaſt hath ſometimes done much hurt to flockes of ſheepe, both by night and by day, as well in their ſtalles, as abroad. Therefore there was an Ordinance made by the king a great while ſince, that ſuch perſons as not of ſet purpoſe, but vnwittingly had committed an offence deſeruing any grieuous puniſhment (ſaue the forfeiture of their liues) ſhould be thus puniſhed; namely, That they ſhould ſtand baniſht and diſcredited vntill they had brought the tongues and heads of ſome wolues by them ſlaine, in a greater or leſſe number, according to the ſentence of the Iudges. This amends was impoſed vpon them, and this tribute they payed for their heads. Which law hauing laſted a long ſpace of time, the wickedneſſe of men, and the number of guilties alwayes increaſing, the fugitiues betooke themſelues to ſeeke ſo narrowly for wolues and for their young, that in the end there were more hunters than wolues: whereby it came, that there was neither brake, buſh, nor any couert but was void of ſuch harmefull beaſts: ſo as at length the race of them was vtterly extinguiſhed. And for that England is of all ſides enuironed with the ſea, ſaue where it bordereth vpon Scotland, and it was very ſharply forbidden to bring or to fetch wolues from any other countries, that might ſtore England againe with the vermin of which it had beene deliuered: there was neuer any feare of them ſince, ſo as after that time the kingdome was rid of them, whereupon enſued the reſt and ſafetie of the cattell. And ſo now flocks of ſheepe and other beaſts feed in quiet without ſheepherd, both day and night, here and there, both vpon hils, and in plaine fields. For which cauſe, the penaltie alſo inuented for the deſtruction of wolues (for as much as there are no more of them to be found, either in the mountaines, or in forreſts, or in dennes) hath been aboliſhed. For in latter ages, the Banditoes hunting in vaine after that which cannot be found, are forced to abide all their life in exile, which to them is a kind of death. Touching Scotland, it cannot be denied but it hath ſome wolues: but becauſe it ioyneth to England by a little necke of land which is hemd in of each ſide with a continual ebbing and flowing of the Ocean, and with ſome deepe riuers that diſcharge themſelues into the ſea, and that this little between-ſpace of land being the bounder of the two kingdoms, is kept by mightie garriſons in certaine ſtrong places, where be great ſtore of dogs: it is not to be feared that the wolues will hazard to paſſe out of Scotland into England, and we haue no opinion of any ſuch thing.

This diſcourſe of *Sidneys*, accompanied with other memorable ſpeeches touching Ireland, where his father gouerned; and of Saint *Patricks* Hole, much eſteemed when time was (at this day little ſet by) was verie pleaſing to the companie that ſate at table with him, and no man would make any queſtion thereof, eſpecially when we ſaw it approued by *Hubert Languet*, a man of moſt exquiſit iudgment, and exceeding wel trauelled in the knowledge of things, and in the affairs of the world. For my part I began a while after to conſider of it more diligently, and viewed the Maps of England and of Scotland, and withall the Hiſtoriographers, epecially *Camden* and *Buchanan*, who are had in more eſteeme than the reſt: and then I found that euery thing anſwered and agreed with *Sidneys* diſcourſe. That Scotland is infeſted with wolues, we may gather by that which *Buchanan* reporteth, how *Herchard* the foure and fiftieth king, being at a hunting hurt by a wolfe, and a feuer ſtriking to it, died ſoone after. That the Ocean ſea ſhutteth in of each ſide the necke of land which ſerueth for a bounder between England and Scotland, appeareth, becauſe the Emperor *Seuerus*, when he would

Lib. 5. of his hiſtorie of Scotland.

defend Brittaine (which is England) againſt the rodes of the enemies, cauſed a great trench to be digged in the firme land, & a good rampier to be caſt vp fortified with a great number of towers, the length of twentie miles, from one part of the ſea to the other. In like manner the Emperour *Adrian*, hauing cauſed a great ditch and a hie banke of earth to be made betweene the Tine and the Eſck (riuers of the ſame frontiers) foure ſcore miles long, guarded England againſt the courſes of the enemies, as *Buchanan* prooueth at large in his hiſtorie of Scotland, by the teſtimonies of *Beda*, *Spartian*, and other Hiſtorians. For the reſt, *Camden* ſeemeth to confirme that which we haue ſet downe out of *Sydneis* relation touching the deſtruction of wolues, in the deſcription of Ordwic, or of the villages of Montgommeri, although he propound another meane than that aforeſaid: *There be* (ſaith he) *many flocks of ſheepe in theſe mountaines, where they feed without feare of wolues, which were deſtroied all ouer England when* Edgar *a Weſt-Saxon impoſed an yearely tribute of three hundred wolues vpon* Luduall *a lord of thoſe countries.* The ſame Author ſaith, That the Iſle of Ireland being neere England aboundeth with wolues, in ſo much as the Iſlanders honour them, and take them for god-fathers, which they call *Charichriſt*, praying for them, and wiſhing them good luck: Whereby they beare themſelues in hand, that theſe beaſts will doe them no manner of harme. Therefore we ought not to thinke that incredible which *Ariſtotle* writeth, That in the Meotian Fens the wolues come to the fiſhermen, and breake their nets that are layd abroad to drie, if the fiſhermen doe not giue them part of the fiſhes they haue taken.

In his hiſtorie of England.

Viſſaxon.

Lib 9. of the hiſtorie of Beaſts. *cap. 36.*

Touching the ſtrange Wall, or rampier of the Picts, which was long ſince with great induſtrie and wiſdome built by the Romans, to ſtrengthen England reduced into a prouince, againſt the rodes of the Barbarians; the ſame *Camden* maketh a verie good and large deſcription thereof. Among other things he ſaith, That there are yet to be ſeene in many places ſome old ruins and markes of this wall, which at euerie miles end had a bulwarke or tower with ſquare foundatitons, and watch-towers or ſentinell-houſes betweene, in which were ſouldiers lying in guard to repell the enemie: There were alſo reſting-places for the Areans, which were men appointed by the Ancients (ſaith *Ammian Marcellinus*) to ſerue as foot-poaſts, to run (as occurrents fell) betweene the captaines and commanders, and carrie them word of the leaſt ſtirring that was. Moreouer, the inhabitants of the countrey ſay, that the builders had placed ſo ingeniouſly within the wall, a pipe of caſten-mettall (made of pieces ſet togither) betweene the towers and the ſentinell houſes, that ſo ſoone as a man had ſet his mouth to this pipe, they would heare through all the ſentinell the warning giuen from that place where the enemies were expected. *Xiphilin* after *Dio* reporteth the ſame wonder of the towers of Bizantium. *Camden* addeth a little after; *I omit the pleaſant tales told by the common people touching this wall: but I will not conceale from the reader one thing which I haue heard of credible perſons. It is beleeued yet at this day, by tradition deliuered from hand to hand, among the moſt part of the people dwelling round about, that the ſouldiers diſpoſed in garriſon for the guarding of this rampier, had planted in thoſe places diuers medicinall herbes good for the healing of wounds: in ſo much as euerie yeare (about the beginning of ſommer) the Empirick-ſurgions of Scotland come thither in troupes to gather the ſimples and rootes, the vertue of which they greatly extoll by the proofes they haue made of them, affirming and maintaining that they yeeld moſt certaine remedies.* Thus ſaith *Camden*. Touching theſe caſten-pipes, we haue at this day the faſhion of them (as I take it) in the duke of Mantuas palace, before Saint *Sebaſtians* gate, in a certaine vaulted chamber, where, by the helpe of ſuch pipes, couered

In the life of *Seuerus.*

with

with a picture of the giants warring againſt the gods, a man ſitting in a corner of the chamber may talke with him that ſhalbe in the other corner ouer againſt him, and yet they that ſit by them ſhall heare nothing of that they ſay, but may perceiue it eaſily by laying their eare againſt the wall; which my companions and I had good ſport at. So then, that which is written of the induſtrie of the Romans ought not to be accounted fabulous, albeit there be ſome cenſuring fellowes that reiect all that is ſaid thereof.

CHAP. IX.

Great and ſudden ſorrow ſometimes hindreth and keepeth backe teares.

Joſephus writeth, That *Ptolemeus Philadelphus* king of Ægypt, when he receiued the Bible written in letters of gold, wept exceedingly for ioy. Now although it fared ſo with him, as it doth with many other, who ſometimes vpon ioyfull newes brought them, cannot hold from weeping: yet the ſheading of teares is much more vſuall, when ſome great ſorrow and heauineſſe hapneth. The example of theſe two affections may be ſeene in the booke of *Ezra*: where we read, That after the temple began to be built againe, the Iewes wept, but their teares proceeded from a diuers cauſe. Some lamented, that the now building had no correſpondencie with the beautie of the firſt temple: others (contrariwiſe) reioyced to ſee the houſe of God riſing, which had lien on the ground ſo many yeares togither. We haue another example to this purpoſe in *Alexander* the great, vpon the ſafe comming home of *Nearchus* his Admirall, from a long and vnknowne voiage when he was little looked for: for the king fell a weeping at the proſperous returne of his friend, and of a number of old ſouldiers which he held for loſt, and of the ſhips which they brought home with them. Such teares flowing from abundance of ioy, were ſhed by *Iohn Vayuode* of Valachia, when he came to meet and receiue the Coſſakes, or Polonian ſouldiers that came to ſuccour and helpe him: for, hauing ſpoken two or three words vnto them, the great ioy that tooke him being interfalcked with ſighes, which ſerued for an out-let to a torrent of teares, made that he could ſpeake no more, but taking their commanders by the hands, he made ſigne to all the reſt that they ſhould follow him vnto his pauilions. Now there is another kind of teares whoſe ſource and originall is called wrath and deſire of reuenge: Such were the teares of *Mahomet* Sultan of the Turkes, when newes was brought him of the death of *Iohn Coruin*, the father of *Mathias* king of Hungarie; for they ſay that he ſuddenly caſt downe his eyes to the ground, and beginning to weepe, ſaid, That there was neuer prince ſince the beginning of the world that had ſuch cauſe to weepe as he had, being depriued of all meanes to reuenge himſelfe of the great ſhame which *Iohn* had wrought him, in winning ſo many battels from him.

There be certaine other teares which are fained to deceiue men, put foorth by cunning or falſe ſhow: whence came the ancient prouerbe, The teares of Megara; becauſe about that place there grew abundance of garlike. The Greekes applied this prouerbe to people that faigned to weepe, but laught in their heart. Of this number were the women called Præficæ, who had money giuen them to weepe and roare at the burials of the dead, whoſe praiſes they repeated, and incited the companie to weepe: a thing yet practiſed in ſome countries of the world. In that *Bodin* and others write, That it hath beene found true by expe-

Lib. 12. Antiquit. cap. 2.

Cap. 3. 12, 13.

Arrian. in the booke of the affaires of the Indies.

Leonard Gerecius.

Bonfin. lib. 8.

Suidas.

In his *Demonom. lib. 4. c. 1.*

rience, that witches neuer weepe; and that from thence there is gathered a ſtrong preſumption that they are witches; this is a ſtrange thing: They giue for reaſon, that a woman will ſigh and weepe vpon euerie occaſion, and oftentimes without occaſion. *Bodin* ſaith further, That *Paul Grilland* and *Sprangier* (Inquiſitors) doe write, that they could neuer draw ſo much as a teare out of any witch. But the opinion of theſe men is not approoued of all: for as much as (according to an ancient rule in the law) that thing, to which it hapneth to be abſent, prooueth not that it is preſent. Oftentimes the greatneſſe of the griefe reſtraines teares, yea dries them vp altogither as we haue alreadie prooued by examples. A man might bring other reaſons why witches keepe in their teares: namely, that dulneſſe, obſtinacie, wilfulneſſe, deſpite, ſtaies them back and hinders ſuch an effect. So we oftentimes ſee that ſome yoong children vnder thirteene yeeres of age (in whom otherwiſe weeping is a naturall and profitable thing) cannot be made to yeeld one teare, though they be whipt till the blood follow. But though ſadneſſe and ioy doe oftentimes ſend foorth abundance of teares, yet it falleth out likewiſe in the great and vnaccuſtomed paſſions of the ſoule, that teares reſtrained through amazement, appeare not: whereas in miſeries that are but meane, they cannot be ſtopped. Of this exceſſiue ſadneſſe without teares, we ſee the effect in *Phædra*, who plaines her ſelfe, ſaying, that

Seneca in the tragedie of Hippolytus.

Small griefes bewray themſelues with vehemencie,
But great are ſmoothred vp in ſecrecie.

For teares are as the blood of the ſpirit that is troubled and afflicted: in as much as the ſpirit ouerwhelmed with ſorrow, and carried ſo far as to the filme of the braine, and there finding moiſtneſſe, ſometimes it keepeth it in, and ſometimes it ſendeth it foorth. Therefore ſome haue thought this moiſtneſſe to haue been called of the Latiniſts *Lacryma*, as who would ſay *Lacerrima*, becauſe that of this laceration or tearing of the ſpirit,* teares are bred. *Seneca* thinketh that the blow of ſorrow ſtriketh and ſhaketh all the bodie, and conſequently the eies, out of which the humour may come foorth which is neere vnto them. Others (of which number is *Plutarch*) thinke that weeping is a kind of ſweating. Whatſoeuer it be, experience witneſſeth, That as well ioy as griefe doth oftentimes make perſons weepe.

* By like reaſon we may etimologiſe our word teares, from tearing.

In his 101 Letter to *Lucilius*.

Moreouer there be other paſſions, compounded both of griefe and gladneſſe, that do make vs weepe: as, extreame diſpite and vehement anger in a perſon that ſeeth himſelfe deſpiſed, and who therewithall mingleth ſome pleaſure in his practiſing of reuenge as if it were alreadie executed. Compaſſion alſo procureth teares, when we are mooued and troubled with others miſeries, and deſire to relieue the afflicted. A violent deſire, and a vehement indignation doth alſo wring teares out of the eies: Whence it commeth, that ſome ſeeing the horrible miſdemeanors of the wicked, doe weepe rather than laugh; that befell our Sauiour Chriſt, who (as we read) wept ſometimes, but that he euer laughed, it appeareth not. Now we will not ſay that our affections ought in any ſort to be compared with his; for all motions in him were iuſt and perfect, and neuer exceeded a whit the limits of Gods will: there was not any defect in them, and yet he was ſubiect to ſuch things, for our ſakes. But our affections are impure, flowing from infirmitie; thoſe of our Sauiour proceeded from power, ſaith Saint *Auguſtin*. He was able to enlarge his when and as much as he pleaſed: ours riſe vp in deſpite of vs, and we cannot bridle them: therefore are they groſſe and vnſetled, but our Sauiours were cleane and pure. We reade that our Sauiour Chriſt wept three times: Firſt, when he came neere to *Lazarus* his graue;

Iob. 11. 35.

Secondly,

Secondly, when he beheld the citie of Ieruſalem, ſome few daies before his death; Thirdly, a little before he gaue vp the ghoſt vpon the croſſe. The holy Euangeliſts make mention in diuers places of his ſighings and gronings, which (queſtionleſſe) proceeded out of his vnmeaſurable loue towards vs, and out of the griefs he tooke for the hardning of ſinners. There be many cauſes thereof ſet downe in the writings of Diuines. He groaned and ſighed: Firſt, becauſe of ſinne, the root of all euils in the world: Secondly, becauſe of the tirrannie of the deuill, the ſworne enemie of mankind, againſt which he was to fight: Thirdly, becauſe of the curſe of the Law, which he tooke vpon himſelfe; bearing that inſupportable burden, to diſcharge vs thereof, and ſo to acquit vs of the fault, and the euerlaſting puniſhment: Fourthly, becauſe of the moſt bitter death which he was to ſuffer for our ſaluation: Fifthly, becauſe of the horrible ingratitude of the moſt part of the world; for, he foreſaw that many would wilfully and wickedly reiect this benefit of redemption, and many would not care for it. *Luc.* 19. 41. *Hebr.* 5. 7. &c.

But leaue wee theſe cauſes of teares in our Sauiour, the meditation whereof might ſerue to draw teares in abundance from our eyes: and let vs proceed to ſhew, that albeit weeping much proceedeth from true reaſonable affections belonging properly to man; yet teares are attributed alſo by ſome Authors to the brute beaſts; witneſſe *Virgill*, ſpeaking of *Æthon*, *Pallarets* horſe, which wept at his maſters funerals, *Æneid. lib.* 9.

Poſt bellator Equus, poſitis inſignibus, Æthon
It lachrymans, guttiſq́ humectat grandibus ora.

If it be obiected, that this is but a poeticall amplification and libertie, it is apparant, that the naturaliſts attribute teares to Stags, and to Crocodiles. But I will heare adioyne a freſh teſtimonie, and which may ſeeme receiuable. *Quinqueran* writeth, That he hauing purſued on horſeback a bird called a Byſtard more than a league, he ouertooke her at length pearched vpon a low ſhrub being not able to flie any longer, and holding her wings abroad: the bird then turning her head towards him, as it were, to beſeech him, he perceiued teares trickling in abundance from her eyes. But his hounds fell vpon her for all he could doe to ſtay them, and hurt her in many places, whereupon the teares followed on the faſter. The cauſe of thoſe teares cauſeth his diſcourſe. It is to be coniectured, that the bird feeling her euill, wept, as griefe drawes teares out of mens eyes. *Lib. laudum Prouincie.*

But not to digreſſe too far: teares are vſually more common in women, becauſe they are of a more tender nature. And in the opinion of *Pythagoras*, there are in womens eyes two ſorts of teares: the one ſort of griefe, the other of deceit: whereunto we may adde the third, which ſerues them for praiers: or, (as *Vlpian* the lawyer ſaith) Teares are womens weapons. Surely our nature (both of men and women) is ſuch, that teares ſeeme ſometimes to recreate and eaſe the afflicted mind, as an ancient Latin Poet witneſſeth, namely where he ſaith, *L. 1. §. hoc autẽ, circa med. F. de Lenatuſc. Syll.*

It is an eaſe for one to weepe,
And Teares that trickle downe the cheeke,
Are ſuch a ſoueraigne helpe for griefe,
As they thereto yeeld great reliefe.

The Poet *Menander* holdeth teares for vnprofitable, and yet confeſſeth that ſorrow beareth them, as a tree doth her fruit; His verſes are thus tranſlated,

To weepe ſo much doth little good:
But as a Tree her fruit beares,
So ſorrow bringeth foorth teares,
And will be drownd in ſuch a flood.

To

To returne to our purpoſe, namely, That griefe is ſharpe, and woundeth the ſoule more when teares are held backe in ſome great affliction; we haue hereof a memorable example in *Pſammenitus* king of Ægypt. He (as *Herodotus* writeth, albeit Expoſitors are of opinion it was *Amaſis*) being put beſides his kingdome by *Cambyſes* the ſonne of *Cyrus*, and held priſoner, ſeeing his daughter apparelled like a ſlaue, and ſent among other damſels dreſt as ſhe was, to draw water (to the end that the ſight of them might the more torment their fathers that were priſoners) did no more but caſt downe his eyes. A while after, *Cambyſes* commanded that *Pſammenitus* his ſonne ſhould be brought forth with many of the ſame age, hauing a wyth about his necke, and a bit in his mouth, to keepe him from ſpeaking; *Pſammenitus* for all this ſhed not one teare: But after this, eſpying one of his domeſticks, who was brought to extreame pouertie, and ſeeing him beg his bread here and there, that ſight did ſo mooue him, that he began to beat his head with his hands after the Ægyptian manner, and to weepe bitterly, calling the poore man his friend, & bewailing his miſerable condition. The newes hereof comming to *Cambyſes*, he ſent to aſke him, What he meant that in the affliction of his children he had ſaid nothing; and that he had ſo taken on at the pouertie of an vnknowne old man? His anſwere was this, *Son of* Cyrus, *domeſticall euils are ſo great, that there be no teares ſufficient to bewaile them: but I could not chuſe but haue compaſſion of a friend, who of moſt rich that he once was, is become thus poore now at his pits-brinke.* *Ariſtotle* alleageth this ſtorie, where he propoundeth nine ſorts of people that we vſe to haue compaſſion of; of which number are our familiars, who yet are not ſo ſtraitly ioyned to vs in friendſhip as ſome others are. It was a miſerable thing to eſpie his friend begging: but to ſee his owh ſonne led to execution, that was ſuch a grieuous ſpectacle as might eaſily drie vp all teares, & driue compaſſion far off; as *Anthonie Riccobon* learnedly ſheweth vpon that chapter of *Ariſtotle*.

Timanthes the Painter meant as much in the picture he drew with ſuch ſingular workmanſhip, ſetting out the ſacrificing of *Iphigenia*: For he repreſented the Sooth-ſayer *Calchas* ſad, *Vliſſes* more ſad, and *Menelaus* ſo ſorrowfull as could not poſſibly be more: and being not able with his penſill to ſet forth a greater ſorrow, he couered the face of *Agamemnon* the virgins father, as if he had beene hid behind a curtaine, to the end the beholders might vnderſtand that the fathers mourning was extreame. We ſee alſo, that in accidents not fore-thought, it is harder to forbeare weeping, than in thoſe againſt which our thoughts are fortified and armed aforehand. We haue an example hereof in *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, who rauiſhed all the world with wonder, for that, without ſhedding a teare, or ſhewing any ſorrow, ſhe rehearſed the deportments and death of her two ſons (that had been put to death) as ſhe would haue done a ſtorie of ſome men in old time. *Homer* ſeemeth to haue taught the ſame, by a notable example which *Plutarch* alleageth; for *Vlyſſes* being returned home from a very long voiage, wept for the ſudden death of his dog, and ſhewed no ſigne of being mooued at the teares of his wife that ſate by his ſide: The reaſon is, for that as he drew homeward, he had figured out in his mind his wiues teares, and conſidered that ſuch affection might be able alſo to ſhake him, therefore had he hardned himſelfe betimes againſt it, that ſo he might maſter the ſame; wheras he found himſelfe ſurpriſed ſuddenly with the death of his dogge, and was troubled thereat, not hauing time in ſo ſudden an accident to bridle his paſſion. But for the reſt, if wee will runne ouer with our eye, and behold more neerely all the courſe of mans life, from his cradle to his extreame age, what ſhall wee ſee there but a ſea of teares both ſecret and manifeſt? ſo that our entrance, abiding, and

In the book of his hiſtorie.

In his *Rhetoric. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 7.

In his Paraphraſe.

Plin. li. 10. *ca.* 35

Plutarch in the life of *C. Gracchus.*

In his booke of the contentment of the mind.

and departure is nothing else but a continuall sighing represented by certaine greeke and latin verses, the sence whereof is this;

Weeping I came into the world, and weeping thence remooue,
Men, through the course of all their life nothing but weeping prooue.

Now, as the wise Ancients meant to teach thus much, when they faigned that *Prometheus* wrought the clay wherewith he made man, with teares: so likewise a certaine learned man hath shewed the truth of this fiction in a latin Epigram, which we haue expressed in our vulgar tongue, thus, be it better or worse:

In Teares we first are borne, in Teares our life we spend;
In Teares and sharpe assaults death strikes vs in the end.
Heere nought but Teares are found; but God aboue, one day
From all his childrens eyes all Teares shall wipe away.

CHAP. X.

The miraculous preseruation and deliuerance of Princes. Subiects for no cause how great soeuer, may take armes against their Prince.

THey will shew you at Rome vpon the top of the Temple of *Pantheon*, which *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* caused to bee built with great charge (a marueilous worke, and the soundest, as I take it, of all the ancient buildings that are standing) a place from whence a certaine Italian, mooued with desire of reuenge, or with a furious longing to make himselfe immortall, or transported with a secret malice, or some other passion, had resolued (they say) to throw downe headlong out of a window which is in the highest part thereof, the Emperour *Charles* the fift, who would one day ascend vp thither to see this building: But being amazed at the port and maiestie of the Emperour, he held himselfe from doing that mischieuous act, of which (before hee died) he made confession to his curate, discouering vnto him his wicked purpose; although I thinke, if hee had meant such a villanie, it was almost impossible for him to haue effected it in such sort as hee purposed: For, where there is any not onely feare, but likelihood of ambushes, none are or should be suffered to come neere so great a prince (especially in a place of daunger) but such as are knowne to be well affected to him. We read also, that *Gabrin Fondulo* lord of Cremona, confessed before his death, that hee had once resolued with himselfe, to throw downe head-long from the high tower of Cremona, the Emperour *Sigismund*, Pope *Iohn* the XXIII, and *Mocenigo* Embassador of Venice, who were gone vp thither to see the citie, and the country therabouts: but that his conscience being frighted, kept him from going forward in his enterprise. In the histories of Italie.

This diuine protection appeared also in *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, destined to ruin Ierusalem, and to subdue and punish the Iewes. *Iosephus* writeth, that before he had besieged the citie, as he went about to discouer, he fell into an ambuscado of the enemies. At which time, if euer, it was known that God disposeth of the moments of war, and of the lines of princes. For though *Titus* had neither helmet on his head, nor corslet on his backe (because he went not to fight, but to discouer) of an infinite number of arrowes that were shot at him, not one lighted on him, but all seemed to fall a good way from him; for such as past along by his sides, he beat them downe with his sword; and for those that fell at his horses feet, he made his horse trample on them. The Iewes seeing his resolution, gaue a shout, encouraging one another to sally out vpon him, to charge & recharge him which *Lib. 6. cap. 2. de Bello Iudæorum*

which way soeuer he turned him. *Bodin* speaking of a certain complot contriued against king *Francis* the first, writeth these words; *He that hath had in his thought to assault the life of his soueraigne prince, is adiudged guiltie of death, though he haue neuer so much repented it. And indeed there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessing himselfe to a Frier, said, That he would haue killed king* Francis, *and repented himselfe of that wicked will. The Frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards acquainted the king therewith, who sent the gentleman to the Parliament of Paris, to proceed in triall against him; where he was by decree condemned to die, and after executed. It may not be said, That the Court did it for feare, seeing it hath oftentimes refused to verifie and confirme the kings Edicts and Letters pattents, notwithstanding any messages or commandements from the king. And albeit there was one, a man senseleſse and vtterly furious (called* Caboche) *at Paris, who drew his sword vpon* Henrie *the second, without any violence or other effect offred; yet was he adiudged to die without all respect of his madnesse, though the law excuseth any murther or wickednesse done by a mad-man that is sore tormented with his euill.*

D. Repub. lib. 2. cap. 5.

L. Illicit. de Offic. præsid.

To returne to our point of the preseruations of princes, let vs ascend back to ancient histories. *Suetonius* saith, That the Emperour *Augustus* escaped once the like danger: For he writeth that one of the chiefe men among the Gaules confessed to some of his friends that he had fully resolued to make as if he would haue parled with *Augustus* in his passage ouer the Alpes, & that at his comming within him he would haue throwne him downe; but that *Augustus* both when he spake & when he was silent, shewed such an amiableneſse both in his face and in his voice, that he relented, and was held back from executing of his purpose.

In the life of *Augustus.*

Lib. 9. cap. 11. *Valerius Maximus* maketh mention of such or the like treason meant to *Augustus*, and maketh a bitter inuectiue against this manner of wilfull murthering. *Tiberius* the successor of *Augustus* was in the same danger, as the same *Suetonius* writeth: for it failed little that he had not beene kild by a Rutter (so was the German souldier called then, who for pay did seruice a horsbacke to strangers, and the Romans called such souldiers *Rateri*; others read in *Suetonius Bruchteri*, others *Rhuteni*) who among other men had gotten neere his person. So *Alexander* the great had like to haue beene kild in the citie of Tauris by a souldier that had laid himselfe to his feet.

In the life of *Tiberius*, *cap. 19.*

Arrian. in the hist. of *Alex.*

The histories of the voiage of the Christians to the parts beyond-sea, for the winning of Ierusalem, and the Holy-land (as it is called) say, That some princes of France and of England were kild there, and others in great danger to be kild, by suborned murtherers: For there liued at that time in the East, a kind of men called Assassins or Beduins, dwelling vpon certaine woodie mountaines, vnder the subiection of a lord, that had no other name but the *Old*, or *Great* of the mountaine. This lord (by the skilfull making of a fooles paradise of carnall delights and pleasures wherewith he held his subiects bewitched) had gotten such a hand of them being verie many in number, that they made him a sollemne promise to kill all the princes that were aduersaries to their religion; and it was prooued that in that long beyond-sea-war the Christian princes were not so much annoied with any enemies, as with those. They slue traiterously the earle of Tripoli, and a while after, *Edward* the king of Englands sonne was suddenly set vpon by them, and sore wounded in his chamber. *Philip* sonne to the French king, vnderstanding of some snares these Assassins had laid for him, was forced to come home againe. And *Lewis*, surnamed the *Holy*, father to *Philip*, had the most adoe that could be, to saue himselfe out of the hands of these desperate cut-throats. Therefore the Italians and French haue euer since (for their sakes) called all those that wilfully attempt or execute any murther, Assassins.

ſaſſins. The Circumcellions, of the faction of the Donatiſts, were carried with the ſame furie. For, vnder pretence of zeale to maintaine their ſect and beleefe, they ſallied foorth of their caues and holes where they liued ſollitarily in the fields, and fell on a ſudden vpon the Orthodoxans or other paſſengers, whom they cruelly maſſacred. At firſt they felled them downe with clubs, after they vſed ſwords and daggers, wherewith they thruſt them thorow, and hewed them in pieces, without reſpect of ſex, age, or dignitie: ſo that in Saint *Auguſtins* time the Orthodoxall and true Chriſtian biſhops were forced to complaine to the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius* againſt theſe murtherers. Whereupon commandement was giuen to the gouernors of Africa, to leuie ſufficient forces to rid the countrey of ſuch plagues. Here we may not forget the diuine protection and miraculous deliuerance of *Iames* the fixt late king of Scotland, and now king of great Brittaine, vpon the fift of Auguſt 1600. This prince giuing credit to the words and proteſtations of *Alexander* brother to the Earle *Gowrie*, fell into an ambuſh laid for him by theſe two brothers and other their confederates, in a ſecret chamber: where being aſſaulted (vnarmed) by two that were ſet to murther him, he ſo defended himſelfe for a while by his royall port and and by his forcible ſpeech, as they had not the power to bind him, his maieſtie telling them, That he was borne free, and in that eſtate would die; till ſome of his ſeruants by diuers waies brake in vpon this prince, and reſcued him, after they had ſlaine ſome of the traitors, and diſperſed the reſt. The king freed from ſo great a danger, fell downe humbly vpon his knees to the ground, yeelding moſt heartie thankes to Almightie God who had ſo miraculouſly preſerued him, and defeated his enemies, and euerie Tueſday acknowledgeth the ſame by thanks-giuing to God in publike praiers, and by deuout hearing of a ſermon.

Experience witneſſeth, That ſuch murtherers and Aſſaſſins either hired to kill princes for money, or reduced by other meanes, when they are vpon the point of giuing the ſtroake, are ſo ſtricken themſelues by their wicked conſcience, that they haue neither heart, arme, nor leg to effect any thing. Contrariwiſe, they that remaine within the limits of their calling, and ſtand vpon the defence of their prince, find themſelues (beſides their ordinarie force) ſupplied with new courage and might proceeding from a good conſcience, which fortifieth them, and from the goodneſſe of the cauſe which they defend. This appeareth in the ſtorie we laſt touched: For, *Andrew Hunderſon* appointed to be the murtherer that ſhould ſtab king *Iames*, ſeeing *Alexander* the earles brother holding the naked poyniard in his hand wherewith he threatned to kill the king, was attached with ſuch horror and feare, that he ſeemed fitter to receiue the ſtroake than to giue it. I could adde to this many other examples of deliurances, as of *Henrie* the fourth, the late king of France and Nauarre; but eſpecially of *Elizabeth* the late Queene of England, whom the hand of God did miraculouſly protect in many and great dangers and conſpiracies raiſed againſt her both by forraine enemies and domeſticall traitors; all which notwithſtanding, like the good king *Dauid*, ſhe died in a good age, full of daies, riches, and honour, and was laid with her fathers in peace. But becauſe ſuch magnificall deliuerances, are knowne to all, I will no longer ſtand vpon them. *Iſaac Cauſabon* a moſt learned man, hath a good obſeruation touching this point: For ſpeaking of thoſe that had conſpired againſt *Ceſar*, he ſaith that they all ſlew themſelues with the ſame poyniards wherewith they had ſtabbed *Ceſar*. *Such a death* (ſaith he) *may all they haue who ſo wickedly and diſloially enterpriſe vpon the liues of Princes.*

In his animaduerſions vpon *Suetonius lib.* 1.

Let

Let vs now ſee what Diuinitie ſaith to this matter. *The moſt learned Diuines* (ſaith *Bodin*) *are of opinion, That ſo far is it off that it can be lawfull for ſubiects to kill their princes, vnder colour of tyrannie, that they are expreſly forbidden to ſpeake ill of them.* To which purpoſe a learned man ſaid, That *Dauid* made no doubt but *Saul* was a tyrant, yet he abſtained from killing him: for he ſaw he might not lawfully doe it, not he, who was by Gods commandement, and the miniſterie of *Samuel* annointed to be king after him; And ſurely few tyrant-killers had euer good ſucceſſe. But if any man be ſure that he is commanded by God to kill a tyrant, as *Iehu* was, I ſay nothing of him; but ſurely, out of priuat counſell it is a thing meerely vnlawfull. Could there be a worſe prince than *Nero?* yet the Apoſtles Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* are ſo far from aduiſing the Chriſtians to conſpire againſt him, as they command them to yeeld obedience to him, and that not for feare onely, but alſo for conſcience ſake. *Chryſoſtom* in an epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, ſaith that *Theodoſius* the Emperour deſtroied Theſſalonica, and ſpared neither ſex nor age: he tooke vpon him (ſaith he) ſo much as he liſted: ſo great an euill is high and abſolute power. But yet howſoeuer, *parendum eſt, Obedience muſt be giuen.* The horſe, to chaſe the ſtag, receiued the man to ride him; but when his enemie was chaſed away he could not ſhake off his rider. But how if the king be an idolater, and command his ſubiects to worſhip idolls? In this caſe the rule of the Apoſtles is to be followed, *We muſt rather obey God, than men.* Yet we muſt not take armes againſt him, but follow the examples of the holy Saints and Martyrs of God, rather ſuffer death than offer reſiſtance: and whatſoeuer become of our bodies, poſſeſſe our ſoules in patience. But what if he be an Heretike, and maintaine hereſie? yet we muſt not riſe againſt him, but with the weapons of praier: we muſt pray God to conuert him, we muſt pray God to hold vs in his true ſeruice, religion and feare. The Chriſtians followed the Emperour *Conſtantius* an Arrian, and likewiſe *Iulian* the Apoſtata in their wars and expeditions, though neuer ſo far. But my purpoſe is not to diſpute, but to write of Hiſtoricall Meditations; and therefore let vs returne to our point, and ſhew by ſome other ſtories how miraculouſly princes haue beene preſerued. The Emperour *Frederick Barberouſſa* was ſtrangely freed from a great danger, ſet downe by *Albert Crantz*. His troupes being lodged neere a riuer, and his enemies on the other ſide; as he was walking alone with onely one ſeruant, thinking vpon ſome ſtratagem, a certaine fellow ruſht out of an ambuſcado, and fell vpon the Emperour, labouring with all his might to traile him into the riuer: which he had done but for his ſeruant, who with his ſword drawne ran vpon the enemie, and reſcued his maſter; the other throwing himſelfe nimbly into the water, by ſwimming ſaued himſelfe, and recouered his fellowes. The Emperour *Henrie* the third, eſcaped likewiſe a great danger, when he was trauelling toward Hungarie vpon the riuer Danubius, *Richilda* the widow of *Albert* Earle of Ebersberg entertaining and lodging him verie ſumptuouſly: For euen as ſhe was making her ſupplication to the Emperour, that Boſenbourg, and ſome other lands in the earles poſſeſſion might be giuen to her Nephew *Welpho*, and the Emperour in token of yeelding reached her his hand, the chamber-floore ſuddenly brake vnder them. The Emperour fell into a bathing-veſſell that was in the hot-houſe vnderneath the ſame roome, and had no harme. But *Bruno* the biſhop of Virtzbourg (coſin to the Emperour, and after canonifed,) *Alemanus* the biſhop of Euersberg, and *Richilda*, lighting vpon the brinkes of the veſſell were ſo ſore hurt and bruſed that they died ſome few daies after, ſaith *Auentin*; who likewiſe writeth, That a little before there appeared to *Bruno* as he was aboord a barque

Lib. 2. cap. 5. de Repub.

P. Martyr in 2. Sam. cap. 26.

Lib 7. of the hiſt. of Saxony.

Lib. 5. of the Annals of Bauieres.

barque with the Emperor, a certaine ghost like a Moore, vpon an high rock, who hauing called *Bruno*, vanished away. The same *Auentin* writeth, That the Emperor *Henrie* the fourth escaped a very great danger neere to Spira: For hauing bin (by the plotting of *Hanno* Archbishop of Colen) brought into a sumptuous boat, trimmed and prouided to carrie him away prisoner, and seeing some vnhappie turne was meant him, he cast himselfe into the Rhine, where he had been drowned but for his cousin *Echert*, who by his cunning set him a shore. The same Emperour was miraculously preserued from a terrible trap that was set for him at Rome, of which we will speake more at large hereafter.

See after, *Lib. 5. cap. 18.*

CHAP. XI.

Cicero was very eloquent, and very rich withall. The price of his head. His Tombe.

I Tooke great pleasure in seeing of a Couent within the the territorie of Rome, which the Italians call *La Grotta Ferrata*, appointed for a place of abiding for some Greeke Monks vtterly ignorant in the latin tongue, and in the Antiquities of the Romans, as I gathered by their speeches. For it is thought verily that there was *Ciceros* Tusculanum, who was born (as some write) in a little citie called Arpi, the yeare of the world, 3855. of his mother *Heluia*; his father being of the order of the Knights, issued from the blood royall of the *Volsci*: which Tusculanum was builded by him at his great charge, as *Salust* laieth in his dish in a certaine Oration. The places vnder ground, the ruins, and the inclosure, with the scituation very pleasant, are witnesses of the magnificence of the place. *Cicero* himselfe saith in a letter to *Atticus*, that the building of his Tusculanum, was valued at no lesse than fiue hundred sestercies, which according to the computation of *Budæus*, amount to twelue thousand and fiue hundred crownes. It appeareth also, that *Cicero* paid fiftie thousand crownes for the purchase of *Publius Crassus* his house, and that he was much discredited among the Romans, because of such vanitie, saith *Gellius*, whose words are these following. Cicero *desirous to buy a house in the pallace, and hauing not at that time money in his purse, borrowed in secret of* Pub. Sylla *(then bound ouer to answere a criminall matter) the summe of two hundred thousand francs. But before he bought it, all his practise was discouered, and he hit in the teeth, That to buy an house, he had receaued money of one accused.* Cicero *netled with this vnexpected reproch, denied the receiuing of the money, or that he would buy the house: And when I shall (saith he) buy the house, it shall bee true that I shall haue receiued the money. But afterwards hauing past further, and his enemies charging him in the Senat-house with his double dealing, he began to laugh, saying vnto them, Know you not that a wise and prouident husband will not be seene to buy that which he purposeth to buy, because of some competitors in the bargaine?* *Blondus* writeth, That hee had obserued out of *Ciceroes* Epistles, that he had eighteene Farmes, of which the principall were Tusculan, Formian, Arpinate, Ancan, and Pompeian. But *Budeus* denieth that hee had them in possession all at one time, and *Blondus* doth not affirme it. Howsoeuer it be, *Cicero* confesseth that he had in lands so much as was worth three hundred thousand crownes and more. It appeareth then (for all the opinion of *Salust* to the contrarie) that *Cicero* by the handling of causes, and by his reuenues was growne very rich; in a word, that his eloquence had been fruitfull vnto him, and that he had the golden tongue. Which may also bee gathered by this (to omit

Lib. 9. of Rome triumphing.

In the 2. *Philippick.*

other aduantages) that is written of the notable bountie of *Pomponius Atticus* towards him: for hauing shewed himselfe a very faithfull friend of *Ciceros* in all his troubles, when hee fled out of Rome, he gaue him a present besides of six thousand two hundred and fiftie crownes.

But the more firme and sincere that the loue of *Atticus* was toward *Cicero*, the greater and more violent was the hatred that *Marc Antonie* his mortall enemie bare to him, and namely in this, that at the time of the proscription, *Ciceros* head was set at a higher rate by ten times, than the heads of all the rest: for *Appian* reporteth, that *Marc Antonie* gaue fiue and twentie thousand crownes to *Popilius Lenas* for the head of *Cicero*, the father of Roman Eloquence. Which mooued *Velleius Paterculus*, bewailing the vnworthie death of so great a man, to exclaime thus against *Marc Antonie*; *Thou hast done nothing*, Marc Antonie, *thou hast done nothing, (I am forced of meere hatred to make this digression) by buying so excellent a head, and a tongue more than humane, and by a mournefull reward to hasten the death of that great Consull, once the great preseruer of the Commonwealth. Thou hast taken away from* Cicero *the loathsome light, old age, and a life more miserable vnder thy tyrannie, than death vnder the Triumuirate. But in stead of quenching the glorious fame of the doings and sayings of* Cicero, *thou hast kindled it the more. For he liueth and shall liue in the memorie of all men for euer. And as long as this vniuerse, created and established in what sort soeuer, (knowne and contemplated by* Cicero *more than by any other Romane, and made cleere by his eloquence) shall stand and continue, it shall carrie* Ciceros *praise with it for companie: all posterities shall admire the Orations he hath written against thee, and abhorre that which thou hast done against him.* *Plutarch* saith, that *Marc Antonie* caused *Ciceros* head to be brought before him, and the hand wherewith he had written the *Philippicks*, which he beheld with a gladsome eye, and laughed hartily at the sight: and hauing glutted himselfe therewith, he commaunded one to sticke them vp in the highest place of the Tribunall, thereby to trample (as it were) vpon a dead man, or rather, to shew how his passion carried him to abuse his fortune, and to make his power villanous.

Lib. 4. of the ciuill warres.

In his Fragments of the Roman hist.

In the life of M. Antonius.

Now, although it may appeare plainely, with what kind of death this light of eloquence was put out: yet Authors doe not agree of the place where his Monument should be. Some thinke it was found in the yeare 1544, the first of December, in the Isle of Zacynthus or Zanthus, belonging to the Venetians, with this Inscription:

M. TVLLI CICERO
HAVE.
ET TV TERTIA
ANTONIA.

There were likewise found two Vrnes or pots; one very little, which was the pot for the teares: and the great one, wherein were the ashes, and at the bottome of it these words, AVE MAR. TVL. *Andrew Thevet* in his French Cosmographie describeth and depainteth that which he saith hee had there seene. In the inscriptions of Arragon, collected by *Lewis du Pont*, there bee two of them, which I would not omit.

M. TVLLIO CICERONI M. F.
ROMANÆ FACVND. PRINCIPI.
QVÆST. ÆDI. COS. PROCOS.
IMPERATORI PP. ARPINATES.

The

The other.

M. T. CICERONEM OB EIVS EXIMIAM VIRTVTEM ET EGREGIAS ANIMI SVI DOTES PER VNIVERSVM ORBEM TERRARVM SALVVM ESSE IVBEO.
C. I. CÆSAR.

CHAP. XII.

The common good ought to bee distinguished from the priuate, and to bee preferred before it.

WHen the Commonwealth of the Romans staied it selfe vpon the manners and customs it had receiued of her Ancestors; the magistrats and men of authoritie therein, aymed alwayes at this marke, To distinguish and separate the common profit from the particular, and to preferre that before this. In that time, saith *Valerius Maximus*, the spirits of men and women flourished within Rome, and by the goods of the mind was the honor and reputation in all matters weighed. Such goods purchased to their possessors the managing of armes, contracted mariages, had all the credit in the Senat, out of the Senat, and in priuate houses: for euery man was carefull to procure the common good, not his owne; and chose rather to liue poore in a rich Commonwealth, than rich in a poore citie. Such an excellent intention had this for honorable recompense, that it was vnlawfull to buy for money any thing due to vertue; and the necessitie of worthie men was relieued. Many notable examples there be of this happines among histories; particularly in *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Titus Liuius*, *Iustin*, and others make ample mention. For being passed ouer into Africa to treat alliance with king *Syphax*, it fell out that *Asdrubal* the captaine of Carthage (who was long before driuen out of Spain by *Scipio*) met him there. The king taking it as a great honor that the Embassadors of the two mightiest commonwealths in the world, should in one day come to seeke peace and friendship at his hands, would lodge them both together, and assaied to make them talke one with another, to take away all enmitie and rancor: But *Scipio* would not intend it, saying, *That for his owne particular hee had no businesse with* Asdrubal, *nor was it needfull they should for that regard haue any enterview: for the publike, he could not haue conference with an enemie to the people of Rome, without commaundement or leaue of the Senat.* We may ioyne to this another memorable example of the same *Scipio*. When the Embassadors of king *Antiochus* demanded peace of the Consul *Publius Scipio*, brother to *Scipio Africanus*, bringing with them (to compasse it the better) a present which they thought would be very welcome to *Africanus*, to wit, a sonne of his, before that time taken prisoner by the king, as the gentleman was passing a strait in a frigat: *Africanus*, lieutenant to his brother in the name of the Senat & people of Rome, made them this answere, *That priuat benefits were distinguished from publike; that the duties of a father differed from the duties of the countrey, which ought to be preferred before children, yea and before our liues: therfore he esteemed much of the present which they made him of his sonne, and that to his power he would acknowledge this liberalitie of the kings; but for war and peace, he could not gratifie him in that, nor diminish in any thing the right of the Commonwealth: that he neuer had spoken of the ransomming of that his sonne, but when the Senat had giuen him leaue: and that for his part he would assay by armes to recouer his sonne, as the honour of his name required.*

Lib. 4. cap. 4.

The like courage appeared in *Publius Popilius*. For hee being sent from the

Plutarch in his Apophthegms.

Senat and people of Rome to king *Antiochus*, to forbid him to make any enterprise vpon Ægypt; and to command him to depart away, if he were entred into it: at his comming the king offred to embrace and welcome him (because they were friends euer since the time that *Antiochus* had beene hostage at Rome:) but *Popilius* gaue back, saying, That particular friendship was at that time to be laid aside, when the publike commission marched before: and hauing deliuered into his hand the Senats commandement, because the king delaied to answere, demanding some time to aduise thereof with his friends; *Popilius* began with a wand which he carried about him, to marke out a circle somewhat spacious about the chaire of *Antiochus*, saying vnto him, Sir, call hither what friends you will to resolue with them of this negociation within this round that you see, and thinke not to goe out from thence, but with a declaration either of war or peace betweene the people of Rome and you. This seuere resolution abated the pride of *Antiochus*, who presently made answere, That he would obey the Senat. We reade such another example, and no lesse memorable in *Valerius Maximus*. There was a law among the Romans, That no man on horsbacke should come neere the Consul, but so soone as he descried him a far off, he should for maners-sake alight, and salute him vpon the ground: Now as *Q. Fabius Maximus* was sent by the Senat about some important businesse to his sonne being Consul, and at that time at Suessa; and this Consul spying his father comming towards him a horsback, had sent vnto him by one of his Sergeants of the mase, to require him that he should alight and come vnto him after the accustomed order: *Fabius* quickly got downe from his horse, and comming to the Consul, said vnto him; *Sonne, I did not despise your dignitie, but would hereby proue if you knew what it was to be a Consul.* I must yet annex hereunto that which *Iustin* the Historian writeth of *Pharnaces* king of the Parthians. He putting by his sonnes (whereof he had a great number) gaue the kingdome to his brother *Mithridates* an excellent prince, *Because he held himselfe more tied to the publike good, than to his priuat family; and that it was necessary to prouide rather for the whole kingdome than for his owne children.*

Lib. 2. cap. 2.

Lib. 41.

Thomas Fazel in the second Decad of his hist. of Sicilia, *lib. 9.*

We haue a notable and a moderne example of this wisdome in *Ferdinand* king of Arragon and Sicilia. For he being desired of all to be their king, in the place of *Iohn* sonne to *Henrie* his brother deceased (to whom the crowne of right deuolued) and he refusing it; the princes summoned a Parliament, and *Ferdinand* was enion'd to be there: Who foreseeing what would follow, made his Nephew being yet a little child, to be apparelled in royall roabes, and hiding him vnder his garment, went and sate among the assembly. *Ferdinand*, by a generall voice and mutuall consent, was chosen king of Arragon, without any one word spoken in behalfe of the child: Which hee seeing, taketh foorth from vnder his garment the little prince *Iohn*, and lifting him vp vpon his shoulder, begins to crie to the people, *See, ô yee Arragonians your king; see, this is our king; let vs keepe faith with him, according to the custome of the Spanish nation.* Which hauing said, he embraceth the child, placeth him in the royall throne, and throwing himselfe first of all to the ground, doth him humble homage, and draweth (by his example) all the rest to doe the same; and so hauing yeelded and procured the kingdome to his Nephew, shewed, that he loued rather to liue in his former state than vsurp vpon anothers crowne. I haue described this storie out of *Thomas Fazelus*, because I hold it worthie to be remembred aboue many other. This good prince *Ferdinand* would not dishonour his nation so far, as to suffer that by the il-ordred fauour of the nobilitie and people, the lawfull successor should come

come to be had in contempt, and the crowne be giuen to him that would prefer his priuate profit before the common good.

But to come againe to Rome, let vs heare the praiſe that *Velleius Paterculus* giueth of *Publius Scipio*, ſurnamed *Naſica*. *Then* (ſaith he) Pub. Scipio Naſica, *grand-child to him that by the Senate was called a good man, ſonne to him who during his Cenſorſhip made galleries in the Capitoll, ſonne to the grand-child of* Cn. Scipio, *an excellent man, vncle to Africanus (whilſt he liued in priuate, and after he was in publike charge) and couſin german to* Tiberius Gracchus, *ſtill preferred the common good before his owne particular: and holding for a forraine thing, and out of his care whatſoeuer ſerued not for the publike weale, he was (becauſe of ſuch vertues) firſt choſen ſoueraigne biſhop in his abſence, at ſuch time as, hauing ſtretched out with his left hand the lap of his gowne from the higheſt ſhep of the Capitoll where he was firmely ſet, he cried, That all they that wiſhed the proſperitie of the commonwealth, ſhould follow him. Then the chiefe men, the Senate, the greater and better part of the knights, with thoſe of the people that were not yet infected with pernicious counſell, fell vpon* Gracchus, *who was in the market place with his troupes, where he would haue put all Italy welneere in a hurly-burly. He flying, and ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe at the going vp into the Capitoll, was ſtriken to the ground with a blow of a broken ſtoole, ſo that he died ſoone after, though he might haue liued a long time in great honour.* In the Fragments of the Rom. hiſtorie.

Vpon this occaſion *Valerius Maximus* calleth him a citiſen of a doubtfull praiſe and fame, becauſe he exerciſed the charges that were impoſed vpon him, not of good will, but becauſe he was commanded thereunto. For that which is done by conſtraint, ought more to be attributed to him that commandeth it, than to him that executeth it. Now ſo long as the Romans had the thoughts of *Naſica*, their domination floriſhed, extending it ſelfe far and wide. *Paulus Æmylius Veronian* obſerueth this of the Tholouſans, That they hauing vpon a time begun of themſelues to lay their citie-wals ſmooth-field, by which meanes they had expoſed themſelues to the ſpoile and ſlaughter of euerie enemie; to remedie the ſame, they made a great ceaſſement of money, which was gathered and leuied, but with great difficultie. Whereupon he addeth; *It is ſtrange to ſee, that commonly euerie man is more toucht with his owne priuate loſſe, than with the publike dammage: and there is nothing that nettles vs ſo much as when we muſt put our hand into our purſe. They that threw downe the walls of their citie, could not abide to haue their coffers and bags ſtirred.* *Lib.* 2. *Lib.* 6. of the hiſtorie of France.

This was it that *Annibal* ſaid (or reproached rather) to thoſe of Carthage; who, when they had beene ouercome, and the Romans as conquerors had impoſed a tribute vpon them, the firſt paiment whereof ſeemed vneaſie, for that the war had exhauſted the common treaſure, and therefore all the Towne-houſe was in mourning and in a ſorrowfull taking; *Annibal*, being at the ſame time there with the other Senators, hapned to laugh: *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Hædus*, chiding him for that he laught when all others wept, he, that was the cauſe of ſo many teares: he anſwered him, *If you could ſee my heart as well as my face, you ſhould ſoone ſee, that the laughter which you wonder at, and reprooue ſo bitterly, proceedeth not but from a heart tranſpierced with diſpaire in our miſeries. And yet this laughing is not to ſo little purpoſe, as your ſorrowing is abſurd and altogither boot-leſſe: You ſhould then haue wept, when our armes were taken away, when our ſhips were burnt, when we were forbidden to goe foorth to the war; This was our deaths-wound. Thinke not that the Romans haue determined this againſt you, onely becauſe they hate you; a great ſtate cannot long continue quiet; If it haue no enemie abroad, it will find one at home: euen as heauie and ſtrong bodies that ſeeme defended againſt heate, cold, and other apparant euills, are laaden, and at length ouerwhelmed with their owne weight. We feele the publike ill, ſo far as it extendeth and approacheth* *Tit. Liuius* in the laſt booke of the 3 Decad.

proacheth to our owne particular: and there is nothing that in the consideration thereof presseth vs so much, as the feare of losing that which is ours. Hence it came, that not one so much as sighed when vanquished Carthage was spoiled, and when you saw her disarmed, stripped, and left destitute among so many armed nations of Africa: but now because euerie man must contribute of his particular, you weepe, as if all were lost, and the citie were going to be buried. I feare, I feare you will feele ere it be long, that you haue wept now for a verie light occasion! To this *Robert Gaguin* had also relation, saying these words: *It hath beene seene sometimes in France that the common-wealth hath receiued more hurt, when a priest hath taken vpon him to manage affaires of state, than when they haue beene committed to some lord of noble descent being a wise and discreet man. The priest, transported with an insatiable desire to get, and to make himselfe great, draweth all to himselfe: the noble lord hauing pitie of the people, and reckoning all mens losse his owne, prouideth for the common good to the vttermost of his power: the one measuring his expense and riot, by his credit, heapeth and hoordeth vp wealth vpon wealth, fearing no check, because he is couered with his Ecclesiasticall exemption and freedome; the other (contrariwise) knowing verie well that his meanes are ioyned with those of the common-wealth, foreseeth that in the discommoditie of all, his particular is infallibly comprehended. For who so measureth his affaires by the consideration of the affaires of the common-wealth, cannot but see, that if the greater sinke, the lesser cannot stand vpright.* *Lib.9. of the hist. of France chap.3.*

Iohn du Tillet alleageth a place of *Demosthenes* saying; *The more their wealth increaseth that beare publike charge, the more the common good decreaseth. If the particular wealth doe not hinder the common; it is great reason, that the wealth of the particulars, that doe further the increasing of the common-wealth, should be augmented, and that they be partakers of that increase.* *Lib.2. of the affaires of France.*

Plutarch writeth, That when *Alexander* the great made his preparations for the Asian war, he gaue commission to *Perdiccas* to leauie certaine moneies in Macedonia: But when *Perdiccas* heard *Alexander* say, That he set vp his rest vpon the hope and assurance he had in his Counsell; he quitted the gift which the king had bestowed vpon him, saying, That he also would haue his part of that hope. His example made many moe to doe the like; which fell out well for them. *In the life of Alexander.*

Cornelius Tacitus glanced at this, when he writeth of the ancient English, *In times past* (saith he) *they liued vnder a Monarchie: now that they are subiect to diuers masters, one can see nothing but factions and diuisions among them. There is nothing better for vs, or that may maintaine vs so much against so many warlike nations, as this, That they may not consult togither. If any danger be threatned, two or three cities meet, but seldome to deuise or take counsell; and euerie one willing to fight apart, they are all of them ouercome.* Surely all good and vertuous men should aime at this marke, and doe their best, that euerie one may haue more care of the common good than of his owne particular. The Ciuilians likewise haue had an eie to this matter. Which if it be little regarded, that will come of it which we read befell the members of the bodie, who in disdaine, and to bring themselues in better liking, withdrew from the stomake his ordinarie food, from whence yet they drew their vigour and maintenance: but they found at last to their cost how foolishly they had conspired against themselues. We see that the societie of mankind is like a bodie, in the which if euerie member haue this thought, to care no more but for it owne profit and particular aduantage, not caring for others; and if all the members doe not loue one another, doe not hold one with another, doe not doe one for another, it commeth to passe within a while that the whole bodie is weakened, dissolued, and brought to nothing. If the liuer, the head, the heart respect onely their particular commoditie, and not maintaine the harmonie of the whole bodie; that is to say, If the members haue not this consent and agreement *In the life of Iul. Agricola.*

C. licet quibusdam. §. Illa semper. ext. de regul. & transf. ad relig. Auth. Res quæ, in fin. Comm. de Leg.

agreement betweene them, that they may be assisted one of another, it must needs follow that all the body must perish, and this harmony vanish quite away. The Commonwealth of Rome felt in the end the truth of this saying. For, hauing subdued all the world where she made the clattering of her armour to bee heard, she neuer left, till by quarrels, factions and ciuill warres, she had ouercome and destroyed her selfe with her owne hands:

That she might nothing leaue vnconquered in the world;

And that could neuer bee done before such time as the Romans preferred their particular good before the common; from whence grew partialities, and enmities, and at last the counsels of light and giddie heads made an end of all. For the old counsellers who had past through many dangers, and ouercome many difficulties being all gone; certaine yoong gallants, froward, ignorant, that knew nothing of that was past, comming to gouerne, turned all vpside downe. This inward sickneſſe ouerwhelmed at last (saith *Cicero*) the commonwealth of Rome, so firmely established, that there was no forraine enemie or power of man that was able to shake it.

Polyb. lib. 2.

In his dialogue *De Senectute.*

We wil here (for conclusion) adioyn a few examples, wherby we may see, that whē men for their priuat respect or benefit wil appropriat & (as it were) engrosse to themselues those blessings which the diuine prouidence sends to be communicated with all those that stand in need therof, the same blessings are taken away miraculously, both from the one sort & the other. In some places of Germanie it pleased God, that out of the earth (not many yeares since) certaine waters that were medicinall, did breake forth; vpon which, when as some would haue raised a tribute, the same waters dried vp: and as soone as that vniust tribute was taken away, and that all who had need thereof for their health might haue free vse of it, the same water began to issue foorth in great abundance as before. This makes me remember a passage in *Athenæus*, who writeth, that the same thing hapned in a marish in the time of *Alexander* king of Albania: to wit, that Ægyptian beanes grew and prospered there in great abundance for the space of two yeares; at the end of which time *Alexander* placed a guard vpon the marish, to keepe any from comming into it, which thereupon grew quite drie, and neuer brought foorth any thing. The same Author reporteth another such like thing that befell in a place called Edapsus: A certaine cold water differing from all other waters began to spring forth in a place not farre from the sea shore, wherof when such as were sicke had drunke, they felt a great ease; which made many to flocke thither from far countries: The Lieutenants to king *Antigonus* would make spare of this water, commaunding that such as came thither should haue other water giuen them to drinke: but presently the spring dried vp. Likewise in Troas, some time before that, there was found great abundance of salt, which vanished away so soone as *Lysimachus* offered to impose a tribute vpon it: Being amazed at the accident, he released the tribute, & the salt came againe as before. To come to neerer examples, *Iames Meier* writes of a thing that hapned at Sluse in the yere 1441, A new tribute (saith he) being imposed vpon the Musles, there was not any more seene or fished for; which euerie man esteemed a miracle: for so soone as the tribute was abolished, they came againe as plentifully as before. The poore folke doe liue there vpon this kind of shell-fish. To this we may adde that which *Peter Quinqueran* taketh out of a booke of the simples of *Brasauola*, a Physitian of Ferrara, where he treateth of Manna. The kings of Naples (saith he) hauing inclosed a certaine place with wals, where Manna did distill from heauen in great plentie, thereby to hinder the poore from gathering of it, except they would

Lib. 3. cap. 1.

In his Annals of Flanders, *Lib.* 19.

Lib. 2. de laud. Prouincie.

would pay a certaine tribute; the Manna left falling downe: But the incloſure being opened, it fell from the skie as it had vſed to doe. The place was ſtopped vp againe the ſecond time, and the third time, and alwayes it came ſo to paſſe. In a word, if the place were ſhut vp, heauen was ſhut vp: and it was open, if the paſſage were open and free to all. To conclude our Meditation; *Lactantius* hath ſaid very well, That God diuideth the light of the day alike to all, makes the fountaines and riuers flow to all, giueth food and gracious reſt to all.

Lib. 5. cap. 14.

CHAP. XIII.

Particular affections ought to be baniſhed from publike Counſels.

THe magnificall lords of Venice (as it is reported) haue a commendable cuſtome among them, when they meet in counſell about the affaires of the Common-wealth: For they doffe and lay aſide in Saint *Markes* church all particular enmities and quarrels, that they may the clearlier and freelier giue their opinions vpon the difficulties that ſhall be offered. I could wiſh the like were practiſed among vs Germans, when conſultation is had about the maintaining of the Empire, and of the Common-wealth: it may be we ſhould haue more reſt, more aſſurance, and proſperitie. This wiſe courſe of the Venetians helpeth them greatly for the preſeruation of their common-wealth, which hath been a foot more than theſe thouſand yeares, and ſince her firſt foundation was neuer taken by enemies, although ſhee hath had ſometimes verie great and terrible ones. I doe not thinke we haue the like example of any citie or common-wealth, how famous, mightie, or ſtrong ſoeuer it be. And therefore they doe not glorie for nought, that *Venice is ſtill a virgin*, in as much as ſince her firſt beginning no enemy did euer force or defile her. To returne to our purpoſe, there is to be ſeen at the going into the Counſell chamber of Reinſpourg, a table of marble containing in golden letters this good and ſacred inſcription following:

QVISQVIS SENATOR CVRIAM OFFICII CAVSA INGREDERIS, ANTE HOC OSTIVM PRIVATOS AFFECTVS OMNES ABIICITO: IRAM, VIM, ODIVM, AMICITIAM, ADVLATIONEM. REIPVB. PERSONAM ET CVRAM SVBIICITO. NAM VT ALIIS ÆQVVS AVT INIQVVS FVERIS: ITA QVOQVE DEI IVDICIVM EXPECTABIS, ET SVSTINEBIS.

That is to ſay, *Whoſoeuer thou bee, Counſellor, that in regard of thy Office, goeſt into the Counſell-chamber, put off, and leaue before this doore all priuat affections; anger, violence, hatred, friendſhip, or flatterie. Submit thy perſon and care to the Common-wealth. For as thou ſhalt doe right or wrong to others, ſo expect and bee ſure to feele the iudgement of God.*

Ant. de Palerm. in his hiſtorie.

The good king of Arragon, *Alphonſus*, had this ſame laudable cuſtom: for he was wont to ſay, That if he had bin borne when the common-wealth of Rome flouriſhed, he would haue builded hard by the Senat-hall, a Temple to *Iupiter Poſitorius*, within the which the Senators ſhould haue gone, & there haue doft and laid away all particular paſſions and affections of hatred, friendſhip, &c. *Ariſtides* teacheth vs this: for although *Themiſtocles* was the chiefe author of his baniſhment, yet ſeeing all Greece in danger to be ouer-run, he laid aſide all quarels, and comming to *Themiſtocles*, before-time his enemie, ſaith thus vnto him; *We muſt fight at all times, not for our priuate enmities and grudges, but to ſee which of vs two can doe beſt good and ſeruice to his countrey.* With like wiſedome *Narſes*, being to ioyne battell with the Gothes, began the oration which he made to *Beliſarius* and the other captaines of the armie, with theſe words: *My friends, when the common profit is in queſtion,*

Herodot. lib. 8.

Lat. Arez. lib. 2. of the war of the Goths.

question, I am of opinion that wee should wholly and altogether rest vpon it, without shaking the same by hatred, friendship, or other priuat respects, &c. The Romans are much esteemed for this: For so long as the Counsell-chamber was faithfull and secret vnto them; was armed and bulwarked with vnvanquishable silence, and that all at their going into it, did off their priuat respects, to put on the publike; they were safe from all attempts and violence of the enemie, which shal the better appeare by the oath which the Senators or Counsellors tooke, being this:

Iuro per Iouem Olympium & Consiliarium, & per Vestam Consultricem, & per Iouem Maritalem, & Iunonem Maritalem, & Mineruam Prouidam, & Victoriam, & Venerem, & Amicitiam, & Concordiam, & Ius atque Fas & bonam Fortunam, aliosque Vniuersos Deos ac Deas, me sententiam velle dicere secundum leges & consulta a Ciuitate approbata, & secundum decreta Romanorum & leges quibus Respubl. nostra administratur, in respectu vtilitatis patriæ, pro viribus meis non aliter quam is fecit, qui Senator fuit laudatiß. patriæ suæ vel Romanæ vel Græcæ ciuitatis. Neque gratiæ, neque odio, neque muneribus patiar seruire iudicium consultumue meum. Neque priuato addicam sententiam meam, neque me vlli parti aut homini adiugam, sed tantùm communi vtilitati, aucturus pro viribus Rempub. ita vt Dij & boni viri volunt. Mihi quidem sanctè iurato benè sit, & Dij atque Dæmones faueant itemq; meis omnibus cùm amicis tùm vniuerso generi & familiæ. In periurio verò ne deprehendar vnquam.

That is to say, *I sweare by* Iupiter *Olympian and Counseller, and by* Vesta *the Consultresse, and by* Iupiter *the Marier, and by* Iuno *the Maried, and* Minerua *the Prouident, and Victorie, and* Venus, *and Amitie, and Concord, and Right, and Equitie, and good Fortune, and by all the other Gods and Goddesses, that I haue resolued to speake my opinion according to the lawes and ordinances approoued by the citie, and according to the Decrees and Edicts of the Romans, by the which our Common-wealth is gouerned, hauing respect to the profit of my countrey, with all my power, no otherwise than such a one N. hath done, being an honourable Counsellor to his countrey, of a citie Roman, or Grecian. I shall not suffer that my Iudgement or Counsell shall be subiect to fauour, hatred, guifts or presents. I shall not frame my sentence to the will of any particular, nor ioyne my selfe to any man, or partie, but onely to the common benefit; that I may to the vttermost of my power encrease the Common-wealth, as the gods and good men wish and meane. This solemne oath turne to my good, and the gods and demie-gods be fauourable to me, and to all mine, my friends, my whole race and familie. But neuer let me be found periur'd.*

He named then such a Grecian or Roman as he thought good, & of the most famous before time, in prudence and vprightnesse.

I will (for conclusion) adde the example of *M. Attilius Regulus*, who knowing certainly, that if he returned into Africa, hee should be put to death with most grieuous torments, neuertheless despising his life, and careless of his family, he respected that onely which he ought to the common-wealth: For being to giue his opinion in the Senat, he deemed that there ought to be no exchange made of the prisoners; and to persuade the same, he declared plainely that the Carthaginians had poisoned him with a drug that had slow operation, that he might but liue till the prisoners were restored of either part; and that soone after the poison would come to his heart, so as he counted himselfe but a dead man. Being returned to Carthage, he was shut into a hole where he saw not a whinke, and a long time after brought of a sudden into the market place, and laid right against the beames of the scorching sunne, his eye-lids, both the vpper and the vnder, being

Cic. lib. 1. Offic. Val. Max. lib. 9. cap. 2.

Fannius in his Fragments.

being turned, yea and tied so fast that he could not shut his eies, but held them staring against the sunne, the tormentors keeping him in that case, and neuer letting him sleepe, till he had ended his daies in that miserable torment. The newes of his death being brought to Rome, the gentlemen of Cartharge, prisoners, were by the commandement of the Senate deliuered into the hands of the sonnes of *Regulus*, who shut them into a presse set all ouer with long and sharp-pointed nailes, where they were neuer suffred to sleepe, but ended their daies with that cruell punishment, as *Gellius* writeth, after another ancient Author, called *Tuditanus*.

Lib.6.cap.1.

CHAP. XIV.

The Pagans haue beene more modest in their Bathes and Stoaues than many Christians.

I Haue often wondred why in our time there are seene still in many places, bathes, stoaues, and common washing-places, where men and women, boies and maides meet all togither, without any difference or regard had either of sex or age: contrarie to the modest vse of the ancient Pagans, who were carefull to maintaine some pietie and honestie among them. For though vnder the rule of *Heliogabalus*, the bathes of Rome were open both to men and women indifferently; yet, before and since, it was a thing forbidden by the lawes of the Romans. But no maruell if the subiects of such a monster did follow their master, he being so giuen ouer to infinite villanies, that all his practises tended to none other end but this, to make euerie one exceed, not only his fellow, but also himselfe in all sorts of abhominable vices. And for the contrarie lawes, there is one made by *Romulus* the first king of the Romans, who for the honour of women ordained, *That the man that should suffer himselfe to be seene naked by a woman, should be condemned to die. Plutarch* speaking of the modestie of *M. Cato*, writeth, *That in old time fathers were ashamed to wash themselues with their children, and the father in law, with their sonnes in law.* And he addeth, *that* Cato *had as great shame to cast out a dishonest word in his sonnes presence, as in the presence of the Vestall Virgins: that they neuer bath'd togither; and thinketh it was the good manners of all the Romans in those daies. For the sonnes in law* (saith he) *hauing shame to vncouer their bodies, neuer met in bathes or common stoaues with their fathers in law.* To this we may annex the speech of *Cyrus* to his sonnes, a little before his death. *If any of you* (saith he) *desire to take me by the hand, or to see my eies, let him come so long as I breathe: But after I am dead, and shalbe couered, I require you, my sonnes, That my bodie be not vncouered, nor looked on, either of you, or of any other bodie.* I haue heard by credible persons, That the Emperour *Maximilian*, the first of that name, a prince of honourable memorie, forbad expressely that his naked bodie should bee seene after he was dead: whither his accustomed modestie was the cause thereof, or some other consideration, I know not.

Aelius Lampridius in his life.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* and of *M. Cato.*

Xenoph. lib. 8.

But let vs come againe to the baths and stoaues of men and of women. It is written that the Emperour *Adrian* made a law, That men should haue their baths apart and seuerall from those of women: which law was confirmed by *Alexander Seuerus*, and followed at last by *Iustinian*. Moreouer the ancient Canons could not endure this ignominie: for in them it is forbidden that men should bathe and wash with women, because the verie Pagans were against it. And the Emperor *Iustinian* ordained, That if a married man entred into the Bath where a strange woman should wash her selfe, he should loose the donation

Dion in his life.

Lult. C. de repud. Dist. 81. c. non oportuit & ibi. gl. In d. l. Vltima.

giuen

giuen him by his own wife in fauor of the marriage: as should also the wife, that was found bathing her selfe with any other man than her husband. Which gaue occasion to *Ludouicus Viues* to crie out with iust griefe, *What auaileth it to inueigh against this barbarous custome of some people, among whom both men and women wash themselues in one bath? I will speake no more of it being a beastly not a human fashion.* Of this opinion was *Poge* the Florentine, who describeth the order that was vsed in his time in the baths of Baden in Swisserland. His epistle, written to *Leonard Aretine*, is found among the epistles of *Æneas Syluius*, vnder this title, *Poggius, de schola Epicureæ factionis, quæ regnat in Teutonia, in balneo naturali dominorum de Baden.* The Turkes yet at this day doe condemne this libertie, among whom it is a capitall offence for a man to be found or seene in the stoaues where women wash themselues: yea, and the Turkish women are not suffred to goe in the street with open face, nor to talke with a man there. For this cause, the libertie of *Lycurgus* allowing the maides of Sparta to weare short garments, and to vse publike exercises with lads, hath beene taxed of a great many, as being the enflamer of fornication: and among others, by the Poet *Euripides*, as his verses of this tenor witnesse:

Those maides scarce dwell in sure and good aboade,
That leaue their fathers house and friske abroade:
When laying care of honour cleane aside,
They neuer haue their minions from their side.
Shewing their thighes as naked as ones hand
Of each side of their coates that open stand.
Running and wrastling in vnseemely sort
With lads, in publike places where they sport:
And yet you wonder, saying 'tis great pittie,
To haue dishonest women in your citie.

Lib. 4. of a Christ. woman.

Epist. 425.

See *Plutarch* in the comparison of *Romulus* and of *Lycurgus*.

For this cause *Plato* is censured by *Eusebius* and other ancient Diuines, for that (following the lawes of *Lycurgus*) he will haue women, both yong and old, wrestle in the parkes of exercises, with men: and maides run naked both a foot and on horsback, and in the solemne feasts dance naked with yong-men. This mad disorder made Saint *Ignatius* to say thus to Sathan: *Why condemnest thou the secret part not corrupted, and tearmest the members defiled, which in times past thou vncoueredst in thy feasts, commanding that men should strip themselues naked before women, and that the women should doe the like, the more to inflame the vnchast desire of the men? Now thou changest thy minde, and counterfeiting the honest man (thou vncleane spirit) saist that the members of mans bodie are defiled.* *Lactantius* speaking of the plaies called *Floralia*, saith the same thing in these words: *Such plaies are made with all dissolution, and correspond fitly with the remembrance of the infamous harlot that erected them. For besides the licentiousnesse of words, in the which all villany ouerfloweth, at the request of the people the common strumpets are stript starke naked, and brought vpon the stage, where in open view they shew foorth all the gestures and motions of their trade, vntill the beholders haue glutted their eies with such shewes.* Which is the cause, that many doe wonder what mooued *Franciscus Aretine* a famous Ciuilian, to offer to prooue, that *Francis Sforce* the duke of Milan had reason to require that *Dorothea* daughter to *Lewis* Marquesse of Mantua, affied to *Galeas* the dukes sonne, should be viewed naked by certaine Physicians which he had sent for that purpose, to the end it might be seene if she had any deformitie about her: and that the Marquesse (contrariwise) was in the wrong to refuse such an inspection, offring only to shew his daughter vnto them couered with the coate which *Galeas* her husband had

In his bookes of the Common-wealth, and of the lawes.
In the Epistle of the *Philippians*.

Lib. 1. of his *Institut.* cap. 20.

had sent her. Many other examples (besides this) are reported by the learned *Tiraqueau* in his fourth Connubiall law, conteining these words translated out of the Latin: *Let the husband reueale to the wife, his deformitie; and the wife hers, to the husband: but for all that, let not the wife (at any hand) strip her selfe naked.* It is not therefore without cause that *Gyges* saith in *Herodotus*, *That a woman doffeth her shame with her smock.* And worthily are the Babilonian women taxed, who meeting at banquets appeare there modestly apparelled, but presently they take and put off one piece after another, and by little and little profane their shamefastnesse. At the last they strip themselues starke naked. And this is practised not by the common queanes, but by matrons, and by men also; who call this prostitution of their bodies, good behauiour and ciuilitie.

In his worke touching Marriages, *lib.* 1.

Q. *Curtius*, *lib.* 5. of the doings of *Alex.*

I doe not meane to infer (by representing these things) that the nakednesse of the bodie is a thing shamefull of it selfe. For I know that the ancients haue alwaies painted Vertue naked. And indeed she desireth no riches, nor pompe, but immortall fame, praise, and glorie: as appeareth by a very ancient toombe, with this inscription; VIRTVS NVDO HOMINE CONTENTA EST: that is, *Vertue is content with a naked man.* For this reason, the Pagans, after they had canonised and put *Hercules* into the number of their gods, to shew his vertue they painted him naked, couered onely with a lions skin, and a club in his hand, as is to be seene in old pictures and worke of Imagerie, carefully collected and represented by *William du Choul.* We know also, that the first man, when he was in the state of innocencie and perfection, was created naked, and his wife also, and yet they held it for no shame: for indeed shame proceedeth of sinne. But I thinke that nakednesse grew full of shame and infamie after that impure desires were ioyned to nature, corrupted by the fall of *Adam* and *Eue.* Therefore Saint *Ignatius* holding on his speech against Sathan, saith; *Thou knowest not that a thing is impure, when we defile it by sin; but no action ought to be taken for foule or naught, but very good when it hath no sin in it.* And Saint *Augustin* saith, *That the parts seruing for the vse of generation were created honest and seemely by the Creator: but by the sin of man they are become dishonest, so that we couer them now, as* Adam *also couered them after his sinne, because of the dishonestie he felt in their mooning.* He concludeth, the priuie parts of man and woman are couered, not that there is in them any fault of the workemans part, which is God; but of mans part. And he saith well, For as *Chrysostom* witnesseth, *God hath created the soule and the bodie of man, not onely for vse, but also for honor and glorie.* *Pierius* aimed at that, when he saith, That as the ancients were lesse vicious, so did they reason more simply and more openly of euerie thing: nothing being then in mans bodie, whereof the sight or name might be thought shamefull or dishonest. But when corrupt manners began to grow, it behooued to declare that there were many things filthie to say and to doe, to the end that those men and women that know not how to keepe neither rule nor measure in their liues, might be turned aside from euill words, and impure workes by the infamie of the name. The same hath mooued *Iohn de Lery* to shew by pregnant reasons, That the naked American women (among whom they must necessarily conuerse that trauell into those remote countries, and who are no lesse faire than woman of these parts) doe not so much incite to libidinous desire any that behold them, but that they are more excusable in their simple and naturall nakednesse, and are lesse lasciuious and dishonest than a many of the wiues and maids of our countries, that make such strange countenances and gestures in their gate, with their garments and dressings of such sundrie stuffes and fashions.

In his booke of the ancient religions of the Romans.

In the Epistle to the Philippians.

Against *Iulian*, *cap.* 16.

Lib. 34. of his Hieroglyph.

In the description of America.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Right hand is a ſigne either of peace, or of enmitie.

THe Emperour *Albert*, the ſecond of that name, had this ſaying often in his mouth, and vſed it for his deuice; *Make not a friend vnaduiſedly; hauing made one, reiect him not raſhly:* It may haue been borrowed from *Solon*, who ſaid in his time, *Get not friends in haſte; and yet caſt not off thoſe that thou haſt gotten.* *Pythagoras* was of the ſame opinion in his darke ſayings; *Offer not* (ſaith he) *thy right hand to euery one:* ſignifying thereby, that a man ſhould not raſhly receiue the firſt commer into the league of friendſhip and familiaritie. Now, as our Anceſtors in ſaluting did put forth the right hand to the ſaluted, becauſe all their honour conſiſted in the force and valour of their right hand: ſo is it the vſe now of princes and great lords, not to giue the hand but to thoſe whom they will welcome and honour with ſome ſpeciall grace. Likewiſe, as to take by the hand is a token of agreement: ſo to ſtrike with the palme of the hand againſt the open hand of the enemie, ſignifieth peace, and forgiuing of iniurie. In this manner *Titus Liuius* writeth in the third Decad of the Roman hiſtorie, That certain citizens ſhewed their right hands open, to witneſſe that they would yeeld themſelues, and that they were friends. And the Spartans entrapped by the Athenians ſtrucke with their hands, in token that they demaunded peace. Therefore, flatly to refuſe, or vpon aduiſe to draw backe the hand, in ſtead of reaching it to him that looketh for it, is moſt commonly an euident ſigne of manifeſt hatred and enmitie. *Iames Meyer* offereth vs an example hereof in *Philip* Duke of Burgundie, the father of *Charles* ſlaine in the battell of Nancie. *Charles* hauing abſented himſelfe from his father for ſome faults, and his father falling very ſicke in the citie of Bruges, ſo that his ſpeech failed him; *Charles* hearing of it, came from Gant in poſt to Bruges, and falling on his knees before his father, did with warme teares beg humble pardon for all the griefes he had put him too, and beſought him with lowly reuerence, that he would vouchſafe him his fatherly bleſſing. His Confeſſour hauing told him in his eare, that if hee could not ſpeake, he ſhould (at leaſt) giue his ſonne ſome token and teſtimonie of his good will towards him: the good prince opened his eyes, and taking his ſonne by the right hand, claſped it within his owne ſo hard as he could; a ſigne of loue and forgiueneſſe.

Ammian Marcellinus ſaith the ſame of one *Nebridius*, who was the only man that refuſed to conſpire with others againſt *Conſtantius*, & therfore he (to ſaue himſelf from the furie of the ſouldiers, who had drawne their ſwords vpon him) flying with all the ſpeed he could make, to *Iulian*, beſought him that for aſſurance hee would vouchſafe to giue him his right hand: Whereunto *Iulian* made anſwere; *What good ſhall I leaue for my friends, if I ſhould giue thee my right hand?* Let vs refer to this that which the learned *Lipſius* obſerueth vpon the fifteenth booke of the Annals of *Cornelius Tacitus*, That the king of Perſia ſaued *Mentors* life by reaching him his right hand; which is taken and alleaged out of *Geniſte Plethon*. Hence is it alſo, that *Alexander* of Alexandria ſaith, that there is a certain religion in right hands: *For we reach it out* (ſaith he) *as offering to aſſure, that what wee haue promiſed ſhall be performed.* *Numa Pompilius* would that Faith ſhould be conſecrated in the hand, and he builded a chappell to Faith, commaunding that the Prieſts or Flamins ſhould be carried in ſolemne proceſſion within a chariot couered all ouer, hauing their fingers enter-folded together: A notable teſtimonie that *Numa* held Faith for holy and ſacred after touching of the hand, and therefore that it

Gloſſ. in Leg. 1. De conſil. Iaſon in l. 1. col. 3. de pactis.

Lib. 8.

Thucid. lib. 4.

Lib. 16. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 21.

Lib. 2. of the expl. of the Greeke.

Lib. 2. of the gen. daies, *c. 29*

ought by no meanes to bee violated. *Gobrias* confirmeth the ſame in *Xenophon*, praiſing the right hand of *Cyrus*: for what he promiſeth, he performeth. Whervpon my late father alleageth in his Annotations a place of *Homer*, ſhewing that the right hand is a ſigne of fidelitie; and addeth, that Faith is ſtrengthened by this ceremonie of reaching the right hand: and the king of Perſia commanded his Embaſſadors to offer and reach it in his name. In the ſelfe ſame manner the ancient Emperors and Kings of Germanie were wont to ſend their great men to conclude a peace, and to determine affaires, when they could not go themſelues. It appeareth alſo, that there is in the right hand (as it were) the marke of the authoritie and maieſtie of man: for if there happen to be any tumult, we repreſſe the multitude with the right hand, we get audience, and ſignifie by ſtretching forth the hand, that we bring peace. Whereunto *Virgil* had relation, when he maketh king *Latinus* to ſay thus of *Æneas*:

Lib.6. of the inſtitution of Cyrus.

Lib. intit. Jus vel Speculum Saxonium.

Lib.7. Æneid.

It is a pawne of peace both for my realme and me,
To touch this Princes hand ſo valiant and ſo free.

We haue moreouer for witneſſe hereof, the ancient pictures of the Emperors and other great men of the world, whom (for the moſt part) we ſee to hold out the right hand. And *Plutarch* writeth of *Marius*, (while he contemned his maſſacres at Rome, and that his guards were cutting the throats of all thoſe they met in their way, without reſpect of any) that when he would ſaue any mans life, he reached him his hand. For concluſion, we read in the holy bookes, that the right hand ſignifieth the place of dignitie and happineſſe; the left hand, contrariwiſe, of miſerie and wretchedneſſe: of which, as the one many times ſheweth the life that is happie for euer; the other, eternall damnation: ſo in diuers places, by Gods right hand is meant euerlaſting glorie; and by his left, perpetuall reproach and puniſhment.

In his life.

Math. 25.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Beard, and the Haire.

John du Tillet lib. 2. of the affairs of France

AMong the French, the ſubiects were ſhauen in token of Vaſſalage, but the princes wore long haire for a marke of ruling. They cheriſhed this haire from their child-hood the moſt carefully they could, ſo that their haires hung downe behind their necke and played vpon their ſhoulders: before, they parted them, and made them hang downe of both ſides the temples and cheekes, curling, braiding, and perfuming them; as one may ſee by their pictures in the churches of Saint *Denys* in France, and Saint *Germain des prez*. *Agathias* obſerueth this difference in the hiſtorie of the Goths, and ſaith, That the Burgundians ſlew in a battell *Clodomir*, ſon to *Clouis* the firſt chriſtian king of France, hauing known him by his long haire. *Gregorie de Tours* and *Aimon* write, That *Clotarius* the firſt, would not acknowledge *Gondebaut*: by meanes whereof, and for a ſigne that hee reiected him, he gaue order to haue him often pol'd. The ſame *Gregorie* writeth, That the bodie of *Clouis* ſonne to king *Chilpericke*, ſlaine at the commandement of *Fredegonda* his ſtep-mother, and after caſt into the riuer of Marne, was caught in a fiſhermans net, and being drawne aſhore, was knowne by his curled lockes. The kings of the line of the *Carlouingians* wore not their haire long nor ſo braided and curled as the *Merouingians* did, who had brought the faſhion out of other countries; although the ſonnes of the *Carlouingian* kings continued to claime their ſhares in the title of the kingdome.

Lib.6. cap.24. Lib.3. cap.61. Lib.8. cap.10.

This

This diſcourſe may be enriched with the memorable example of the Queene *Chrotilda*, mother to the kings *Childebert* and *Clotarius*, as it is reported by Doctor *Hottoman*. *There raigned once* (ſaith he) *a Queene called* Chrotilda, *who ouercome with a marueilous downe-weighing affection towards the ſonnes of her ſonne* Clodomia, *deceaſed, did her vttermoſt endeauor to aduance them, and to croſſe her two other ſonnes to whom the kingdome of right belonged: therefore was ſhee very carefull to nouriſh their haire according to the cuſtome. The kings her ſonnes vnderſtanding the truth of the matter, ſent one* Arcadius *vnto her with a naked ſword, and a paire of ſheeres, giuing her the choice, either to ſee her grand-ſonnes heads or haire cut off. But ſhe tranſported with anger, eſpecially ſeeing the naked ſword, and the ſharpe ſheeres, anſwered out of the extreame bitterneſſe of her ſoule; If they may not be kings, I had rather ſee them dead than clipt.* So that (as *Gregorie de Tours* writeth) her two grand-ſons were kild there before her eyes. Thus reporteth Doctor *Hottoman*, with many other notable things in that chapter touching the prerogatiue of the royall haire. In his *Francogaule. cap.* 19.

This manner and cuſtome was once obſerued in Greece, and welneere in all the Eaſt, where, to ſhaue the head and the beard, was held for a great puniſhment. For they vſe to cheriſh and maintaine their beards very carefully; and if a man did pluck but a haire from them againſt their wils, they thought themſelues highly iniuried. In many places the puniſhment of fornication was, That the fornicator ſhould haue his beard chopt off openly with a keene axe, and ſo be ſent away; which to him was a mark of infamy. Contrariwiſe, for a man to ſweare by his beard, it was eſteemed a holy and religious oath. It was not without cauſe therefore, that lawes were made long ſince againſt ſuch audacious fellows as ſhould this way trouble the common peace and tranquilitie, which appeareth by the ordinance of the Emperour *Frederick*, touching the keeping of the peace, and the breakers thereof; where theſe words are among other, *If any man ſtay and lay hold of another, and (albeit he ſhed no blood) beat him with a cudgell, or pluck off the hairs of his head or beard, let him forfeit ten pounds to the partie offended, and twentie pounds for ſatisfaction of Iuſtice.* We read likewiſe among the ancient lawes of the Germans made in the time of *Clotarius*, one law hauing this Title, *De eo qui alium contra legem totonderit*, where it is ſaid, *If any cut off the haires of a free man againſt his will, let him pay him twelue ſhillings for amends: and ſix ſhillings if he make his beard bee ſhauen.* The law *Salicke* ſetteth a fine vpon them that ſhall ſhaue young boyes or maids. And *N. Boyer* ſaith (as *Cornelius Tacitus* alſo writeth, ſpeaking of the Germans) That it was the cuſtome in France, that the wife accuſed and conuicted of adulterie by her husband, ſhould be ſhauen, and that her clothes ſhould be clipt off round about her, and of a good height; and that ſhe ſhould be carried in that manner throughout the townes and villages, to be ſeene of euery one. So *Gandinus* reporteth, That in Lombardie the theeues and fierers of forreſts, were, according to ſome caſes and circumſtances, pold for the firſt time, for the ſecond time they had all their haires of their head ſnipt off. Let vs adde hereunto that which *Theuet* affirmeth, how yet at this day it is a kind of puniſhment in the Iſle of Candie, to cut a mans beard. So in times paſt among the Indians the king made him to be pold that had committed ſome great offence, as a marke of extreame reproch. Therefore was it not vnproperly ſaid by a certaine Ancient, That it was as ilfauoured a ſight for men to be without beards, as for horſes and lions to bee without haires. *Plutarch* ſpeaking of the cuſtome of the Cicilians ſaith, That the conquerers were mounted vpon horſes crowned with Bayes, and the priſoners poled, and ſo led in triumph. *Thomas Hazel* ſaith the like. Not without cauſe therefore did the Italians wonder at the ſtrange ſight in the German

De malefic. in tract. pœn. nu. 56

In his Coſmographie.

In the life of *Timoleon.*

In the hiſt. of Sicilia, *Decad.* 1. *lib.* 4.

German armie which the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt brought againſt the Venetians, where a great many horſes had their maines clipt, and their tailes cut, not conſidering, that the ſame was done (according to the opinion of the Germans of that time) to this end that their horſes might thereby be the more nimble and ſtrong. We read alſo in *Marc. Paulus Venetian*, that the cuſtome of the Tartars Cararíamites was, to take from their horſes (of which they haue a number of luſtie and couragious ones) two or three ioynts of the taile-bone, to the end that the horſe may not offend his maſter, nor ſwing with his taile, which they hold for a kind of ſhame.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 40. of his hiſtorie.

Let vs alleage ſome examples to this purpoſe; *Paradin* writes that a certaine yong gentleman, who followed the Earle of Sauoy, had the haire of his beard, which was newly budded out, ſhauen off by a Barber in the market place at Conſtantinople with a great many ceremonies, for a puniſhment, becauſe he had forced a certaine damoſell, his hoſts daughter: And after his beard was ſo trim'd, the damoſels father who had preferred a grieuous complaint againſt the gentleman, made declaration that he was well ſatisfied. But the Earle thinking this chaſtiſement but a matter of ſport, for as much as the fault deſerued death, would not yet for that time be thought more rigorous than the priuat law of that place, towards his houſhold ſeruant, a man otherwiſe valiant and faithfull: But he added this threatning caueat, That if from thence-foorth, that gentleman, or any other of his followers, ſhould preſume to attempt ſo great an offence, he, who profeſſed himſelf a prince carefull of the honor of ladies, would ſeuerely puniſh the offenders according to the Iuſtice of Sauoy, and not according to that of Greece. In former times the Turkes were wont to let the haire of their head and beard grow long: For we read in their Hiſtories publiſhed by *Leonclauius*, that to cut the beard with cizzers was not a thing in vſe. The Counſellors and Baſſas of the Sultan wore verie long beards. If the Sultan were diſpleaſed with any man, he cauſed his beard to be cut, for a puniſhment and ſhame. The ſame *Leonclauius* reporteth, That the Sultan *Emir Suleyman* being prouoked to anger with certaine ouer-rude ſpeeches giuen him by a captaine of the Ianiſſaries, called *Chaſſan*, cauſed his beard to be cut off in reproach, according to the cuſtome of Turkie: Which thing *Chaſſan* eſteemed ſo great a ſhame vnto him, that he went ouer to the enemies, and handled the matter ſo, that *Emir Suleyman* being forſaken of his Counſellors and ſouldiers, was preſently entrapped and ſtrangled. Which hapned in the yeare 1512.

In his Chronicle of Sauoy. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 155.

I allow of their opinion who thinke, that the Germans and other people began a little to take downe their long beards, after experience had taught them that it was not beſt to keepe the haire ſo long by reaſon of the inconueniences that followed of it, both in the wars, and in the hurts as well of the head as of the face; as alſo, for health-ſake, long haire feeding the defluxions of the braine. Whereunto (happily) *Charlemaigne* had reſpect in the priuiledge which he gaue to the Friſons, within the pallace of Lateran at Rome, in the yeare 802. in the which theſe words among other, are contained: *We ordaine, That the Friſons that will goe to war, and are of abilitie, be clipt round about to the top of their eares, and weare caſſocks laced with gold: that thereby they may make ſhew of the libertie which we haue graunted vnto them.* Contrariwiſe, *Claud*, or *Clodion* ſurnamed the Hairie, ſecond king of the French, hauing by continuall wars happily driuen the Romans welneere out of all France; commanded his ſouldiers and ſubiects to weare long haire and long beards in token of libertie: becauſe in former times the Romans by the Emperours Edicts made the Gaules be poled, for a witneſſe of ſeruitude.

tude. This Ordinance of *Clodion* was made about the yeare of Grace 443. This custome was after a sort practised in the citie of Athens. For the yong boies were neuer pol'd till they were fourteene yeeres of age: and then they were brought by their parents to those of their kin, that in their presence their bush might be clipt off. The manner of the Greekes and Romans for the most part was, to consecrate this first maiden-head of their haire to some Idoll, so as making profession to nourish it in honour of that Idoll, they would come to be pol'd in the chappell of that Idoll, and there leaue their fleece in some eminent place; the proofe whereof may be seene in many ancient Authors.

To returne to our purpose, we must not forget, that *Alexander* the great being readie to ioyne battell, gaue expresse commandement to the Macedonians to shaue their beards. They say, That vpon a time when they were all readie to close with the enemie, the captaines asked him, if he would command them ought? Nothing (quoth he) but that I would haue the Macedonians to shaue their beards: meaning, that they were to coape and grapple with the enemie, and that long beards are not then best, but rather easie to be taken hold by. The Sarasins of India were not ignorant of this fashion: For *Ierom Osorius* writeth, That the Portugalls offring to land in Panane neere Calecut, were set vpon by thirtie Moores hauing their heads and beards shaued in token of a vow, whereby they had sworne with horrible execrations to die rather than to quit their place: Now, as it was knowne afterwards, there was at that time a great number of these vow-makers, vpon whom this necessitie was laid either to be kild, or to returne Conquerors. *Alexander* of Alexandria writeth, That the Abantes a people of Arabia, and the Mysians haue noted the same let and hinderance in long haire: for, they shaued all the forepart of their heads, that they might not giue the enemies any hold when they should goe togither by the eares. The Curetes (that is to say *Clipped*, of the Greeke word *Coura*, which signifieth a clipping) and the Ætolians did the like; for, hauing had before-time much haire vpon their forehead, and the enemie taking occasion thereby to lay hold of them the more easily, they shaued themselues before, and kept their haire long behind. The like doe the Americans at this day, and the other West-Indians. But *Lycurgus* (as *Plutarch* writeth) willed that the Lacedemonians should preserue their great locks, adding the reason, for that it made the faire men seeme fairer; and the foule, more fierce and terrible.

Lib. 5. of the historie of Portugal. sect. 7.

Lib. 5. of his gen. daies cap. 18.

In the life of Lysander.

But some of the wisest haue taxed and spoken against this fashion; and the Lacedemonians themselues did not vse it alwaies. For, as the same Authour writeth, the custome of the yong men was, that when they came to full age they went and shaued their haires in Delphos. The excellent captaines of war would haue their souldiers shauen, and so it should seeme was the Romans vse. Saint *Paul* followed this rule, as most conformable to wisedome and reason, when he saith, *That it is a dishonour to the man to weare long haire*, and addeth, *That nature teacheth so*. *Chrysippus* maintaineth, that the shauing of the chin and beard was found out in the time of *Alexander*: which *Athenæus* reporteth, bringing in the Poet *Alexis*, who saith;

In the life of Theseus.

1. Cor. 11. 14.

Lib. 13. cap. 6.

Dost thou see any fellow pol'd and shauen,
And askest me from whence the cause should come?
He goes vnto the wars to fight and rauen,
And play such prankes he cannot doe at home:
Such prankes become not those that beards doe weare;
And what harme is it if long beards we beare?

For so it is apparant to be seene
That we are men, not women, by our chin.

It is a hundred and fiftie yeares agoe or thereabout, since the wearing of long locks began to be left, in France, Germanie, and other countries, and that by the meanes of *Philip* the Good, Duke of Burgundie (as many thinke) in the yeare 1460. This duke (as *Pontus Heuterus* reporteth) hauing beene troubled with a verie long and vnknowne sickenesse, was told by his Physitions, that he should find ease if he would haue his haire cut (it being then the custome of great lords to haue speciall care of keeping their haire long:) Which hauing done, and perceiuing that the strangenesse of the thing made him much laught at of his court, and others that came to doe their duties to him, he commanded by an Edict that all they of his court, and other gentlemen his vassals, should be poled, as he was: so in one day there was a fall of fiue hundred bushes of haire in the citie of Brussels: the rest were constrained to obey, the commission of forcing them thereunto being granted to a gentleman called *Peter de Vacquenbac*: in so much as at Brussels, and in all the other cities, townes, and villages, there was nought else seene but shauen men, whereat the common people laughed till they were like to burst.

Lib. 4. of the historie of Burgundie.

It hapned afterwards (as *Bodin* witnesseth) that king *Francis* the first being hurt in the head, made himselfe be poled to be the sooner healed. Whereupon followed the poling of the princes, lords, gentlemen, officers of justice, merchants, artisans, and paisants, throughout all France: and if any man wore his haire long after the old fashion, he was hooted at of all. The same also befell the Greekes. For *Theophylus* the Emperour hauing by nature a thin and short haire, and being indeed bald, commanded by an Edict that all should poll themselues, and not let their haire grow lower than to their neck, vpon paine of whipping; saying, That he would bring vp againe the ancient vertue of the Romans, as his Imperiall constitutions testifie. This fashion afterwards by little and little grew into a custome all Europe ouer. To close vp this chapter, I will here annex a merrie storie which fell out vpon occasion of the beard, mentioned in *Nicephorus* his Chronologie. *Baldwin* prince of Edessa, and husband of *Morphia* daughter to an Armenian called *Gabriel*, prince of Mitylene, being taken prisoner neere to Carras, and put to a great ransom, was after fiue yeares imprisonment released. And being in want of money, whereof his wiues father had great abundance, he tooke this course to get some. Comming to his father in law, he tooke order with his horsemen (to whom he ought a great pay) to follow him, and presently vpon their comming to require they might be satisfied, or to haue the pawne and assurance of their due. They were no sooner come in place, but they begin to grumble and to demand their money, making such a stur, that *Gabriel* heares it and runs out to know what the matter was. Hauing heard their demand, he asketh what the pawne was they required. *Baldwin* standing stone-still, as if shame had stopt his mouth; he that was the spokes-man in the name of the rest begins to say, Your sonne in lawes beard is bound to vs for payment, the time prefixed is now past, therefore let vs either haue our money, or his beard. *Gabriel* amased and verie angrie, asked his sonne in law, if that were true. *Baldwin* making as if he were much grieued answered plainely, yea. *Gabriell* mooued more than before, asketh him what necessitie had so neere driuen him to engage a thing so great, so precious, and which was to be so carefully preserued? Because (answers *Baldwin*) these people pressed me to pay them, and I could not giue them a better pawne than my beard. *Gabriel* mistrusting no deceit,

In his Common-wealth. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 6.

deceit, redeemed the extreame ignominie his ſon was like to receiue by loſſe of his beard, and furniſhed ſo much money as paid the ſouldiers, and ſent *Baldwyn* away with his beard.

I may not yet forget this one thing, that, as in times paſt, ſo now likewiſe, among ſuperſtitious people it is held for an ill ſigne, when one dreameth that his haire is cut off. There is an Epiſtle touching this opinion, of *Plinie* the younger to *Sura*, where the Commenter alleageth *Suidas*, who is of opinion, that as to clip the tuft of haire on the crowne of the head ſignifieth loſſe of goods, ſo to dreame that one is pold, bodeth ſome great danger. *Pierius* ſaith, That the poling of the right ſide of the head in dreaming, ſignifieth the death of kinsfolkes: If the dreamer haue none, yet hee ſhould feare ſome other heauie chance. If it ſeeme that the left ſide is poled, that ſignifieth to him that dreameth it, that his neere kinsfolks ſhall die: if he haue none, ſome other miſchance ſhall befall him. But leaue we theſe friuolous conſultations to expounders of dreames. The holy Scriptures teach vs, that *all the haires of our head are numbred, and that not one of them falleth away without the will of our heauenly Father*. And we know, that ſuperſtitious diuining by dreames is condemned of Chriſtians, and repreſſed and puniſhed by the Roman lawes. God by his Prophet *Ieremie* deteſteth falſe and idle dreames. Touching the diuine viſions recommended by him, they haue another conſideration. *Eccleſiaſticus* warneth vs not to giue credit to dreames, *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *the mind that is occupied with fantaſies, ſuffreth like a woman in trauell: whereas ſuch viſions are not ſent vnto thee from the Higheſt to trie thee, ſet not thine heart vpon them: For dreames haue deceiued many, and they haue ſtumbled that haue put their truſt in them.*

Lib.7. Epiſt.27.

In his Hieroglyph. lib.32.

Math.10.30.

L. Etſi excepta C. de maleſic. & Mathemat.

Cap.23.v.28. Cap.34.v.5.6.7.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the wonderfull recompence of Nature.

THat foreſight and care which the Creator of all things hath giuen to Nature, as to a good mother, is ſtrange and to be wondred at: for ſhee doth impart day by day, according to her manner, ſuch force and dexteritie to liuing creatures that haue their members crooked, ſhort, ſhrunke together, weake, or meerly defectiue, that the other members which are whole & perfect, doe diuers things beyond their ordinarie function, ſo as one might ſay, that perfection conſiſteth not in the diſtinction of the members, but in the continuall vſe of them. My ſelfe and ſome others being once at Combourg in the houſe of *Eraſmus Neuſteter* a wiſe and vertuous gentleman of Germanie, he entertained vs with the greateſt kindneſſe that could be deuiſed, and ſent to a place not very farre from them for one *Thomas Schweiker*, a young man of one and thirtie yeres of age, deſcended of a worſhipfull houſe, and borne without euer an arme, who did with his feet all that a readie man could doe with his hands, ſo that himſelfe affirmed he was recompenced of one gift in ſtead of another. Hauing ſet himſelfe in a place equall with the height of the table wheron the meat was placed, he tooke a knife with his feet, begins to cut bread, and to cut meat, which he carried with his feet to his mouth, and likewiſe his cup, as eaſily as another would haue done with his hands. After dinner, he begins to write examples in Latin and German letters, ſo ſtraight and ſo faire, as euery one of vs deſired to haue ſome of them to keepe as a ſpeciall monument. Being requeſted, he did with a penknife make pennes, very good to write with, which he gaue vs. While he was thus a doing, I marked diligently the making of his feet, & ſaw that his toes were long, fit to take hold of

of things, and to behold them a farre off, one would take them for fingers: for his thighs and legs, he kept them mannerly couered with his cloake. This ſight (which we had neuer ſeene before) was no leſſe pleaſing then ſtrange to vs; as it was alſo at another time to the Emperor *Maximilian* the ſecond, who paſſing that way, deſired to ſee the man, and hauing noted in him (not without wonderment) the ſtrange recompence of Nature, he diſmiſſed him with a rich gift. Of late there hath been ſeene a man without armes going about in Germanie, who had learned by cuſtome turned into art, to handle a ſword, and to flouriſh it about his necke; to fling halberds, and to doe other ſtrange things ſo nimbly, and ſo ſurely withall, that he would moſt commonly hit the marke; and all other duties of the hands, he did them with his feet. But the end of his life ſhewed that hee was a deceiuer and a wicked perſon: for he was broken vpon the wheele for his robberies and murders.

We haue at Nuremberg a young man and a young maid, borne of one father and mother, of a good houſe, and well knowne, that are endued with a ſingular quicke conceit: for although they be deafe and dumbe by nature, yet can both of them read very well, write, cypher, and caſt account. The young man conceiueth at firſt by ſignes that are made him, what he is required to doe. If his pen be wanting, by his countenance he ſheweth his thoughts, being the quickeſt and cunningeſt at all games both at cards and dice, that one can find among the Germans; although there they vſe great aduiſement, and be marueilous readie and quicke. His ſiſter paſſeth all other maids for working with her needle all kinds of ſeamſtrie, tapiſtrie, embroideric, &c. But among all the other wonderful recompences of nature, this is remarkable in them, that moſt commonly as ſoone as they ſee ones lips ſtir, they vnderſtand his meaning. They are oftentimes at Sermons, and a man would ſay that they draw & conceiue with their eyes the words of the Preachers, as others vſe to doe with their eares: for, they will oftentimes (no bodie euer teaching them, or ſetting them any letters or copies) write the Lords praier and other godly praiers, know by heart the texts of the Goſpels that are read vpon holy dayes, and write them readily. When in the Sermons the Preacher maketh mention of the name of *Ieſus*, the young man is readie before any of the hearers, to take off his hat, & to bow his knee with all reuerence; So carefull is nature, like a good mother, to make amends for a fault, that none ſhould accuſe her to be a ſtep-mother: for, what ſhe taketh away in ſome of the ſences, ſhe alloweth in the reſt, as appeareth by *Didymus Alexandrinus*, of whom *Ruffinus* writeth, That he being blind, after he had humbly recommended himſelfe to God, ſpent all his time in hearing, inſomuch as by his diligent attention he attained to that which others obtaine by reading, and by the direction of the holy Spirit, became ſo skilfull in diuine and humane learning, that he was excellent among the Diuines of his time. Moreouer, our Anceſtors haue ſeene *Iohn Ferdinand*, a Fleming, a blind and poore ſoule, a Spaniards ſon, who ouercame ſo happily theſe two difficulties (very croſſe to all, eſpecially to learned men) that he became not onely a very learned Poet and Philoſopher, but alſo ſo excellent a Muſician, that he plaied vpon diuers kinds of Inſtruments, to the great pleaſure of the hearers; and beſides, hee made good ſongs and full of muſicke, of many parts. Another named *Nicaſius* of Werd, borne at Macklin, excelled him: for falling blind when he was three yeares old, and not being able before to learne any one letter, he ſo profited in the knowledge of Philoſophie, both humane and diuine, that all men were rauiſhed with him. Hauing proceeded Maſter of Arts at Louain, and afterwards being made Principall of Macklin colledge, where he diſcharged

Lib. 2. of the Eccle. hiſtorie, Cap. 7.

diſcharged his dutie paſſing well; hee aſcended a while after to the degree of Licenciat in Theologie, and though he were blind, he read, and preached openly. Furthermore, being made Doctor of the Lawes in the Vniuerſitie of Colen, he read there, and expounded the Ciuile and Canon Law, repeating by heart the texts which he had neuer read, and at laſt died at Colen in the yeare 1492.

We will conclude this chapter with an example of one borne blind, in whom nature made ſupplie of that defect with a marueilous recompence otherwayes. The ſtorie is mentioned by *Antonius de Palermo* thus: I learnt (ſaith he) of king *Alphonſus*, that there was a Sicilian borne blind, liuing ſtill at that time in the citie Gergento, called in old time Agrigentum, who had followed him oftentimes a hunting, ſhewing to the Huntſ-men (who had their ſights well ynough) the retraits and repairing places of the wild beaſts. Hee added further touching the induſtrie of this blind man, that hauing by his ſparing and ſcraping gotten together about fiue hundred crownes, which put him to a great deale of care, he reſolued (at laſt) to hide them in a field. As he was making a hole in the ground to that end, a goſſip of his being his neighbour, eſpied him, who ſo ſoone as the blind man was gone, ſearched in the earth, found the money, and caried it cleane away. Two or three dayes after, the blind man returning thither to viſit his caſh, and finding nought there, like one altogether forlorne, he frets & torments himſelfe, and after much debating and diſcourſing concludes, that no man but his goſſip could haue plaied him ſuch a tricke. Whereupon finding him out, he thus began to ſay vnto him; Goſſip, I am come to you to haue your opinion: I haue a thouſand crownes, and the one halfe of them I haue hid in a ſafe place; and for the other halfe I know not what to doe with them, hauing not my ſight, and being very vnfit to keepe any ſuch thing, therefore what thinke you? might I not hide this other halfe with the reſt, in the ſame place of ſafetie? The goſſip approoued and commended his reſolution, and going ſpeedily to the place, carried backe againe the fiue hundred crownes that he had taken away before, hoping that he ſhould haue all the whole thouſand together. A while after the blind man goes to his hole, and finding there his crownes againe, tooke them vp, & comming home, calleth for his goſſip, ſaying vnto him with a cheerfull voice; Goſſip, the blind man hath ſeene better than he that hath two eyes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Beares that eat men. And the ſtrange crueltie of ſome men that will bee thought Chriſtians.

Many ſtrange things are reported by men of credit, and as many things written of the life and manners of *Iohn Baſilides* great duke of Muſcouia. Among other things it is ſaid, that this prince kept alwaies hard by his chamber doore, certaine great Beares, to whom hee would cauſe thoſe to be caſt that he would haue made away, moſt of them without any conuiction, hauing no reſpect to their nobilitie and ranke. This *Baſilides* exceeded in violence and crueltie all the tyrants that euer were before him. *Paul Oderborn* writeth, That this prince inuiting oftentimes his father in law *Michael Temrucow* to come and banquet with him in his caſtle, would (when his cruell humor came vpon him) cauſe the old man to be ſtript ſtarke naked, and ſo would ſend him away through the deepe ſnowes home to his owne houſe a great way from thence: Sometimes he would keepe him ſhut vp cloſe in his houſe, and driue him, for want of meat and drinke

In the life of *Iohn Baſilides.*

drinke, almost to despaire. For, by the commandement of the duke, there were tied at the entring in of the gate of the said house foure great beares, to keepe that no person should carrie any meat to this poore prisoner. Moreouer his custome was to let loose such cruell beasts among a great assembly of people, especially at such time as they were going to the churches. And if any one were spoiled by those beares, he would couer such mad parts with some jest and laughing deuise, saying, That his sonnes had taken great delight in such a sight; that they might thinke themselues happie, whom the great dukes beares had tugd and kild, considering also that he himselfe tooke singular pleasure in such pastimes.

Lib. 29. of his historie.

Ammian Marcellinus writeth almost the same of the Emperour *Valentinian*: His words are these; *But it is not fit we should forget or ouer-passe this one thing, that he, hauing two cruell beares liuing by mans flesh, the one named* Mica aurea, *the other* Innocentia, *was verie carefull to haue them lodged neere his chamber doore, and appointed men to keepe them. After he had beene serued a long while of* Innocentia, *who had torne and eaten a number of men, to recompense her seruices he set her loose, and sent her away into the woods.* Now although *Caligula* and other Emperours, or rather tyrants, tooke great pleasure in casting both men and women to beasts, to be by them throtled and rent, yea and sometimes made them be hid and sowed in beasts skins, to make their pastime the greater: (which could not let, but that the power of God saued a great many from such punishment, brideling and taming the fierce nature of the wild beasts, as *Eusebius* maketh mention) yet this which *Suetonius* writeth of *Nero* exceedeth for crueltie all that is said before: *We haue heard* (saith he) *that* Nero *determined, That a certaine Ægyptian, the greatest rauener in the world, should haue these men, and teare & eat them all raw.* This Ægyptian was one that swallowed raw flesh, and all that was set before him. *P. Iustinian* reporteth, That *Aladin* king of the Hassians in the Isle of Sumatra, sent (not many yeares agoe) to *Solyman* the Emperour of the Turkes, among diuers presents, a Moore that liued by mans flesh. *Paulus Iouius* writeth touching *Amidas* the king of Tunis, That he was wont not onely to cause dead bodies to be cast to the dogs to feed them, but also to let loose hungrie dogs vpon liue bodies, to teare them the more furiously. If the Pagans and Turkes haue beene taxed (and that worthily) because of such cruelty; who can say, that they, who wilbe thought Christians are not infamous, execrable, and altogither vnexcusable for hauing followed such examples? And (indeed) who can read without astonishment, that which *Sabellicus* writeth, how it was reported, That *Francis Carrera*, prince of Padua, kept great mastiues by which he caused his subiects to be strangled and deuowred. The said *Paul Iouius* witnesseth, That *Iohn Maria* duke of Milan was possessed with this beastly furie. This cruell prince (saith he) after he had caused a number of the friends of his deceassed father to be beheaded, deuised a new punishment, the cruellest that could be inuented. One called *Gyran* kept (by his commandement) certaine great curs exceeding rauenous, the which at first deuoured offenders, but at last this *Gyran* threw to them those whom the duke hated, that they might throttle, and teare in peeces, and afterwards eat them, to the incredible horror and pittifull waymenting of the people amased to see such sights.

Lib. 4. cap. 7. of the *Eccle-siast.* historie.

Lib. 15. of the hist. of *Venice.*

Lib. 44.

Lib. 8. Decad. 2. of the historie of *Venice.*

Lib. 2. of famous men.

But what should let vs to tell here that which histories report touching the Conquerors of the New-world, who haue not beene much gentler to the West Indians, than the aforesaid princes to others of their time: Especially after they made themselues masters of the citie of Cusco, where they committed (as in all the

the countrey besides) most horrible rauages and massacres. For *Benzo* and others write, That there were some Spaniards who hauing passed away the time with cutting a many poore Indians into pieces, like flesh for the butcherie, gaue the pieces when they had done, for meat to their dogs. *Ouiedus* reporteth a pleasant storie, which I will here set downe. *Diego Salazar*, famous for hauing beene one of the Conquerors of Saint *Iohns* Island, had a great dog, verie cruell, and well flesht vpon the Indians, which dog was called *Bezerillo*. The night after that day wherein the Spaniards had ouerthrowne in battell the Cacick *Mabodomaca*, *Salazar* was minded to set his dog vpon an old Indian woman, that was a prisoner: now, that he might doe it the more handsomly, he giueth this old woman a letter to carrie to the gouernour being then a league off, meaning, so soone as she should be gon a little way, to let loose his dog after her. The poore soule going on merrily, in hope of deliuerance by the meane of that letter, was not gone a bow-shoot on her way, before *Salazar* sent his dog after, who ouertakes her presently. She seeing the raging cur running after her with open mouth, sits her downe vpon the ground, and begins to say to him in her language; *Signior dogge, signior dogge, I carrie these letters (therewith shewing him the letters sealed) to the gouernour.* And then adding, *Signior dog, doe not hurt me. Bezerillo* lesse dogged than his lord *Salazar*, being (as it were) mooued with the humble and abiect praiers of the poore old woman, made a full stop, and lifting vp his leg, pisseth against the woman, as it had beene against a wall. The Spaniards that knew the currish and cruell nature of *Bezerillo*, made a miracle of the accident, and were ashamed to kill a woman whom such a dog had spared aliue. This sheweth the truth of that saying of *Aristotle*, *That anger groweth calme towards those that stir not*, as appeareth in dogs that neuer bite persons laid along vpon the ground. We read also, That the West Indians in *Peru*, being not able to find gold inough to satisfie the couetousnesse of the Spaniards who applied diuers kinds of tortures vnto them, hid themselues in the woods; but the Spaniards going thither a hunting with their dogs, and thereby discouering the Indians, made them be set vpon, strangled, and torne in pieces: they that were left aliue being driuen into despaire, to be rid at once out of so many miseries hung themselues with their owne hands. A Spaniard, a Iacobin frier, and after a bishop, called *Bartlemew de las Casas*, confirmeth these things, as hauing seene them; for, describing the affaires of *Peru*, he deploreth withall the vnhappinesse of the Indians; *But I must needs* (saith he) *recount an other deuillish act, and I know not if it agree not more with the most cruell beasts, than with men. The Spaniards keepe of purpose certaine furious and bloodie curs, with which they vse to bite, throttle, and teare the Indians in pieces. For my part I thinke not that good and right Christians, and they that will be thought to be so (but are not so indeed) can say, That they euer heard tell of the like*, to wit, That the Spaniards carrie about with them whersoeuer they goe, a great number of Indians chained, as if it were heards of swine. They kill them, cut them into pieces, and keepe a shambles of mans flesh. You shall oft-times heare one of them say to another, Lend me a quarter of flesh of thy viliaco (that is to say vilaine, for so in outragious disdaine they call euerie Indian) to giue to my dogs; I will giue thee the like when I shall kill one of my viliacos: behauing themselues in that, as if they pleasured one another with quarters of mutton, or with legs of porck. Some of them when they goe a hunting (as they doe ordinarily) being asked at their comming home, if they had good fortune? Yea (say they) for with my dogs I haue puld downe and kild so many and so many viliacos. If it be not to the number of fifteene or twentie, they thinke they haue not

In the historie of the New-world. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.

In his booke of the destruction of the Indians by the Spaniards.

not made a good hunting. This Spaniſh biſhop writeth of theſe and many other ſuch beaſtly furious parts in the Spaniſh booke printed at Seuill *Anno* 1552. ſince tranſlated into French, and publiſhed. Moreouer, *Anthonie le Pois*, in a certaine diſcourſe, alleageth out of the hiſtories of India, how that, by the commandement of *Veluoa* a Spaniſh captaine, *Pancras* a great Indian Cacick, and many other great followers of his, were throwne to dogs, which did throttle and eat them. He addeth, That in this voiage a Spaniſh ſouldier had ſuch a terrible dog which he carried with him, that in bickerings he would ſtrike more feare into the Indians, than the Spaniards themſelues could doe; whereby his maſter receiued a double pay euerie moneth, one for himſelfe, another for his dog. At the laſt, in a conflict, the Indians with arrowes killed this foure-footed Spaniard, at which they reioiced more than if they had feld a great number of two-footed enemies. This dog called *Leonino*, had this ſingular qualitie, that if any Indian priſoner did ſaue himſelfe by running, and the ſouldier would command the dog to run after, and bring him back againe; *Leonino* would follow the footing of the priſoner, and though he had hid himſelfe among a thouſand Indians, the dog would know him againe, and by his leapings at him giue him warning to come back againe: If he obeied, the dog would doe him no hurt; but if he reſiſted, *Leonino* would teare him in pieces. Touching the tortures and hunting with dogs practiſed by the Spaniards againſt the Weſt Indians, *Anthonie Arnauld* ſaith theſe words: In Peru they haue publike tortures in the market places, where they may put a thouſand men at once, and there the ſouldiers and their boies torment theſe poore ſoules to make them confeſſe where their treaſure lies. When they can make an eſcape, they goe and hang themſelues in the mountaines, and by them their wiues, and their little children at their feet. Theſe monſters of tyrannie goe a hunting men, as they doe heere hunt ſtags. They ſend them out to ſeeke for hunnie and wax, and ſend their dogs after them to rent and deuoure them. *Peter Martyr Milannois* ſaith the ſame, where he reporteth that the Indians burned certaine bodies which the dogs had torne in pieces. And after, he hath diſcourſe at large of the ragingneſſe of the dogs vpon the poore, and naked, and vnarmed Indians; Neuertheleſſe (ſaith he) the buſineſſe fell out otherwiſe in the encounters betweene the Spaniards, and the Caribes and Caramarians: For theſe people being fierce and fitter for the war than any other, ſhoote with a great ſuddenneſſe poiſoned arrowes, wherewith they kill the dogs that come any thing neere them.

In his plea againſt the Ieſuits.

Lib. 2. Decad. 3.

CHAP. XIX.

The crueltie of the Pagans againſt the amiable name of Chriſtian.

THe deuill hath euermore ſo deadly hated the Chriſtians (called ſo at firſt in Antioch, when Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* erected the Church there; for before that the beleeuers were called Diſciples) that he hath neuer left blinding, and ſetting on his followers to execute all ſorts of cruelties againſt the members of Ieſus Chriſt. The vncleane ſpirits and damned (as *Lactantius* ſaith) enemies to the truth, when they cannot of themſelues annoy the Chriſtians, make them to be ſet vpon and ouer-run by wicked men, who cannot away with them that ſtand ſo much in their way; and therefore they poure out all their malice againſt them, either to force them by torments to wauer, or altogither leaue the true religion; or (at the leaſt) to ſweep them from the earth, to the end

Lib. 5. *cap.* 21.

end there may not so much as one be found that may represse or reprooue their wickednesse. Thence it commeth, that these lying and murdring spirits, that desire nothing else but the shedding of innocent blood, haue borne their ministers and executioners in hand, That the Christians were the cause of al the miseries in the world; and haue gone so farre with their false accusation, that when they had no other thing to say against a man, it was ynough to crie, *He is a Christian:* for that very name was more than a capitall offence. Thence came foorth the Edict of *Nero*, in the fourteenth yeare of his empire, *Whosoeuer hee bee that confesseth and auoweth himselfe to be a Christian, let him without further examination be put to death, as a conuicted enemie of mankind.* True it is, that vnder the raigne of *Commodus*, whose rule began in the yeare of Christ, CLXXX. it was enacted, that who so should accuse the Christians, should die, saith *Eusebius*, who writeth how that the informer against *Apollonius* the Martyr, had his thighs broken. The Ordinance of *Antoninus* the Debonaire was plainly made in honour of the Christians. *Vlpian* hath it reported and registred in these words; *Eis qui Iudaicum superstitionem sequuntur, DD.* Verus & Antoninus *honores adipisci permiserunt*: that is, The Emperors *Verus* and *Antoninus* haue giuen permission to those that professe the Iewish superstition, to exercise publike offices. *Vlpian* meaneth not the Iewes (as *Accursius* and others think) but speaketh of the Christians, who were thought to make profession of Iudaisme, because the beginnings of their doctrine appeared first among the Iewes. The learned *Lipsius*, speaking of *Pomponia Graecina* accused of strange superstition, noteth that, saying, *I hold that this woman was accused of being a Christian, or a Ieweesse; for then these two professions were thought but one, and were confounded together among the Pagans.* *Antoninus* had great reason to fauour the Christians, hauing been by their praiers saued with all his armie in the warre against the Sarmatians, whom he ouercame in a set battell, and triumphed ouer them. In requitall of which good receiued, the legion of the Christian souldiers in the armie of *Antoninus*, was surnamed Thundring, as *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Paulus Diaconus* witnesse. From that time forwards the Gouernours of the prouinces did oft times shew themselues more gentle towards the Christians, and supported them, as harmeles and peaceable people: yea and respected them, considering (and that wisely and discreetly) that it is no lesse impietie to condemne the innocent, than to absolue the guiltie.

Lib. 5. cap. 19.

Ial. generaliter §. finali. F. De decurionibus.

Vpon the 13. booke of the Annals of *Corn. Tacitus.*

Now notwithstanding that things went so, yet the accusers and aduersaries of the Christians, caried away with enuie, and with malice, and with deuillish furie, gnashed with their teeth so much the more, and when they could not doe worse, they stirred vp the mad and raging multitude to crie out, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and seditious perturbers of the common peace; they accused them to the gouernors of the prouinces as pernicious and wicked men, that were in no case to be borne with. Finally, this furie grew so hot, that (as *Lactantius* complaineth) the Idolaters (whom hee calleth fooliſh-religious) were of opinion, That to giue audience to the Christians yeelding a reason of their faith, was to pollute themselues with an vnexpiable fault, and to be so tied, that they might neuer be loosed againe. *For they feare* (saith he) *that being ouercome by vs, they should at last be forced to submit themselues to the truth. Therefore they crie and vse craftie reasons that they may not heare, and shut their eyes, that they may not see the light which wee offer vnto them: wherein they shew the mistrust they haue of their bad cause, seeing they dare not know that which wee speake, nor enter into conference, because they know the victorie is on our side: And therefore turning their backe to all peaceable conference, as an Ancient said,*

Lib. 5. of his Inst.

They baniſh wiſedome farre from hence,
And all is done by violence.

And becauſe they endeuour to condemne for guiltie thoſe that they know to be innocent, they will not haue that innocencie ſhould be known; as if, forſooth, it were a greater fault to condemne innocencie prooued, than not heard. But they feare that they ſhall not bee able to condemne vs after they haue heard vs: and therefore doe they racke and torture the ſeruants of the high God, that is, the good men, whom they kill, and take out of the world; theſe vnreconciliable hate-bearers being not able to yeeld any cauſe or reaſon of their hatred. Becauſe they are out of the way, they burſt with anger, and can neither ſee nor ſuffer thoſe that follow the right way: inſtead of relenting and amending, they heape vpon their errors, cruelties, defile themſelues with the blood of innocents; and torment the ſoules that are conſecrated to God, by plucking the entrails out of their bodies. We offer yet to enter into conference and communication with ſuch people, and to draw them out of fooliſh ſuperſtition to the truth, that had rather drinke the blood of the Iuſt, than hearken to their words. Beſides this witneſſe, *Tertullian* is another. *If the Tiber ouerflow* (ſaith he) *if the Nylus do not ſwell ſufficiently to water the countrey, if it raine not, if the earth doe quake, if there be famine or peſtilence, preſently they crie, That the Chriſtians muſt be caſt to the Lyons.* The ſame Author writeth, *That the Idolatrous people called the Chriſtians* Sarmenticij, *and* Semiſſij, *becauſe they were tied to woodden ſtakes that coſt but halfe an As* (which maketh not a halfe-penie) *where they were burnt, with ſticks & branches of trees called Sarmenta.* And yet he ſaith in another place, *We call vpon God eternall, true, and liuing, for the ſafetie of the Emperors, who themſelues deſire that this God aboue all other ſhould bee fauourable vnto them: wee pray this God that he would giue to the Emperours long life, a ſetled empire, a laſting houſe, mightie armies, a faithfull counſell, good ſubiects, and a peaceable world.* *Arnobius* complain'd likewiſe in this manner; *What haue our writings done to bee burnt? and our Temples to bee ſo furiouſly beaten downe? ſeeing in them wee pray to the great God, whoſe peace and grace we wiſh to all, as well magiſtrats, ſouldiers, kings, princes, friends, and enemies, as to thoſe that are yet aliue, and that liue no more vpon the earth. There is nothing heard in theſe Temples, but exhortations to gentleneſſe, meekeneſſe, ſhamefaſtneſſe, puritie, chaſtitie, friendſhip, liberalitie, almes, and brotherly fellowſhip. But thus it is, becauſe you Idolaters haue the ſword in your hand, and are the ſtronger in fire and fagot, you thinke likewiſe to goe before others in the knowledge of the truth.*

In his Apolog.

In his worke againſt the Gentiles.

The wiſe and modeſt Gouernors of the prouinces were not able to repreſſe this furie of the people, accuſtomed to ouerwhelme with falſe reports thoſe it iudgeth to be guiltie, albeit euen then they had a notable leſſon giuen them by the Emperours, inſerted ſince in the Code of *Iuſtinian*, importing, *That they ought not to make account of the reports of the fooliſh multitude, nor giue credit to the exclamations of thoſe that will haue the guiltie acquitted, or the innocent condemned.* For (as *Saluſt* ſaith) the common people is vnconſtant, ſeditious, mutinous, deſirous of innouations, turbulent, and an enemie to reſt. The Pagans attributed the change and decay of the empire, to the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion: therefore they maintained with tooth and naile, that they ought to continue the ſacrifices, and lay aſide the outward profeſſion of Chriſtianitie, wherof ſo many and ſo great euils proceeded and grew. This is to be ſeen in the oration of *Symmachus* Lieutenant of Rome, aſſigned Embaſſador from the Senat to the Emperors, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius*, whom he laboured to perſuade for the reeſtabliſhing of the outward exerciſe of Paganiſme. For, to obtaine the more eaſily that the altar of Victorie, which the Chriſtian Emperors had cauſed to be taken out of the court, might be ſuffered to be ſet vp againe, he alleaged the antiquitie of Rome, and the long continuance of the ſeruice of the gods; adding, that all things had ſucceeded

ded happily during the ancient religion: that contrariwise, so soone as Christianitie was receiued, all began to grow worse; the grounds were become barren, famine, war, and many other miseries were come on. But Saint *Ambrose*, and the Poet *Prudentius* confuted (and that soundly) the cauils of this orator. Let vs here insert that which happened in the ruine of the temple of *Serapis*, worshipped in Alexandria vnder the reigne of *Theodosius*. It was the custome of the Ægyptians, to carrie to the temple of this idoll the measure of the rising of Nilus, as though *Serapis* had been the author of the increasing of the waters. When the image of this false god was throwne downe and burnt, all the Ægyptians vaunted, that *Serapis* would be reuenged of such an outrage, and that the water should grow no more: But God (willing to show that this *Serapis*, much younger than Nilus, was not he that made this riuer swell and rise, when the season was for it, but he the onely true God) caused, that then, and from that time forwards, Nilus grew and spread it selfe much more ouer all Ægypt, than it had euer done before. Whereupon they began then to carrie into the temple of the Christians, to the true Lord, the wand or measure of the rising of Nilus. Which being reported to *Theodosius*, a religious prince, he lifted vp both his hands stretched towards heauen, and with a cheerfull and smiling face, said, *O Christ, I thanke thee, for that so old an errour hath beene taken away, without the ruinating of this so great a citie wherein it raign'd.* In the time that *Radagisus* the Scythian came into Italie with an innumerable armie, as he drew toward Rome the head citie of the empire, and no likelihood of reliefe appeared in *Honorius* the Emperour; many Pagans that were left in the citie, and ouer all Italie, where they made no profession of Christianitie, began to raise the crest, and to say alowd, That this good successe did worthily follow the Scythians, because they had the gods fauourable to them, and that they still worshipped them after the maner of the old time. Thereupon they cursed the Christian religion, saying it was hated of her owne God, and maintaining that Rome was abandoned, for that shee had abandoned the gods and their worship, which if it were set vp againe, no doubt but they should see an end of their miseries and dangers. The like was done, when *Alaricus* brought an armie of Goths into Italie, & straitly besieged the citie of Rome: for then all hope of mans helpe failing, they had recourse to the false gods, imploring reliefe of them who had often succoured and saued them, as they said. *Pompeianus*, Lieutenant of Rome strengthened their confidence (saith *Sigonius*) who reporteth, that he heard certaine Thuscans say, that not long before, by the meanes of some sacrifices, they had saued the citie of Narnia from an imminent danger, and repulsed the enemies farre from the walles: Which when *Innocent*, Bishop of Rome heard of *Pompeianus* (if we may beleeue *Zozimus* a Pagan that reporteth it) he answered, Doe what you shall thinke is most profitable for the common-wealth. But for all that, the people abhorred the Senat that were busied in sacrificing to the Capitoll, calling it sacrilege, not sacrifice. We read in the holy Scripture, that the king of Iudea hauing the armie of the Assyrians comming against him, left the true God, to sacrifice to their idols, thinking hee had been ouercome by babies, and that the enemies prospered vnder such superstition. But the historie saith expressely, that these condemned sacrifices drew a curse and an vtter ruine vpon the king and his house, and euen vpon the whole kingdome. Instead of taking heed by such chastisements, it hath fallen out in our time, saith *Paulus Iouius*, that a Grecian called *Demetrius*, sacrificed within Rome in the Amphitheater, after the manner of the Pagans, a Bull to make the pestilence cease. This sacrificing of a beast was esteemed a thing of great vertue

Ruffin. lib. 2. of the Eccles. hist. *cap.* 26.

In the historie of the West empire.

2. *Chron.* 18, 20, 33.

Lib. 21. of his Histories.

by the people, becauſe within a while after, the ſickneſſe, neere her period, had begun to decreaſe.

In his hiſtorie. Not to goe too far from our purpoſe, *Cedrenus* a Greeke hiſtorian writeth, That in the time of *Diocleſian* (vnder whom the Chriſtians ſuffred a tenth perſecution, longer and crueller than the reſt aforegoing; *Euſebius* reporteth that himſelfe had ſeene in Phrygia a Chriſtian citie, all the inhabitants, men, women and children, put to the ſpoile, and all their houſes burnt by the commandement of *Diocleſian* and of *Maximian* Emperors, becauſe theſe Martyrs had refuſed to be preſent at the ſacrifices of the idols) an Oracle pronounced, That the Roman Empire ſhould thorowly proſper, if all the Chriſtians were maſſacred and put to death. The like befell vnder *Maximinus*, at which time by the ſleights of *Theotecnus* treaſurer of Antioch (a man of great credit, as *Euſebius* writeth, yet an enchanter, and an egregious villaine, for being detected afterwards of certaine foule and heinous matters, he was executed togither with his complices, by the commandement of *Licinius*) for the rooting out of the Chriſtians it was put into the Emperours head, how that God (that is to ſay the idoll of Iupiter, who by the enchantments of *Theotecnus* was made to ſpeake) had commanded that the Chriſtians his enemies ſhould be baniſhed out of Antioch, and from about the territories thereof. But it fell out far otherwiſe ſaith *Cedrenus*, than theſe furies had proiected: For the famine, peſtilence, drouth (with certaine biles and ſoares alſo by report of *Euſebius*) did ſo moleſt and afflict all thoſe of the countrey, that many thouſands of perſons thereby loſt their ſight. *Cedrenus* addeth, That the tyrant himſelfe (whither he meaneth *Theotecnus*, or ſome other then gouernour of Antioch, I know not) attached with grieuous ſickneſſe, and falne blind, caſt out at his mouth abundance of wormes; and a little before he died, cried out *Wo vnto me wretch, for now I receiue the iuſt reward of my wicked practiſes againſt the Chriſtians.* The like befell *Maximinus*, as *Euſebius* and *Pomponius Latus* report: For he fell into a ſickneſſe, during the which a certaine ſoareneſſe tooke him in his priuie parts, which thereby were eaten and gnawne; all that part of his bodie being rotten and dead, there came crawling foorth ſuch a multitude of wormes that all remedies failed, and the Phyſitions had no more hope in him. In this torment, *Maximinus* feared that this puniſhment was inflicted vpon him for his crueltie againſt the Chriſtians: therefore he reuoked his decrees, and ordained that the Chriſtians ſhould be called home againe, and put in their former eſtate, to the end they might pray for the health and recouerie of the prince. But the praiers made for this blood-ſucker and mutherer were not heard. If he had recouered, his crueltie would haue beene greater than euer it was. So within a while after he was taken out of the world, being a man renoumed (otherwiſe) for his valour in war, but branded for his deſperat furie againſt the Chriſtians, which was the cauſe of his wretched end. This end of his, *Euſebius* deſcribeth in another place, as followeth; *Hauing ſtaied in the houſe, while his armie was abroad, and hiding himſelfe in his priuie chambers and cloſets, he was ſticken thorow all his bodie with a ſudden and vnknowne diſeaſe, a worthie puniſhment for his miſchieuous deeds, ſo that he threw himſelfe to the ground tranſpierced with griefes, vexed with a cruell twinge of torment, and ouerwhelmed with a woluiſh hunger that could neuer be ſatisfied. All his fleſh taken with a ſecret fire ſent from heauen, was (as it were) burnt, ſo that comming by little and little to be turned into aſhes, there was no more any ſhape of a man to be ſeene in him, nothing being left but a carcaſe of bones all drie and (as it were) broiled: in ſo much as they that attended on him in that caſe gaue out, That his bodie was (as it were) a Sepulcher in which ſtincking carcaſe the ſoule was buried: The heat increaſing within the marrow, his eies,*

Lib. 8. cap. 11. of his Eccleſ. hiſt.

Lib. 9. cap. 2. & 3. of the ſame hiſt.

Lib. 9. cap. 7, & 8.

Lib. 8. cap. 28.

Lib. 9. cap. 8.

eies, fell out of his head, ſo that he vtterly loſt his ſight. Being in this miſerable ſtate, he confeſt himſelfe taken; and calling for death, and acknowledging that it was the iuſt recompenſe of his furie and inſolence againſt Chriſt, he draue his ſoule out of that infected den wherein it was deteined. We may adde hereunto the ſtorie of *Iulian*, vncle to the Apoſtata, mentioned by *Sozomenus*, and that likewiſe of *Antiochus Epiphanes* or *Epimanes* (that is to ſay, noble, or mad) ſet foorth in the hiſtorie of the *Machabees*. *Lib. 5. cap. 7.* *Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

But that it may be knowne how much *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* hated the Chriſtians, whoſe memorie they laboured to extinguiſh vtterly; I will here repreſent two ancient inſcriptions, found in certaines pillars in the kingdome of Spaine, and regiſtred in the booke of the pictures of *Adolphus Occo*, a learned Phyſition, and a moſt excellent Antiquarie.

DIOCLETIAN. IOVIVS MAXIMIAN. HERCVLEVS CÆSS. AVG. AMPLIFICATO PER ORIENTEM ET OCCIDENTEM IMPERIO ROM. ET NOMINE CHRISTIANORVM DELETO QVIA REMP. EVERTEBAT.

The other is this.

DIOCLETIANO CÆS. AVG. GALERIO IN ORIENTE ADOPT. SVPERSTITIONE CHRISTI VBIQVE DELETA ET CVLTV DEORVM PROPAGATO.

Although it be like inough, that the flatterers of the court (as it commonly falleth out) did ſet vp theſe inſcriptions to flatter the Emperours; yet ſo much doth it lack that by their horrible perſecutions and furious maſſacres the name of Chriſtian hath beene aboliſhed, that (contrarie wiſe) *Conſtantius Chlorus* their ſucceſſor, adopted by *Maximian*, aduanced the Chriſtians to great dignities, and after him againe his ſonne *Conſtantine* the great made himſelfe a Chriſtian. By meanes whereof Hiſtorians write, That *Diocleſian* (too weake to kick againſt the prick) loſt his ſenſe, after he ſaw that he could not raſe out the name of Chriſt, as he had imagined to himſelfe; and that the Chriſtians, with the proofe of an inuincible conſtancie in death, increaſed in number euerie day. He retired himſelfe to a place neere Saloua a citie of Dalmatia, ſpending his time in childiſh exerciſes, and there liu'd vnto himſelfe ten full yeares, after he had reſigned the Empire: but he did nothing but languiſh and pine away the moſt part of that time, fearing euerie minute ſome thunder-clap, ſaith *Conſtantine* himſelfe in *Euſebius*, where he addeth theſe words; Nicomedia *ſpeakes of it, They that haue ſeene it with their eies cannot conceale it; of which number I am one. Certainely the pallace and lodging of* Diocleſian *was ruin'd with thunder and fire from heauen that deuoured it. The Sages had foretold that ſuch euils would come: For they held not their peace, neither hid they the ſorrow that preſſed them, for the cruelties executed ſo vniuſtly vpon the Chriſtians, but they talked thereof among themſelues openly and freely. What a madneſſe is it, what a tyrannie, that men ſhould take vpon them to war againſt God, and with a brutiſh courage riſe in armes againſt the true and holy religion, and without triall of the cauſe, reſolue the death of an infinit multitude of good men?* Behold how the Truth, although it were preſſed downe, could yet neuer be oppreſſed, nor vtterly ouerwhelmed: but rather, as ſpices yeeld a greater ſmell beaten and bruſed, than left whole; ſo the more that the Truth is ſtamped and trampled vpon by afflictions, the more her brightneſſe being ſet free and vnmasked doth ſhew it ſelfe: ſo as it was well ſaid, *That the blood of the Martyrs, is the ſeed of the Church.* In his oration of the Synode, *cap. 25.*

Now *Euſebius* writeth, That this long and cruell perſecution of the Chriſtians vnder *Diocleſian*, proceeded of the pride, auarice, enuie and hatred of the biſhops, banded one againſt another, euerie one ſeeking to be maſter, and accuſing one *Lib. 8. cap. 1. of his Eccleſ. hiſtorie.*

In his Annals of Bauier, li. 2.

another of hereſie: Which *Auentinus* confirmeth after *Euſebius*. For the Emperors being mooued with theſe troubles, and ſeeing that the biſhops and gouernors of the Chriſtian churches were in continual pikes the one againſt the other, made account that all their profeſſion was nought elſe but feigning and diſſembling, and therefore reſolued to wipe away the name and remembrance of the Chriſtians out of the world. But as faſt as the perſecution increaſed, the number of the faithfull increaſed alſo. Now when the Emperours themſelues had embraced the true religion, then (as Saint *Ierom* writeth) the biſhops increaſed in worldly riches, and decreaſed in ſpirituall gifts. It had beene ſaid of them before, *A golden biſhop, and a woodden croſier*: but then it was to be ſaid contrariwiſe, *A golden croſier, and a woodden biſhop*. *Thomas Aquinas* ſeemeth to haue borne

In his 5 Dialog.

that in his remembrance, as *Iohn Baptiſta Gelli*, an Academian of Florence reporteth of him: For comming before Pope *Innocent* the third (in whoſe preſence they were telling at that time a great ſum of money) and the Pope ſaying vnto him, *Thou ſeeſt*, Thomas, *that the church needeth to ſay no more, as ſhe did at her beginning, ſiluer and gold haue I none*: (for *Innocent* was not ſuch an innocent and ſimple fellow, but he knew verie well, as *Hubert Folietta* bringeth in the Venetian Ambaſſador ſpeaking, That there is no reuenue, tribute, nor toll in the world ſo great as the Popes pen, one ſimple touch whereof bringeth in as much money as he will haue) *Thomas* anſwered him without any ſtudying, *You ſay true, holy father; nor can the church ſay now as the ancient church ſaid to the ſame Criple, Riſe vp, walke, and be whole.*

Lib. 2. of the Holy League.

The church hath beene euermore in danger becauſe of two euills, Ambition, and Couetouſneſſe; to the which when deſire of reuenge and crueltie are ioyned, it is time that the beſt and greateſt doe looke to themſelues. Touching that which we haue ſaid, how in times paſt it was inough to ſay, *This is a Chriſtian*, to make a man be laid hold on and drawne to his execution (for the Pagans could lay no other thing to the charge of the Chriſtians but that; ſeeing there was not any conſpiracie among them ſo great as that of the Mileſians, who had ſaid, *Let euerie one of vs play the knaue*: but contrariwiſe the firſt article of their holy communion contained this, *Let there not be among vs any wicked and profane perſon*)

In his Apolog. lib. 10. Epiſt. 101.

as *Tertullian* witneſſeth, ſaying, That the tablet of their condemnation contained but three or foure words; *Such a one is a Chriſtian worthie of death*. And *Plinie* the yonger writeth thus to *Traian*, *I asked them if they were Chriſtians; and they auowing it, I asked them the ſame twice againe, threatning to ſend them to their puniſhment: and ſeeing they did perſeuer, I haue cauſed them to be led vnto it.* This is prooued by two memorable examples of *Attalus* and of *Polycarpus*: For as they made *Attalus* to walke about the lions Amphitheatre, there was a little tablet borne before him, wherein theſe foure words were onely written, *Hic eſt* ATTALVS CHRISTIANVS, that is, *This is* Attalus *the Chriſtian*. *Polycarpus* being lead to his execution in a certaine citie of Aſia, this proclamation was made by the commandement of the gouernour, with a loud voice, *Polycarpus hath confeſſed that he was a Chriſtian*, as it is recited at large by *Euſebius*. The Ancients had this cuſtome,

Lib. 4. cap. 15. & lib. 5. cap. 1. of the Eccleſ. hiſt.

That the ſentence of the partie to be executed was propounded in a tablet, or publiſhed with a loud voice by the common crier, as *Francis Baudouyn* hath well obſerued. By all this aforeſaid we may gather, how religiouſly, chaſtly, and blameleſly the ancient Chriſtians liued: which *Euſebius* enricheth with a worthie example. For as they were leading to death, in Alexandria, by the commandement of *Vrbicius* the gouernour, an honourable perſonage called *Ptolemeus*, only becauſe he had confeſſed he was a Chriſtian; another Chriſtian called

Lib. 4. cap. 17. of the Edicts againſt the Chriſtians.

Lucius,

Lucius, ſeeing this iniuſtice, goeth to *Vrbicius*, and ſaith vnto him; *What reaſon is there that thou ſhouldeſt put* Ptolemeus *to death for confeſſing himſelfe a Chriſtian, ſeeing he hath not committed adulterie, nor whoredome, nor murder: and thou canſt not proue that he is a thiefe, or a rauiſher, or guiltie of any crime or iniquitie? Thy ſentences,* Vrbicius, *doe the Emperour* Antoninus *the meeke no credit, nor his ſonne, nor the Senate of Rome.* Vrbicius *anſwering nothing to that, asketh* Lucius, *Art thou a Chriſtian? for ſo thou ſeemeſt to be. Yea, ſaith* Lucius: *preſently he is led away to his execution: for which* Lucius *very ioyfull thanketh* Vrbicius, *adding, that by ſuch meanes he ſhould bee deliuered out of the hands of ill maſters, and ſhould goe to God his good Father and Prince.* A third perſon comming after him, was likewiſe executed to death.

Now albeit in the time of the Apoſtles and after, the perſecutions raiſed againſt the Chriſtians were moſt cruell, ſo that good minds cannot read or remember them without weeping: yet before and about the end of the world they ſhall bee much more grieuous, as the warnings of our Lord, and the holy Scriptures doe witneſſe. Therefore *Iſidorus* ſaith, *That the Synagogue ſhall then bandie againſt the Church more furiouſly than when it perſecuted the Chriſtians, preſently after the firſt comming of our Sauiour. If the Deuill when hee was faſt bound handled the Martyrs ſo cruelly; much more will he rage in the times of Antichriſt, when he ſhall be vnchained. If hee doe ſo much being tied, what will hee doe vntyed?* Let vs note further, that the Chriſtians in the Primitiue church would neuer be called by any other name, than by the name of their onely Sauiour and King, to whom they had vowed themſelues in their Baptiſme (for they followed Chriſt their Maſter, not with the mouth only, but with all their heart, to the end they might be thought worthie of that name, ſaith *Ignatius* Biſhop and Martyr) and haue carefully followed that, as a doctrine left vnto them by the Apoſtles. For they ſaw that it was the way to ouerthrow and marre all, to leaue this holy name for to deuiſe others: as Saint *Paul* alſo ſaid to the Corinthians. This mooued Saint *Ignatius*, who liued in the time of the Apoſtles, ſpeaking in his Epiſtle to the Magneſians, of the firſt beginning of the Chriſtians, to ſay theſe words; *He that calleth himſelfe by any other name than this, is not of God, and hath not receiued the prophecie ſpeaking of vs in theſe tearmes, They ſhall be called by another name, by which the Lord ſhall call them, and they ſhall bee a holy people.* To this *Lactantius* aymed, where he ſpeaketh of ſome not exerciſed in the reading of the holy Scriptures, and who being not able to anſwere the accuſers of the truth, corrupted the texts of the Bible, to plant themſelues a new doctrine, hauing neither root nor any ground at all: *Some* (ſaith he) *allured by the fore-telling of the falſe prophets, diſcouered by the true Prophets, and by Chriſt himſelfe, are fallen from the doctrine of God, and haue left the true tradition. But being all enſnared by the ſleights of the deuill, which they ſhould haue perceiued and auoided, they haue loſt by their heedleſneſſe both the name and ſeruice of Chriſt: for ſo ſoone as ſome haue made themſelues be called Phrygians, or Nouatians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or by other names, they left to be Chriſtians, for as much as looſing the name of Chriſt, they haue put on humane and ſtrange names.*

No man can tell how many horrible ſcandals grow and proceed from theſe diſſentions, when they are transformed into ſects: and what defamation it raiſeth againſt the true religion, as within theſe few yeares a certaine Mammeluke or renounced Chriſtian, called *Chanes*, borne in Tranſyluania, and Embaſſadour from the Turke into Poland, hath confeſſed; his proper name was *Euſtachius*, and he had been a Schoolemaſter in a little citie of Hungarie: He would often ſay, and boldly affirme, as witneſſeth *Paul Odeborn*, who heard it from his owne mouth, That the broiles, enmities, and moſt notorious diſſentions of the Chriſtians

Lib. 1. *cap.* 28. *De ſummo bono.*

In his Epiſt. to the Magneſians.

1. *Cor.* 3.

Lib. 4. of his Inſtitut.

In the life of the duke of Muſcouia.

ſtians agreeing ſo ill in the matter of Religion, had made him renounce Ieſus Chriſt. He ſhewed him beſides a certaine booke full of venom and furie, made by a Polonian, who had endeauored to ſhew that *Mahumet* was much more to
» be tollerated than *Luther*. I carrie, ſaid he, theſe writings, which were ſent mee
» by the author, and which I eſteeme a great treaſure, being the witneſſes of your
» opinions and diſſentions, that I may ſhew to my Muſulmans in Turkie by cer-
» taine and ſound arguments, the vanitie of your beliefe. This Polonian without name, after the vſuall manner of other his like, either Tritheits, or followers of idolatrie, had made this furious booke, the which like an infinite number of the like hath been ſuppreſſed and kept from men. The remembrance of it is before the God of truth, whoſe furie will in the end root out all liers and authors of diuiſions tending to burie the glorie of Ieſus Chriſt.

Vpon the 10. *chap. hom. 25.*

To draw towards an end: We ſee plainly in the vnperfect work of *Chryſoſtom* vpon Saint *Matthew* (expounding theſe words: *Euery man that ſhall confeſſe me &c.*) what the confeſſion of Chriſtians was in times paſt vnder the perſecutions, and how they worſhipped and ſerued their onely Sauiour, frankly, without any turning of the backe; not for faſhion-ſake, and taking him (as it were) by the way, but with all their heart, and with all their powers. Although this chapter of Meditations be alreadie ſomewhat long, yet I haue thought it neceſſarie, not without ſome reaſon, to couch here the words of *Chryſoſtome* at length. *Finally*, (ſaith he) *obſerue here, that the faithfull Chriſtians doe not ſay, If any ſharpe perſecution come, for that I will not be tormented, I will denie before men; but in the meane while I will keepe the truth of the Goſpell in my heart. But our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith not, He that ſhall not haue confeſſed in his heart; but, before men: for hee that confeſſeth not before men, it auaileth him nought to beleeue in Chriſt in his heart: and it cannot be that he ſhould beleeue in his heart, that denieth with his mouth: becauſe the faith of the heart is the root of confeſſion, and confeſſion is the fruit of faith. As therefore the liuely root muſt needs bring forth branches or leaues (otherwiſe you conceiue it is dead in the ground:) ſo likewiſe as long as the faith of the heart is ſound, it buddeth forth alwayes confeſſion in the mouth. If there be no confeſſion of the mouth, know, by that ſilence that faith is dead and withered in the heart. For thus ſaith the Apoſtle, With the heart man beleeueth to righteouſneſſe, and with the mouth man confeſſeth to ſaluation. Therefore confeſſion with the mouth is nothing worth without beliefe of the heart, nor the beliefe of the heart without the confeſſion of the mouth.* A little after hee addeth; *If to beleeue with the heart were ſufficient for thee, God had made nought elſe but the heart; but he hath alſo created thy mouth, to the end thou mayeſt beleeue with the one, and confeſſe with the other.* He ſheweth moreouer, that Chriſt muſt be confeſſed with all the outward ſences. *If one of the ſences faile* (ſaith hee) *the confeſſion is vnperfect. Therefore if any ſay, Eat not of that which is ſacrificed to Idols, but looke vpon them onely, and ſee how finely they are ſet forth; thou denieſt Ieſus Chriſt with thine eyes, if ſo be that when thou art ſo prouoked, thou take pleaſure in beholding theſe idols; not that it is any great matter to caſt thine eyes vpon them, but thou ſinneſt in obeying him that biddeth thee looke vpon them: but if then thou turne away thy ſight from them, thou confeſſeſt Chriſt. And therefore it is written, Turne away mine eyes that they ſee not vanitie. If an other ſay vnto thee, I am content that thou looke not vpon the Idols, but heare only the blaſphemies which this Pagan caſteth out againſt Chriſt, to magnifie his gods of wood and ſtone; thou haſt denied Chriſt with thine eares. And if he ſay vnto thee, I will not haue thee heare theſe blaſphemies, but when they Cenſe the gods ſtand ſtill, and ſmell the perfume of that incenſe: if thou doeſt it, thou haſt with thy noſtrils denied Chriſt. Againe, if he ſay vnto thee, Eat not of this fleſh ſacrificed, doe but make ſhow of hauing eaten of it: if thou counterfeit, thou haſt with thy taſte renounced thy Sauiour. But if thou doe not diſſemble, thou*

haſt

haſt confeſſed him as Eleazer *did in the time of the* Macchabees, *who would not taſt a morcell of ſheepes fleſh vnder the name of ſwines fleſh. If he ſay, I am content thou doe not faigne ſo; doe but touch the Idoll with thy hand, or hold the cenſor: if thou touch the one, or take the other in thy hand, thou haſt denied Chriſt. Contrariwiſe, thy touching confeſſeth him, if thou doe not reach it out to theſe abominations: for all the parcels of thy bodie, and all the faculties of thy ſoule haue bin created of God, not onely for vſe, but alſo to glorifie his name.*

CHAP. XX.

Of the madneſſe, and fell crueltie of a ſuperſtitious multitude being in a mutinie.

THe Philoſopher *Plato*, whom *Caliſtratus* the Lawier calleth the wiſeſt and moſt honored of all the Grecians, ſaith; *That the common people are vnthankefull, wayward, cruell, enuious, and impudent, becauſe they are compounded of a rabble of fooles, of knaues, of caſt-awayes, and deſperat fellowes.* *Phocion*, a wiſe Athenian knew it well: for the Oracle hauing ſaid, that there was a man in place, that impugned the opinions of all other men, and the people crying to haue him ſought out, *Phocion* ſtepped forth, ſaying; *I am he whom the Oracle noteth: for all that euer you ſay and doe diſliketh me.* Therefore hauing one day ſo preached to the people, as that they were all of his opinion; *What* (quoth he) *haue I propounded any thing vnwittingly that I ſhould not?* ſo deeply was this conceit rooted in his heart, that whatſoeuer proceedeth from a wiſe head, cannot pleaſe the people, that is to ſay, mad folke. Pope *Iohn* XXIII. had (belike) read the ſame, when being asked, What thing was fartheſt from the truth? *The opinion of the common people*, anſwered hee: *for all that they praiſe, deſerueth blame; all that they thinke, is nothing but vanitie; all that they ſay, is nothing but lying: they condemne the good, they approue the euill, and they magnifie nothing but infamie.* There is a whole chapter by it ſelfe, of the peoples inconſtancie, in a booke made by *Nicholas Hanape*, Patriarch of Ieruſalem, wherin he hath gathered out of the Bible the examples of vertues and of vices. Worthily therefore doth *Arrianus* extoll the wiſdom of *Alexander* the great, for that he tooke away from the people of Epheſus the meanes of mutining againſt the chiefe men of the citie. For iuſtice hauing been executed vpon ſome malefactors, *Alexander* forbad that any of the reſt ſhould be enquired after, or puniſhed: knowing very well, that if the people ſhould once feele the bridle to be looſe, they would ſoon doe like the horſe that is eſcaped away, and ſome of them carried with malice, otherſome with deſire of boot, would runne as fiercely vpon the guiltleſſe, as againſt the guiltie. This wiſe prince knew, that couetouſneſſe and want ioyned with crueltie, are a terrible ſpur to pricke and put on this furious beaſt (the people) to all ſorts of villanie. They of the Iſle of Corcyra (now called Corfou) felt (when time was) how dreadfull a multitude is being once moued, and hauing libertie to doe miſchiefe: for *Thucydides* ſetting down particularly the horrible cruelties and villanies committed by the people in a certaine ſedition raiſed againſt the principall men, writeth, That the chiefeſt of them hauing been maſſacred, many fearing leaſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the mercileſſe murderers, put themſelues to death diuers wayes. Some were kild for priuat quarrels, others by their very creditors. There was no kind of crueltie forgotten; and there is not any thing done in ſuch a confuſion, that was not then practiſed: yea there fell out many ſtrange caſes, and altogether extraordinarie: for the father cut his ſonnes throat; men were puld out of the temples whither they had fled to ſaue themſelues, or elſe were kild there. Some were ſhut within a temple of

L. Siquis. De nundinis.

Plutarch in his life.

Baleus in the life of the Pope.

Cap. 115.

Lib. 2.

Thucid. lib. 3.

of *Bacchus* where they were ſtarued to death. But not to ſeeke for ancient examples, what hath there befalne in ſo many maſſacres as haue beene in France ſince the yeare 1560 vntill this preſent, eſpecially vpon the 24 of Auguſt 1572, and certaine weekes following in the principall cities of the kingdome? The people being growne ſword-plaiers, and making a paſtime of the ſheading of mans blood, did they forbeare any kind of inhumanitie, of crueltie, of villanie, of reproach, which they did not freely and fully exerciſe as well againſt all that were hated and appointed to the butcherie, as againſt the innocent; not onely vpon the liuing, but alſo vpon the dead, without any reſpect of age, dignitie, condition, or ſex? *So far is humanitie departed from men (* ſaith *Lactantius) that to take away their neighbours life, is a paſtime to them! more faultie euerie way than they are whoſe blood they take ſo much pleaſure to ſpill. Growne drunke with this cuſtome, they are become fierce and cruell beaſts. Therefore they ſpare not the innocent, but exerciſe vpon all, that which hang-men are wont to doe vpon guiltie and condemned perſons.*

Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Lib. 10. of the hiſt. of Alex.

Lib. 4. Decad. 3.

Plutarch in his life.

Lib. 10. Decad. 2. of the hiſt. of Sicilia.

Therefore *Quintus Curtius* ſaid verie aptly, *That a deepe ſea, and a tempeſtuous ſtraite, hath not ſo many waues, as a common-people hath diuers motions, eſpecially if they poſſeſſe any new and tranſitorie libertie. Such is the nature of the people, (* ſaith *Titus Liuius) either it ſerueth like a ſlaue, or ſwayeth like a tyrant: It cannot with moderation deſpiſe or keepe libertie. And commonly there be ſome fierie fellowes, that inflame the hearts of the multitude, and incenſe them to ſedition and blood. Seneca* comprehended all in one line, *What man is it* (ſaith he) *whom vertue pleaſeth, that can pleaſe the people?* Whereunto *Demoſthenes* ſeemeth to aime, who flying from Athens, cried out, *O Pallas, the patroneſſe of cities, why art thou in ſuch liking with three beaſts, the Owle, the Dragon, and the People?* Noting (belike) by the one blind Ignorance, by the other Enuie, and by the third, Inconſtancie. Hereof we haue a memorable example in the ſedition that was ſtirred vp in Palermo in Sicilia, of which *Iohn Squarzalopa*, was chiefe, as *Thomas Fazel* hath deſcribed it at large and in good tearmes, hauing beene a beholder of all the tragedie. Among other things, bewayling the miſerable eſtate to which the citie was brought; *The lawes and Iuſtice* (ſaith he) *were vtterly quenched: couetouſneſſe, rapine, pride bare all the ſway. Diſordered and effeminate perſons, adulterers, thieues, church-robbers, ſuch as had loſt their wealth at cards and dice, or ſpent it vpon banquets and queanes, or that were engaged and indebted to redeeme themſelues out of priſon, and from the gallowes; moreouer all beaters of their fathers and mothers, forgers, periurers, murtherers, to conclude all the damned crew were companions, friends and familiars with* Squarzalopa *and his confederates, with whom they agreed to make a new world within Palermo, making full account (which no man will beleeue but we that ſaw it) to ſpoile and rifle all. They laid in one heape all things, both ſacred and profane, caring neither for meane nor meaſure; it being lawfull for them to rob at noone-day, to ranſack churches, in a word, to make a ſtrange confuſion of all, &c.* Therefore *Ariſtotle* obſerued to good purpoſe, ſaying; That changes come of their part that haue waſted their wealth, and haue no more to waſt: which are beginners of broiles, which will gripe and lay hold of the ſtate either to manage it themſelues, or to ſell it to him that bids faireſt for it. If therewithall ſome ſuperſtition ſeiſe the minds of the ſeditious multitude, then doth this many-headed beaſt become ſtark-mad, and it is impoſſible to hold her in any longer. When it hath begun to ſtir, either for the raiſing or the down-throwing of any man, it muſt be done: to execute her intention, ſhe thinketh all is lawfull for her, verifying the ſaying of the Poet, repreſented by an apt ſimilitude.

In his Politikes.

Virgil. lib. 1. Georgic.

When once the Coach hath paſt beyond his common roade,
And that the horſes feet haue felt the duſt abroade:

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The Coach-man ſeekes in vaine his horſes to reuoke,
Which haue forgone the hint of bridle, voice, and ſtroke.

Hereunto *Quintus Curtius* ſeemeth to haue regarded, ſaying; *There is nothing that manageth more powerfully the hearts of a multitude, than ſuperſtition. Though it be a beaſt furious, cruell, and inconſtant, ſo ſoone as ſhe is muzled with fooliſh deuotion, ſhe will much more eaſily obey any mountebankes and deceiuers, than any captaines and leaders of armies.* Lib. 4.

And to ſay truth, ſuperſtition reſembleth ſtreames, which cannot be kept in with any bankes or ſtops whatſoeuer, but will breake out of their bounds vpon the fields, and there ſtay ſome daies to the great hurt of all the countrey. For this cauſe *Lactantius* ſaid verie well of theſe religious counterfeiters, that will haue themſelues to be beleeued though they get it by buffeting: *How commeth it then that they play ſuch wicked parts, to the end that their folly may appeare ſo much the greater, euen then when they thinke to hide it. But we muſt needes (* ſay they *) maintaine the Diuine ſeruice. O how theſe wretches doe erre willingly, and vpon a iollitie! They doe well to thinke, that in this humane life there is nothing more excellent than Religion: But as they take Superſtition for Religion, ſo they deceiue themſelues in the meane of maintayning it. For Religion muſt not be maintained by killing, but by dying; not by crueltie, but by patience; not by falſhood, but by faith. It is for the wicked to commit ſuch leaudneſſes; for the good to exerciſe vertues. A good man doth neceſſarily make profeſſion of Religion, which in no caſe belongeth to a murtherer, or to a cruell or faithleſſe perſon. If by ſheding of blood, if by torments, if by tyrannie thou wilt maintaine Religion: this is not to maintaine it, this is to trample it, and to violate it. For there is nothing ſo voluntarie as Religion; in which if his heart that maketh profeſſion thereof, be forced, it is no longer Religion, the Religion is quenched.* Papyr. Maſſon lib. 3 of the Annals of France. Lib. 5.

Now though we may find many excellent hiſtories to this purpoſe, which deſerue to be written out word by word; and among the ancient, that memorable one reherſed by *Euſebius* after *Dionyſius*, in his Epiſtle to *Fabius* of Antioch, and an other which *Sozomenus* reporteth, and a third, which we read in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of *Socrates*; and among thoſe of late times, diuers verie remarkable: yet I will content my ſelfe for the preſent with only two, worthie to be remembred. The firſt is ſet downe in the hiſtorie of Portugall by *Ierom Oſorius*, who reporteth what hapned in the yeare 1506. as followeth. Neere about the ſame time (ſaith he) There was a ſedition raiſed in Lisbone by the folly and furie of the common people: which was a deluge that ſwept away welneere all the Iewes that were become Chriſtians. The matter fell out as followeth. The greateſt part of the citiſens were gone away becauſe of the plague. It hapned in thoſe daies, that many French-men, Flemings, and Germans arriued at the port of Lisbone with their merchandiſes. Vpon the tenth day of Aprill many of thoſe that were left in the citie went to Saint Dominicks church to heare maſſe. On the left ſide of which church there is a chappell much reuerenced by thoſe of that countrey, and called Ieſus chappell. Vpon the altar there ſtandeth a crucifix, the wound of whoſe ſide is couered ouer with a piece of glaſſe. Some of them that came thither to doe their deuotions caſting their eies vpon this hole, it ſeemed to them that a certaine glimmering light came foorth of it. Then it was who might firſt crie a myracle, and euerie one ſaid, That God ſhewed teſtimonies of his preſence. A Iew that was but lately become a Chriſtian being there, denied plainely that it was any myracle, ſaying, It was not likely that out of a drie piece of wood there could come ſuch a light. Now, albeit a great many of the ſtanders by doubted of the truth of this myracle, yet it was no time then, nor did it become ſuch a perſon to vſe that ſpeech, and to looſe his labour in offering to pluck out of the minds of ſo many Lib. 6 cap. 4. Lib. 5. cap. 3. Lib. 3. cap. 2. Lib. 4.

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folke, an error that was so fast and so firmly rooted in them. Therefore the people, who are of a violent and fierce nature, and are easily rauished with any ouerture of religion, hearing a Iew denie the myracle, began to murmur, calling him traitor, wicked Apostata, a detestable enemie to Iesus Christ, and worthie of cruell punishment. After many had sore reuiled him with words, all the multitude foaming with anger fall vpon him, pluck away the haires from his beard and head, tread vpon him, traile him into the open place before the Church, beat him to death, and kindling a great fire cast the dead bodie into it. All the residue of the people ran to this mutinous companie. There a certaine frier, who was readie with the word, made a sermon, wherein he vehemently egged on his auditors to reuenge the iniurie that our Lord had receiued. The people mad inough of themselues, were cast cleane off the hinges with an exhortation. Besides this, two other friers tooke and held vp a crosse as hie as they could, crying a loud, *Reuenge*, and encouraging the people to shead blood. At euerie word they cried out, *Heresie, heresie, downe with wicked heresie, destroy the wicked nation.* The French-men and the Germans left their ships, and leaping a shoare ioyned with the Portugals who had by that time begun the massacre. There were fiue hundred of them in the execution of the cruelties following, who with a desperat furie and villanous intent, like hungrie dogs fall vpon the miserable Iewes, cut the throats of a great number, and drag them halfe dead to the fire. And to dispatch their worke the more handsomely, they made sundrie fires in the great place where the Iew that had mis-spoken of the myracle, was first burnt. The slaues, the porters, and the mariners, brought wood merrily from all parts, that the flame might be sufficient to execute their rage. The outcries of women, the lamentations of all were so pittifull, as it was inough to mooue euen crueltie it selfe to compassion. Yet notwithstanding, the mutherers were so void of all humanitie, that without any regard either of age or of sex, they murthered men, women, and children: in so much as that one day they slue and burnt aboue fiue hundred Iewes. The next day, because the report of this bloodie butcherie flew into all places, there came running into Lisbone out of the countrey, more than a thousand paisants, as if they had beene mad, all which ioyned themselues to those that had beene the murtherers the day before. Then they began afresh. And because the Iewes forelorne with feare, had shut themselues into their houses, these mutiners breake downe the doores rush into the roomes where they were, cut the throats most cruelly of men, women, and maides; dash out childrens braines against the wals, traile along the dead bodies (some of them yet gasping) to throw them into the fire. Many wounded in diuers places, and yet hauing life in them, were burnt. That day the miserable nation of the Iewes receiued so great a wound in the head, that they had no power to bemone themselues of such hauock-making, nor deplore their miserie. They that were hidden, durst not cast out one sigh, though they should see their fathers, or their children drawne to the fire: and feare had so pierst their hearts, that the liuing seemed to be dead. In this meane while the murtherers spoiled and rifeled houses, gathered gold and siluer, and the most precious stuffe. The French carried the pillage aboord their ships; and this pillaging and pludring was the cause that many Iewes escaped that day. Furthermore, the furie of these cut-throats transported them so far, that they feared not to goe most insolently into the churches, to pluck out from thence the little children, the old men, and the yong maides, that had taken hold of the alters, the crosses, and the images of Saints, crying *Misericordia*; and so murthered them

them presently, or threw them aliue into the fire. Many that caried the port and shew of being Iewes found themselues in extreame danger, yea and some were kild, othersome wounded in diuers parts of their bodies, before they could make proofe that they had none acquaintance with the Iewes. Some that bare a grudge to others, as they met them did but crie, Iewes, and they were presently beaten downe, no leasure being giuen them to make any answere. The magistrats were not so hardie as to oppose themselues against the furie of this people. Notwithstanding many good men saued the liues of some Iewes that went home with them, and kept them as safe as themselues, giuing them meanes to escape away, and to goe somewhere else where they might be in safetie; and yet the number of them that were kild the second day, amounted to more than a thousand. The third day the murderers grown thirstie againe for mans blood, set themselues in the streets to continue their worke: but they found no more throats to cut, for the residue of the Iewes, and they that belonged to them, had saued themselues, either by flying out of the citie, or by lying close in some good mens houses: and yet for all that there were some murders done. In these three daies, the cutthroats kild about two thousand Iewish persons. The euening of the third day, *Arius Siluius*, and *Aluo de Castro*, gentlemen, and chiefe officers of Iustice, came with an armed power into Lisbone, and appeased the commotion. At the same instant the Frenchmen and Germans went aboord their ships with much pillage, and setting saile tooke with all speed the way homewards to their owne countries. The king vnderstanding the newes of this horrible hurly-burly, was extreamely wroth, and suddenly dispatched away for Lisbone two of the chiefest of his court, namely, *Iaques Almeida*, and *Iaques Lopes*, with full power and authoritie to punish so great offences. They accordingly caused a great number of the seditious to be publikely executed for their furious and cruell offences committed. The Friers that had lifted vp the crosse, and animated the people to murder, were disgraded, and after hang'd and burnt. The Iudges and Magistrats that had beene slacke in repressing of this popular furie, were some of them depriued of their estates, and after adiudged to pay great fines; the citie also was disfranchised of many priuiledges and honors.

The other storie is reported by *Thomas Fazell*, and was (as it were) the Preamble to the sedition of *Squarzalopa* mentioned before. The Iewes of Palermo in Sicilia were brought in extreame danger by the exclamations of an *Augustine* Frier called *Ierome de Verona*, & surnamed the Bearded, who preaching one Lent in the church of the Franciscans, and seeing a great concourse of people come to his sermons, inueighed against the baptised Iewes, accusing them of Marranisme, and saying, That because they were grosse christians, the Inquisitor of the faith had enioyned them for amends and punishment to be cloathed in greene, with a red crosse sowed vpon their coat: hee exhorted the people to plucke those crosses from them, crying with a full mouth, that it was an intollerable wickednes and sacrilege to suffer that they who had crucified the Sauiour of the world, should weare the crosse vpon their garments. He tooke on so often and so vehemently vpon that subiect, that one day the mutinous people as they were going from the Sermon, suddenly rose against the Iewes and Ieweſſes (of which there was then a great number in Palermo) pulled off the cloathes of all the men and women they met, and rent their garments in pieces. This sedition begat other more, both longer and more dangerous (appeased with great difficulties, and by the executing of the greatest offenders) in the beginning of the raigne of *Charles* the fifth, successor to *Ferdinand* king of Spaine and of Sicilia, in

Lib. 10. *Decad.* 2 of the historie of Sicilia.

whom the race of the kings of Arragon left. The people, hauing been ſtirred by this Frier, continued a long time after in their inſolent actions, falling from one ſedition to another, till God, by the meanes of time, redreſſed it, ſo that all vaniſhed quite away, and euer after matters went in quiet and peaceable manner. Albeit then, that the furie of a mutinous multitude bee ſometimes in the beginnings and proceedings very fearefull; yet it continueth not alwaies alike, ſaith the Poet *Claudian*, but when it is defeated of her intents, it falleth and ſlackeneth like a violent wind.

In his poeme of the Geticke war.

Too violent a furie growes alwaies calme at laſt,
And neuer is ſucceſſefull, but ſpends it ſelfe in waſt.
Such wicked Enterpriſes doe ſeldome currant runne,
But commonly are quenched when they are firſt begun.

Therefore it is a follie for thoſe who vnder the fauor of the common people, embrace high attempts, to hope that they ſhall atchieue them by the meane of ſuch a helpe: for as the bodie neither groweth nor diminiſheth, though the ſhadow that proceedeth from it, grow long, or become ſhort; euen ſo, no man is the better for being eſteemed or praiſed of the people, nor the worſe for being blamed of them: For there is no great reſcue in a common people (ſaith *Philip de Commines*) except She be bridled by neceſſitie, or by authoritie; although ſometimes ſuch a time may fall, that the ſudden furie and violence of a multitude (being mooued) may bring with it much feare. And therefore a man may ſay with *Plutarch*, That one man cannot be both maſter and ſeruant to a people: for ſo he muſt needs fall into the inconuenience that wee read of in the Fable of the Serpent, whoſe Taile would needs (one day) fall a quarrelling with the Head, ſaying, That ſhe would (by turnes) go before, and not alwayes come lagging behind; which the Head hauing yeelded vnto, ſhe her ſelfe was the firſt that repented it, not knowing how, or whither ſhe ſhould goe; and beſides, was the cauſe that the Head was all rent, being forced againſt nature to follow a member that had neither Seeing nor Hearing to conduct it. We ſee the like befall a great many, who in the gouerning of the Common-wealth would doe all things to the liking of the multitude: for when they are once tied to this yoke of ſeruitude, deſiring in all and through all to pleaſe the Comminaltie, (which oft-times is moued raſhly, and without any reaſon at all) they could neuer skill afterwards how to retire, nor reteine, nor ſtop the furie and raſhneſſe of the people.

In the life of *Agis*.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

THE

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THE FIRST CHAPTER.

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whom the race of the kings of Arragon left. The people, hauing been ſtirred by this Frier, continued a long time after in their inſolent actions, falling from one ſedition to another, till God, by the meanes of time, redreſſed it, ſo that all vaniſhed quite away, and euer after matters went in quiet and peaceable manner. Albeit then, that the furie of a mutinous multitude bee ſometimes in the beginnings and proceedings very fearefull; yet it continueth not alwaies alike, ſaith the Poet *Claudian*, but when it is defeated of her intents, it falleth and ſlackeneth like a violent wind.

In his poeme of the Geticke war.

Too violent a furie growes alwaies calme at laſt,
And neuer is ſucceſſefull, but ſpends it ſelfe in waſt.
Such wicked Enterpriſes doe ſeldome currant runne,
But commonly are quenched when they are firſt begun.

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predictions) that theſe poore ſoules thought verily Doomes-day was come. But within a while after, the tempeſt being appeaſed, and the heauens appearing ſuch as they were before, the miſerable pariſhioners perceiuing how this Curate had abuſed them, and how by his fooliſh perſuaſion they had kept a table longer than they ſhould, vexed for hauing beene ſo fetcht ouer, conſpire to fall vpon him, with a full reſolution to play horſe-play with him, yea, and to beat him dead in the place, if he had not betaken him to his heeles, and that ſome of the ſtaider ſort had not calmed the choller of the reſt. A Greeke Frier, deſiring to fill his budget, did the like a good while agoe, by report of *Martin Cruſius*. He being come from Ieruſalem to Conſtantinople, ſetteth himſelfe in the market-places, and before the temples to take money, ſaying, That neere to Ieruſalem there fell a ſtone from heauen, vpon which was written, that within a few daies the world ſhould haue an end; making good what he ſaid by certaine Buls of the Patriarches of Alexandria, in the which indulgence and remiſſion of ſinnes was promiſed to all thoſe that would giue money to this bul-bearer. But a while after, the knauerie was found out, and the frier and all they that had bought of his ſmoake were excommunicated. The frier confeſſing the coſenage, and weeping exceedingly, would not goe foorth of the church till the Patriarch had firſt promiſed to take him againe into the boſome of the ſame: Which was done, after a long penance; the Patriarch partly in jeſt partly in earneſt, calling him the Popes fore-runner.

In his hiſtorie intit. *Turco-græcia.*

We reade that ſuch another like matter hapned in times paſt vnder the reigne of *Antoninus* the Phyloſopher. A roguiſh fellow followed with a ſort of companions like himſelfe, caſting about how he might ſtrike a good hand and get himſelfe crownes, ſought to make the people of Rome beleeue, that fire ſhould fall from heauen, and the end of the world ſhould be at hand, when he, comming downe from a wild fig-tree planted in Mars-field, ſhould be tranſformed into a ſtorke. At a day appointed, this coſiner hauing climed the tree, and then fliding downe letteth a ſtorke flie out of his boſome; which turned all the ſpectacle into laughter. The Emperour made the fellow come before him, who hauing confeſſed his intent, obteined pardon. *Mahumet* that notable deceiuer, vſed a more powerfull coſinage to enſnare his ſuperſtitious followers: For hauing by the helpe of a certaine frier called *Sergius*, forged a new ſect patched togither of many ſtrange fooleries and impieties, whereby he beſotted the Arabians, and them of Aſia, with others, he died in the ſeuenth yeare of the reigne of *Heraclius* the Emperour. Now he had foretold his diſciples, that he would diſlodge out of the world in the tenth yeare of his reigne, but the third day he would riſe againe. Hereupon a follower of his, deſirous to trie if he ſaid true, poiſoned his drinke: hauing ſwallowed it, and feeling himſelfe neere his end, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him, *By water you ſhall receiue remiſſion of ſinnes:* and ſo died ſuddenly. His diſciples kept the bodie, expecting the iſſue of his foretelling: but his bodie did ſo ſtinke that being not able to endure it they got them away; and comming thither againe ten daies after, they found that it was eaten of dogs. I deſired to copie this ſtorie out of the Spaniſh chronicle, compiled by *Iean Vaſæus*, who followed (as he ſaith) an Author called *Lucas de Tude:* becauſe I doe not remember that I euer read it in any other place.

Iulius Capitolinus in his life.

The Imperiall lawes haue ordained certaine puniſhments for thoſe that goe about to deceiue men with any vaine ſuperſtition. Hereunto *Paulus* the lawier had regard, when he reporteth the Edict containing theſe words: *We ordaine, That the Diuiners which faigne that they are inſpired by God, ſhalbe chaſed away, for feare leaſt*

L. ſiquis de pœnis. Modeſtin. lib. 1. de pœnis.

leaſt good manners ſhould be corrupted vnder hope of a thing lightly beleeued, or that the minds of the people ſhould be troubled: therefore after they haue beene cudgelled, let them be caſt foorth of the citie: if they perſeuere, let them be kept faſt in priſon, or carried into ſome Iſle, or confined, and baniſhed for euer. Lib.5 cap.23.de ſent.de Vatici. natoribus, &c.

To come to the other part of this chapter: I doe not propound theſe things, as if I thought that the latter day, which Saint *Peter* calleth a day of refreſhing, ſhould be far off: for contrariwiſe, I am of a ſtrong beliefe, that the ſignes which goe before it, and were foretold by our Sauiour, are alreadie come to paſſe, if not all, yet the moſt part of them: eſpecially conſidering, that the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors ſaid of their time, that then were the laſt daies. For this cauſe, ſome thought that the predictions touching Antichriſt ſhould haue their accompliſhment vnder the Empire of *Seuerus*. For thus we read in *Euſebius: A certaine man named* Iude, *wrote in that time Commentaries vpon the ſeuentie weekes of* Daniel, *finiſhing his Chronologie with the tenth yeare of the reigne of the Emperour* Seuerus: *and he thought, that the comming of Antichriſt drew neere at that time: ſo much had the grieuous perſecution raiſed vnder this Emperour ſhaken a great many perſons. Cedrenus*, ſpeaking of Antichriſt, alleageth the Teſtament of king *Ezechias*, and the prophet *Iſaie*, to prooue that Antichriſt ſhall reigne three yeares and ſeuen moneths: after that, being caſt into the bottomleſſe pit, Ieſus Chriſt the Lord of all things, and our God, ſhall come: then the dead ſhall riſe againe, and the iudgement ſhalbe. In the time of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth about the yeare 1062, it was noiſed abroad (ſaith *Auentinus*) that the world drew to an end, and that the time was come wherein Act.3.18. Lib.6.cap.6. of his Eccleſi. hiſtorie. In his abridgement of hiſtories. Lib.5.of the Annals of Bauaria.

The Earth, the Sea, and this huge Heauens frame
Should come to nought, conſum'd with fierie flame.

Or elſe, as the Poet *Lucretius* ſaith, the day was at the doore

That was to finiſh all, and bring the world ſo gray,
To nought; that was with ſpeed to melt all cleane away.

So that at this day, ſix hundred yeares being fleeted away ſince *Henrie* the fourth, there reſteth no more, but that with opened eares we lift vp our heads to hearken after the blaſt of the trumpet of the Arch-angell, and with a pure conſcience looke for the comming of the Sonne of man in the cloudes, with great and incomprehenſible glorie and power, for the redemption of his. I remember well the prophecie of *Elias* and *Catina*, Iewiſh Rabins, drawn out of the Talmud, and out of the chapter of Idolatrie, which many alleage as an Oracle falne from heauen, touching the ſix thouſand yeares continuance, which they attribute to the world: but we ſee that theſe computations differ, and when there is a miſcaſting in the beginning of an account, it muſt needs be that infinit errors follow. But we haue the faithfull admonition of Ieſus Chriſt the true Paſtor, who is carefull for the ſaluation of his ſheepe, ſaying, *That for the elects ſake thoſe times and daies ſhalbe ſhortned.* Tit.Sanhedrin. cap.Halec.cap. Libne. Matth.24.22.

But to the end we may vnderſtand what the faithfull haue thought many daies ago concerning this latter day; and how carefull they haue bin to meditate thereupon (albeit they haue been in doubt and perplexitie as touching the time) let vs heare what *Lactantius* ſaith of it. *Six thouſand yeares being fulfilled* (ſaith he) *then muſt this change be; and we may gather by the ſignes foretold by the Prophets, that the day draweth neere. For they haue ſpoken plainely of extraordinarie things, at the ſeeing of which we ought to expect and feare the end of the world. As for the full accompliſhment, we may learne it out of the Chronographers that haue collected their diſcourſes out of the holy Scriptures, and from diuers hiſtories, how great the number of yeares is ſince the* Lib.7.cap.25.

beginning of the world. Though they varie, and the ſum of their number diſagree; yet all their expectation and hope extendeth not but to two hundred yeares at moſt. The thing it ſelfe ſheweth, that the end is neere, ſaue that there is nothing to be feared ſo long as Rome ſhall ſtand vp. But when this head of the world ſhall be downe, and ſhall begin to be Rume, *is to ſay,* Violence, *(as the Sybilles ſay it ſhall come to paſſe) who doubteth that the end of the world, and of all human affaires, is not then come? For Rome is the citie that doth yet hold vp all; and we are to pray the God of Heauen (if ſo be the execution of his ordinances and decrees may be deferred) that this abhominable tyrant, which imagineth ſo much miſchiefe, come not ſooner than we thinke, to quench this light, in the eccliplſe whereof the ruine and end of the world is encloſed.* Theſe be the words of *Lactantius*, an eloquent man, ſchoolemaſter to *Criſpus* the ſonne of *Conſtantine* the great, and who liued about the yeare 318. For the reſt, to know, if that day of the Lord be neere this age, or no, (though *Cyprian Leouitius* and others, ſtaying themſelues vpon the coniunction of all the planets in the ſigne of the Ram, as it was once about the time of our Sauiour Chriſts birth, haue propoſed many reaſons for the worlds end in the yeare 1588) though it be neerer vs than the time of *Lactantius*, we leaue the full knowledge thereof to him onely that hath determined it, who knoweth the minute of the time of his comming, & will haue that men ſhould be ignorant of it. For our parts, let vs watch, to the end we may be found readie both day and night, & at al times. Therfore as there is no man of iudgement that wil take vpon him to ſet downe the certaine day and houre of that comming: ſo we learne out of the holy ſcripture, that there is no creature, no not any of the Angels, that is priuie to that time but onely God himſelfe.

This is out of all controuerſie, that many are of opinion, That the Lord will not come in the day time to iudge the quicke and the dead, but at midnight; which they confirme by theſe reaſons following. *He commaundeth vs continually to watch and pray. Behold* (ſaith he) *I come as a thiefe. Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, leaſt he walke naked, and men ſee his filthineſſe. The parable of the wiſe and fooliſh virgins, the bride-grome comming to them in the night, ſeemeth to ſignifie the ſame.* And a man may well ſay that Saint *Marke* hath repreſented all more expreſſely. *Watch therefore* (ſaith the Lord) *for you know not when the maſter of the houſhold will come, whether at euen, or at midnight, or before day, or in the morning: for feare leaſt if he come ſuddenly, he find you ſleeping. And that which I ſay vnto you, I ſay vnto all, Watch.* This one of the Ancients thought vpon, who ſaith; *It is a tradition of the Iewes, that Chriſt will come at midnight, as in the time of the deliuerance out of Ægypt, when the Paſſeouer was celebrated, and the deſtroying Angell came, and the Lord paſſed by the tents, and the poſts of our fronts were conſecrated by the precious blood of the Lambe. From thence I thinke this tradition proceeded, that vpon Eaſter euen, the people are not diſmiſſed before midnight; for they wait for the comming of the Lord: but when that time is paſt, they keepe the feaſt with the greater ſecuritie.* Therefore the Pſalmiſt ſaid, *At midnight haue I riſen to praiſe thee, becauſe of thy iuſt iudgements. Lactantius* ſaid alſo, *The heauen ſhall cleaue in the middeſt at midnight, that the light of God when he deſcendeth may appeare in all the world like lightning, as the Sybill foretold in the very ſame termes. This is the night wherof we reioyce, becauſe of the ſecond comming of our God & King. It hath a double regard: which is, that in it the Sauiour roſe againe after he had ſuffered; and beſides, in the ſame he ſhall receiue the kingdom of the world.* In another place the ſame Author adderh; *The Prophets ſay, that this which followeth ſhall come to paſſe: When the end of the world ſhall be at hand, malice ſhal increaſe, all maner of wickednes & deceit ſhal grow, Iuſtice ſhall periſh, faith, peace, mercie, temperance, truth ſhall not be found, violence and boldneſſe ſhall preuaile, no man ſhall poſſeſſe any thing by good purchaſe, but all ſhall proceed of rapine:*

Matth. 24. Apoc. 16. Matth. 25.

Mark. 13.

Lib. 7 cap. 19.

In the Epitome of the Inſtitut. cap. 8.

pine: good men shall be exposed to mocking and preying vpon, no man shall honour father and mother, or superiour, none shall haue pitie of the old man, or of the child: Couetousnesse and lecherie shall infect all: there shall be massacres and effusions of blood, with warres both forraine and ciuile: Cities shall ruine one another, women and men shall exercise weapons, the dignitie of the Empire shall bee decayed, there shall be no more discipline, but all shall be robbing, spoyling and sacking. Finally, things shall be so desperat, that the liuing shall mourne, and ioy shall bee ouer the dead. In this time about midnight the heauen shall open it selfe, and Iesus Christ shall descend with great power; fire shall goe before him, the Angels in number infinit shall follow him: all the multitude of the wicked shall be destroyed. These be the words of *Lactantius*, or his coniectures, gathered confusedly out of many places of the holy Scripture, speaking of the last times, but not precisely of the end of the world.

CHAP. II.

The obstinate and seditious deportments of the Iewes.

THe Iewes haue attempted many and sundrie times (as it were in despite of Gods ordinance) to reedifie the Temple of Ierusalem, and to set vp their gouernment againe: but such attempts haue been alwaies in vaine, and they haue been forced, after a great destruction of their people, to leaue off all that they had begun. That which befell them in the time of *Iulian* the Apostata, is memorable, as *Zozomenus* reporteth it after others. As euery Apostata is a contemner and a persecuter of his order: so *Iulian* a sworne enemie of the Christians, animated the Iewes to set vp their state againe, promising to maintain them and to grant priuiledges vnto them. Forthwith they assemble together in great numbers, and puffed vp with hope, betake themselues with great charge and magnificence to the building of the Temple of Ierusalem. But as they were laying the foundations, the earth began to tremble, and to open; all that was begun, sunke downeward, and many thousands of Iewes were ouerwhelmed with the ruines and cumbers of the building. And that which *Dio* writeth hapned in the time of the Emperour *Adrian*, is no lesse memorable. I will set downe his owne words, that the whole may be the better vnderstood. Ierusalem hauing bin ruined of a long time before, was inhabited againe by the commandement of the Emperour, who would haue it called *Ælia Capitolina*. A temple was builded to *Iupiter* opposite to that of the Iewes, which was the cause of a long and cruell war: for the Iewes were extreamely wroth to see the Pagans mingled among them, and to offer sacrifice to their idols that were set vp in euery place of the citie. Notwithstanding, they refrained from taking armes, fearing *Adrian*, who was himselfe in those quarters at that time. In the meane while they were not slacke to prouide among themselues all that should be needfull against they were to rise in armes. When they perceiued the Emperour and his troupes were remooued far off, they began to shew themselues, yet without offering to set vpon the Romans: only they reenforced themselues, accommodating certaine caues and places vnder ground for their escape and retrait, making priuie meetings to consult of their affaires, and making light to come in some places to their mines and caues, that they might be able to liue there in time of need. At the first the Romans made light of such attempts: but when the prouince was vp, and the Iewes dispersed in other countries had conspired with them of Iudea, then they conceiued how important and perillous this war was. For the Iewes did much harme

Lib. 5. cap. 21. of his historie.

In the life of *Adrian.*

» harme to the Romans both openly and priuily. They drew also vnto them a
» great number of Pagans, allured with the desire of boot; and all the world had
» like to haue shaken by this rising of the Iewes. *Adrian* seeing it was no time to
» delay, sent against them the best captaines he had, and among others *Iulius Seue-*
» *rus*, called out of England where he was, to go into Iudea. *Seuerus* durst not giue
» battell; for he had not forces ynow, and the Iewes were desparat. Wherefore
» he sets vpon them single, now vpon one troupe, then vpon another, according to
» the number of his souldiors and captaines: after, cutting off their victuals, and
» bringing them to extreame famine, in succession of time, though the war drew
» on in length, yet with lesse danger he defeated them one after another. There
» were not many that escaped the edge of the sword. Fiftie fortresses by name
» were laid leuell. Almost a thousand villages and townes well peopled, were
» spoiled and burnt. In out-roads, skirmishes, and encounters there were fiftie
» thousand Iewes kild. Famine, sickness, and fire consumed another great multi-
» tude. Thus all Iudea was welneere brought to a desert. This calamitie was fore-
» told to the Iewes by diuers prodigies and wonders, before the war: for *Salomons*
» sepulchre (which they haue in great reuerence) cleft asunder, and was spoiled of
» it selfe, no bodie touching it. The wolues and Hyenaes ran howling through the
» streets. But the Romans paid deere for this victory; for it cost the liues of a great
» many of them slaine in the conflicts. This is the report of *Dio*; and all this came
» to passe in the yeare one hundred thirtie eight, threescore yeares after the de-
» struction of Ierusalem by *Titus*.

A little before, vnder the raigne of *Traian*, by the report of the same *Dio*, the Iewes transported with rage, had assayed to reestablish themselues by force of armes, and their affaires went very well forward at the beginning: for hauing chosen for Commaunder one called *Andrew*, they cut the throats of all the Greeks and Romans they could meet with, and not content with such an execution, they began to eat mans flesh: with the bowels of men taken out of their dead bodies, they made girdles, and couered themselues with their skins flaied; they sawed their prisoners asunder in the midst, they made many of them bee worried with beasts, they forced others to kill one another: in so much as that this Iewish furie cost the liues of more than two hundred thousand men. They made another horrible massacre in Ægypt, and likewise in the isle of Cyprus, vnder the conduct of *Artemion:* for there they slew about two hundred and fiftie thousand persons. The outragiousnesse of this fact was the cause of an edict, forbidding the Iewes on paine of death to set foot in that isle: and that if any either by error or by violence of the winds and tempest be driuen in there, his processe is at an end, for hee is presently executed. Besides, these massacres were not left vnpunished. For *Traian* hauing sent an armie at last vnder the leading of *Lucius*, who went thither after many other Commanders, he vtterly destroyed the Iewes which had spilt so much blood, almost ouer the whole world. *Ammian Marcellinus* maketh mention of another insurrection of the Iewes, saying; That what time *Marcus Antonius* passed through Palestina to enter into Iudea, mooued many times with the out-courses of the stinking and seditious Iewes, he cried out (as it were) weeping, *O Marcomanni, ô Quadi, ô Sarmata*, I haue at length found worse mutiniers than you are. But what say you (I pray) to the cosining part plaid by him (who in the yeare 434) persuaded the Iewes in the isle of Candie, that he would lead them like a second *Moses*, on drie foot through the sea into a firme land that should be fruitfull of all good things? The Iewes beleeuing him, assembled together to a very great number vpon an high

Lib. 22. of his Historie.

high promontory, from whence a many of them (bewitched with this deceiuer) caſt themſelues after him into the ſea, where ſome were drown'd, others falling vpon rocks, were cruſht and died there; ſome were ſaued being taken into certaine ſhips, which by good chance failed then vpon that coaſt: and by that mean the ſeducers knauerie was diſcouered, who was euer after called the *Moſes* of Candie. *Socrates* the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtoriographer maketh the report. Wee read alſo in the booke of the voiages of *Beniamin de Tudela*, tranſlated out of Hebrew into Latin, that in his time, to wit, in the yeare 933, one *Dauid Elroy* grew a notable deceiuer by the helpe of certaine magicall books, and woon ſuch credit among the Iewes, that he made them beleeue he was ſent from God, to conquer the citie of Ieruſalem, and to free them from the ſeruitude of the vncircumciſed, for which cauſe he was called the Meſſias. The king of Perſia hearing of it, cauſed this *Dauid* to be apprehended and brought before him, who dealt ſo by his iugling ſleights, that he ſaued himſelfe out of priſon, to the great aſtoniſhment of all, and hauing wrapped his Turban about him, croſſed a very broad riuer called Gozen, and could neuer be ouertaken by the Perſians that followed him; and one day he made ten great iourneys, ſo that he eſcaped cleane away. The king angrie at the audacious pranks of this deceiuer, wrote to all the heads of the Iewiſh Synagogues, That if they did not repreſſe the attempts of *Dauid*, all the Iewes that were in the kingdome of Perſia ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed. They affrighted with ſuch a threatning, ſent a letter to *Dauid* of this tenor; *We will that thou know, how that the time of our deliuerance is not yet come, and that our ſignes haue not (as yet) appeared. It is not wind that maketh a man ſtrong: therfore by this fore-warning we enioyne thee, that thou vtterly forbeare ſuch deuiſes, purpoſes, and attempts: if not, we excommunicat and baniſh thee out of all Iſrael.* But *Dauid* hauing no liſt to obey ſuch admonitions, proſecuted his furious intent, till at the laſt he was ſtab'd ſleeping in his bed by his father in law, whom they had corrupted with gifts to giue that deadly ſtroke. And ſuch was the end of the iugling trickes and legerdemaines of this deceiuer. *Lib.7.cap.37.*

In this place we may fitly inſert the memorable example of the deſperat crueltie of ſome Iewes in France, in the time of king *Philip* the Long, *Robert Gaguin* reporteth it as followeth. *There was an execution of many leapers, who at the inſtigation of the Iewes had receiued certaine poiſon of them, with the which they had complotted to infect and to poiſon all the wels of France, to the end that thoſe which ſhould drinke of the water, might die, or (at leaſt wiſe) become leapers. To effect this, they compounded a mixture of blood, and of mans vrine, with the iuice of ſome venimous hearbs, all which being bound vp in a linnen-cloath, they tied to a ſtone, and ſo caſt it into the well, that it might ſinke to the bottom. The king vnderſtanding of this damnable conſpiracie (which was diſcouered in Languedoc where the poiſonners had beene burnt) cauſed all the leapers throughout his kingdome to be examined, who hauing confeſſed the fault, were with many Iewes their confederats burnt to aſhes. At which time ſortie Iewes being impriſoned for the ſame matter at Vitry, reſolued vpon a ſtrange execution within their priſons: For, accounting themſelues as dead men, they choſe of all the number two that ſhould kill the reſt, to the end they might not paſſe (ſaid they) through the hands of the Chriſtians. The eldeſt and the yongeſt of the fortie did the execution: the eight and thirtie being diſpatched, the old man praies the yong to kill him: which being done, the yong man ſeeing himſelfe left alone, gathered all the gold that his fellowes had, and hauing made a rope of his ſheets, lets himſelfe downe out of a window: but the weight of his bodie and the gold breaking the linnen rope, he fals into the ditch, breakes his thigh, is taken vp, and put to death, and all the bodies of the reſt burnt.* *Paulus Æmylius* maketh mention of this matter. Now we muſt confeſſe, That the

Gag. towards the end of the 7. booke of the hiſtorie of France.

Lib. 8. of the hiſt. of France.

the Iewes, for their blind and deſperat impietie, are ſo falne away from the grace of God, that they haue not onely loſt all adminiſtration and dignitie belonging to man, but alſo they are far from the hope of eternall life: and no maruell if this nation be brought to extreame miſeries, notwithſtanding they be deſcended of the ſtock of the holy Patriarches, were once the people choſen from among all other nations, and of them Ieſus Chriſt came according to the flesh; For the Prophet *Iſaie* doth plainely propound fiue cauſes of their reiection. Yet ſome expoſitors apply theſe reaſons to the Chriſtians, and ſhew by plaine arguments, That the Chriſtians are no leſſe blame-worthie than the Iewes; and that ſeeing they continue in the ſame faults, they muſt looke for the ſame puniſhment. For if God, who is a iuſt Iudge, haue not ſpared the naturall branches (as Saint *Paul* ſaith) much leſſe will he beare with the wild branches graffed in the right oliue-tree.

Cap. 2.

Rom. cap. 11.

CHAP. III.

Platos *Caue, that is to ſay, The glaſſe of fooliſh opinion, and vaine Ignorance. Alſo of the opinion which proceedeth of Ignorance.*

FRame in your mind ſome Caue that is ſpatious, verie hollow, and deepe within, that hath vents and holes in the top, thorow which the light may be ſeene: Imagine, that in the bottom of this Caue there be men ſet, and brought vp there from their child-hood, chained and kept ſo ſhort, that they cannot turne them to thoſe holes, nor ſtir, nor ſee any thing but what is right againſt them. That behind and ouer them there ſhineth a great light, betweene which and theſe priſoners there is a way aloft, and (as it were) hanging in the aire, and by that way, a wall; That by this way many doe goe and come carrying diuers pieces both of houſhold ſtuffe, and ſhop-ware, likewiſe figures of beaſts, made of wood, ſtone, or other ſtuffe: and that all theſe pieces thus carried are vpon this wall: ſo as of thoſe that carrie them ſome hold their peace, others talke among themſelues as ſoftly as they can: to be ſhort, that all this is like a ſcaffold, where plaiers ſhew vpon curtaines and carpets which they haue hanged vp, babies and puppets which they make to ſtir, mingling ſome voice and words of meriment betweene; and after, to quarrell and knock one another, to make the companie ſport, who ſee not the hands of thoſe that handle thoſe puppets. But you will aske me what I mean by this ridiculous Den which I haue painted foorth. I will tell you. Let vs thinke that theſe men ſo chained and faſt tied, reſemble vs. What ſee they within the Caue? neither themſelues, nor their fellowes, nor yet the implements that are carried: for they are in darkeneſſe and can diſcerne nothing: I thinke they ſhould ſee onely the ſhadowes which this light doth caſt and repreſent ouer againſt the Caue. If they might happen to talke one with another, I beleeue they would hold theſe ſhadowes for liuely ſound, and true things. And if, of their voice that paſſe along by the wall, there were ſome *Echo* framed, that might reſound in the bottom of the caue, thinke you theſe priſoners would beleeue that this noiſe came of any other thing but of the ſhadow that paſſeth away? I thinke not, but verily beleeue they would haue no apprehenſion of any truth and ſoundneſſe, but of ſhadowes. But let vs vntie them now, and free them from their ignorance. What will then follow? I make account, that if being vnchained you make them ſtand vpright, turne their heads, come forwards, and behold the light; the priſoner that ſhould firſt come

to

to doe this, would be much perplexed, his eies would be ſore, and he ſhould not be able well to looke vpon thoſe pieces, of which he had before ſeene the ſhadowes. And if one ſhould ſay vnto him; Hoe, friend; heretofore thou ſaweſt but the ſhadowes, now ſee the things themſelues: and beſides if, when he ſheweth him the things, he ſhould aske him, what they be, and how they are called; doe not you thinke he would be at a non-plus, and take the ſhadowes which he ſaw before, to be truer things than the things themſelues which are laid before his eies? And if ſome man ſhould take him out of the Caue, and carrie him into the open light, ſhall we not thinke that his eies would dazle and be ſore, would he not turne away from the light, to goe againe with ſpeed into the Caue, and behold his paintings as he did before? yes verily. But if one ſhould draw him by force through waies that be rough, narrow, and painefull; to ſet him into the light, would he not frowne at it, and reſiſt with all the power he had? If one ſhould bring him vp to a hie mountaine; would he not turne away his eies that he might not ſee any thing, like *Hercules* his *Cerberus*? For it were impoſſible he ſhould endure the light, and looke vpon ſo many good things as would be about him, if he were not accuſtomed thereunto by little and little. Firſt then, he would caſt his ſight vpon ſhadowes, then in the ſhadow of the ſunne he would behold the figure of ſome thing, and next, the bodies themſelues made plaine by the light. After that, he would raiſe his eies to heauen, by night he would looke vpon the moone and the ſtars; in the day he would inure himſelfe to turne his ſight towards the ſunne, and thinke with himſelfe, that the ſame is the torch which diſtinguiſheth the times, and cauſeth the diuers reuolutions of the ſeaſons of the yeare: and that of his brightneſſe thoſe ſhadowes proceeded which he had ſeene in the Caue. Into what diſcourſes, I pray you, would he enter, ſo often as he ſhould remember his darke Caue, his chaynes, his thoughts, and his ſhadowes? Surely he would proſtrate himſelfe before God, and in all reuerence thanke him, for that he was at the length drawn out of that darke priſon, and would deplore the ſtate of his fellowes which he had left behind him in ſuch miſeries. And if it were the cuſtome in that Caue, to praiſe, to recompence, and to honour thoſe that ſhould ſee theſe ſhadowes moſt diſtinctly, or, that could beſt remember which had beene the firſt ſhadowes, or the ſecond, or which had paſt by but once, or thoſe that were to paſſe preſently: may we thinke it could euer be, that our man drawne out into the light, would wiſh to haue a ſhare in thoſe praiſes, honours and rewards, or enuie thoſe that ſhould enioy them within the Caue? I doe not thinke it, but rather beleeue, that he would more willingly goe to the vtmoſt part of the North, and towards the froſen ſea, than to be king of the blind. But ſuppoſe, that the ſame man were to returne againe (at the end of ſome time) into his place within the Caue; would he not be as if he had loſt his ſeeing, hauing left the light to goe againe into darkeneſſe? And if they ſhould diſpute within, which of them all ſaw the ſhadowes beſt, and that our man would ſpeake of them; would they not all mock him, and crie out that their fellow is returned ſtone blind, and that there is manifeſt danger and perill in going out of the Caue? If any ſhould goe in to vntie one, and offer to draw him foorth into the light, would he not reſiſt with hand and foot, and offer to pull out his eies that would carrie him from thence? Such is *Platos* Caue, the expoſition whereof may be ſeene in the Author himſelfe, out of whom we haue collected this, and which *Politian* hath ſince repreſented in a Latin poem of his, intituled *Lamia*. *Lib. 7. of his common-wealth.*

But if *Plato*, or ſome one of his ſchollers did returne into the world, who could

could let him from lodging in the verie bottom of this Caue theſe giddie-heads and audacious fellowes, who (being come I know not from whence) maintaine ſo ſtiffely and againſt their conſcience, and to the great ſcandall of good men, their monſtrous traditions, and raſh opinions, conceiued in the hollow of their braine, more ſtrange than profitable, hauing great ſhew, but little ſoundneſſe; whoſe inuentors haue beene more approoued of the world than of God, as ſaith *Vincentius Lerinenſis*. Nay (which is worſt) they will make ſuch their opinions to be receiued by force, of thoſe that refuſe them; and vpon the ſame doe euerie foot forge queſtions and doubts, about which they diſpute *pro* and *con* reiecting the wholſome writings and admonitions of the truely wiſe. To ſpeake all in a word, It is plaine they wilbe thought little Angels, and all they that are out of their Caue know nothing in compariſon of them that ſee ſuch goodly ſhadowes and ſuch gallant puppets. But the ſaying of the Chancellor of Paris (*Gerſon* as I take it) is worth the remembring, who, by report of *Laſius*, was wont to ſay, *That it is a token of a giddie mind to accuſe the true wiſe-men of error, or to offer to ouerthrow that which might be reformed by a moderate reſolution.* Whereunto *Hierocles* alleaged by *Stobæus*, aimed, ſaying; *We muſt not find fault with that which is fault-leſſe, nor by our ignorance and heedleſneſſe accuſe thoſe things which we muſt vſe.* Such men by their preſumption and malice, delighting ſtill more and more in ſuch dangerous exerciſes, dig a pit for themſelues, wherein they burie themſelues, and make both themſelues and their poſteritie ridiculous to their enemies.

In his booke againſt profane nouelties.

Lib. 2. de orig. iuris.

As for the other part of this Meditation, Of the opinion which proceedeth of Ignorance: many Italians and French, who haue neuer ſtirred a foot from the places where they were borne, thinke, that the Germans dwell all in one great citie. For, ſeeing ſome German merchants or ſchollers to liue together in loue and friendſhip, and to ſpeake all one language, they imagine, that this familiaritie and intelligence proceedeth of a common conuerſing one with another. It hath been my hap more than once to be asked by ſome Italians out of the beſt iudgement they had, how great that citie was which they called La Magnia. Wondering with my ſelfe oftentimes at their ſimplicitie and ridiculous perſuaſion, I haue thought it was to be attributed to ignorance. So fareth it with thoſe who like muſhroms neuer ſtir from one place, and thinke that beyond the riuers ſide there is no roome to dwell in, as the prouerbe ſaith. Therfore did the Philoſopher *Antiſthenes* flout the Athenians, who bragged that they were *Autochthones*, (that is to ſay) *That are come forth of their owne ſoile*, like toad-ſtooles, and that their Anceſtors came not out of any other place, and neuer had change of habitation. He ſaid, That this praiſe was to be deuided betwixt them and the tortoiſes and houſe-ſnailes. The Egyptians when in their Hieroglyphices or myſticall letters they would repreſent a man that had neuer budg'd out of his countrey, that neuer reads hiſtorie, nor knowes what is done in other places, painted an Onocephale, a beaſt that keepeth alwaies in one place. Such ignorance is a great deale more tollerable in priuat perſons, than in thoſe which manage affaires of ſtate; who for want of experience and knowledge haue beene the cauſe of great euils both to themſelues, and to others; as diuers hiſtories doe witneſſe: namely that of *Minio* in *Titus Liuius*. This *Minio* was chiefe minion and fauourit to king *Antiochus*, and a man that knew nothing of the ſtate of ſtrange countries and people; iudging of the power of *Antiochus* by the exploits of war which he had atchieued in Syria and in Aſia, and making account that his maſter had not onely right, but force alſo of his ſide, to ouercome the Romans.

Lib. 5. Decad. 4.

There-

Therfore, when as he alone managed the kings secrets, through his ignorance he put it into the kings head to set vpon the Romans, who ouerthrew him, tooke away the most part of his kingdome, and chastised him for his pride and arrogancie. This besides is a matter to be wondred at, that neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make any mention of the Romans, who for all that were growne mightie by that time they wrote their Histories. And as little is there found of them in other Authors of those times: for it was very long ere the name of the Romans was heard of among the Greekes, albeit they are both people of Europe. Touching the French men, and Spaniards, the state of their affaires hath been so little knowne to the Greekes, saith *Budeus*, and that to the most sufficient and curious of that nation which is so apt to write bookes; that one among them, called *Ephorus*, hath been of opinion, that Spaine (which he termeth Iberia) was but a great citie: and yet children now a daies can tell, that Spaine containeth more than fiue hundred French leagues in compasse, as they that haue seene and measured it, obserue; and the Cosmographicall Charts thereof do sufficiently witnesse the same.

Lib. 4. de ass.

CHAP. IV

Of a fruitfull linage, and such as exceedeth the force of nature.

THomas Fazell writeth, That *Iane Paneica*, who in his time was maried to *Bernard Bellnard*, Sicilian of the citie of Agrigent, was so fruitfull, that in thirtie child-beds she was deliuered of seuentie and three children: which should not seeme (saith he) incredible, seeing *Aristotle* affirmes, that one woman at foure births brought forth twentie children, at euery one, fiue. *Albertus Magnus* writes, That a woman of Germanie made two and twentie abortiue children at one time, all hauing their perfect shapes: and another woman, seuentie. And besides, that another woman deliuered into a bason a hundred and fiftie, euery one of the length of ones little finger. *Erasmus*, *Viues*, and others haue written of the strange deliuerance of the Counteesse of Henneberg. *Lewis Guicciardin* in his description of the Low-countries setteth downe the same storie, taken out of the ninth booke of the Annals of Flanders, composed by *Guido Dominicus Petrus*: His words are these; A certaine poore woman brought a bed of two children, prayed the Counteesse to giue her some assistance in her necessitie: but the Counteesse did not onely send her away empty-handed, but charged her that she was of an ill behauiour, saying that it was a thing against nature (in her opinion) for a woman that is honest to conceaue by her husband two children of one birth; and therefore that this her deliuerance had bewraied that she had lewdly abandoned herselfe to some others. The poore woman mooued with this reproch and ignominious repulse, and of the other side well assured of her honest cariage, made earnest request to God, that for the proofe of her innocencie, and of the faith which he knew she had kept inuiolably to her husband, it would please him to grant that this Counteesse might haue so many children at one burden, as there were daies in the yeare: which within a while after came to passe. And he addeth, that these children were as big as chickens new hatcht, all aliue, and sound, and died within a little while together with their mother: to whom this Epitaph following was erected in the Monasterie of Lodun, where there were Nunnes of the order of S. *Bernard*, and it is hard by the Hague in Holland.

In the historie of Sicilia.

Li. 7. of the nature of beasts. cap. 4.

THE EPITAPH.

The daughter of the right noble Lord Florent *Earle of Holland, and of* Mawd *his wife the daughter of* Henrie *Duke of Brabant, sister of* William *king of Almaine, named* Margaret, *of the age of fortie two yeares, was brought a bed vpon the Friday before Easter, in the yeare* 1276, *at nine a clocke in the morning, of three hundred, three score, and fiue children, as well male as female; who after they had beene all baptized in a great bason by the reuerend Bishop* Don William, *Suffragan, in the presence of some great Lords and notable persons, the male children being called by the name of* Iohn, *the female by the name of* Elizabeth, *dyed all of them together with their mother, their soules returning to God, to liue eternally, their bodies resting vnder this tombe.*

The like storie well neere is reported of the beginning of the noble race of the *Welses*. *Irmentrudes* the wife of *Isenbard* earle of Altorf, hauing giuen herselfe the raines so far, as to accuse of adulterie a woman that had three children at one birth, being not able to beleeue that one man could at one time get so many children, adding withall, that she deserued to be sowed in a sacke and thrown into the water, yea, and accusing her in that regard to her husband: It happened that the next yeare the Countesse felt herselfe with child, and the Earle being from home, she was brought a bed of twelue male children, but all verie little. She fearing the reproch of adulterie (wherof yet she was not guiltie) and the punishment of like-for-like, commanded that eleuen of them should be taken and cast into a riuer that was not far from the house, and that one should be saued to be brought vp. It so fell out that *Isenbard* met the woman that was carying the little infants to their death, and asking her, Whither she went with her paile? he had this answere, That she was going to drowne a few baggage whelps in the riuer of Scherc. The Earle came vnto her, and (for all the resistance the woman made) would see what was there, and then discouering the children, pressed her in such wise, that she told him all the matter. Then he caused them to be nourished and educated secretly, and so soone as they were grown great and brought home to him, he set them in an open hal besides him whom his wife had brought vp: and then being all knowne to be brethren by their faces, and their other fashions, their mother moued in conscience confessed all the fact, and obtained pardon for her fault. In remembrance wherof the honorable race of the *Welses* got that name, which euer since it hath kept.

CHAP. V.

The praise of the life of priuat men in a meane estate. Also of Beggars, and what is true pouertie.

PLato saieth in a certaine place, That euery meane and moderat thing doth more profit towards the attaining of vertue, than that which is immoderat and excessiue. Vpon which occasion a wise man said very pertinently:

If thou be wise, aspire vnto a meane estate;
For that which is too base, is subiect commonly
To loathing and contempt: and that which is too hie,
Into the pit of woe it selfe doth ruinate.

Histories do shew the proofe hereof. Wise men haue alwaies preferred the commodities of a priuat and meane life, before great honours and high estates: thinking inferiour persons more happie, than such as are exalted in the world. And therefore we may not maruell if *Traian* refused the empire as a burthen insupportable,

ſupportable, and would not take it vpon him but by meere conſtraint. For if we conſider how doubtfull and miſerable the condition of the Roman Emperors hath been (ſeeing their greatneſſe and life lay not in the hands of the Senat, nor of the people, but in the power of the ſouldiors, and of the legions) it is a wonder that there were any found that would take vpon them ſo dangerous a charge, and ſo much ſubiect to the violent furie of armed men. Indeed it oftentimes falleth out, that thoſe good things which we ſet a ſtrong imagination vpon, and after which we labour with all our force, is a while after the cauſe of our ruine. To this purpoſe *Chryſoſtom* ſaid, That we muſt not gaze vpon the diademe of kings, but conſider the tempeſt of affaires that enuiron the ſame. And indeed, ſince *Iulius Cæſar*, who was ſtabbed with many wounds in the midſt of the Senat, vntill *Charlemaigne*, about thirtie Emperours haue beene kil'd, and namely all thoſe whoſe forenames began with *Caius*; beſides foure which kild themſelues. And at laſt the libertie of the men of war grew to bee ſo enormous, that they choſe Emperors when they were banquetting and quaffing, to the end they might take occaſion to cut the throats of others; as it befell to *Regillianus* and *Proculus*. *Petrarch* conſidering theſe things, in the Dialogue where he bringeth in one bragging that he was a Generall of an armie, for anſwere ſaieth vnto him: It might (perhaps) be ſafer for thee to be a leader of Beares or Tygres, than of men; For one may tame and gouerne wilde beaſts, but not the hearts of many men. Beaſts threaten before they bite; but the furie of man appeareth in an inſtant. They, whom thou takeſt for thine, who call thee Lord, ſoules that are to be ſold for a little handfull of ſiluer, more inconſtant than inconſtancie it ſelfe, will for a ſtraw change their wil, & of guarders of thy perſon, wil become cutters of thy throat. Their ſmiling faces will turne to be furious; their hands which they ſhall hold vp to giue thee an oath, ſhall be lifted vp (peraduenture) to deſtroy thee: which if they do, it ſhall be no ſtrange or new thing. *Cæſars* armie mutined againſt him neere to Plaiſance. The Emperor *Alexander Seuerus* was ſlaine by his ſouldiors: and ſhortly after him, the *Maximini*, father and ſonne; next them, *Balbinus* and *Maximus*; then *Probus* an excellent commander; *Gratian* and *Valentinian* the younger, the one betraied by his legions, the other by his chiefeſt follower. A number of others, who had alwaies beaten their enemies, haue beene kild by their armies, and had none other to cut their throats but their own ſouldiors. See then, whereof thou reioiceſt ſo much: This armie of thine is a wild beaſt, very cruel, of many heads, which being pricked with anger, with want, with couetouſneſſe, will caſt it ſelfe headlong into all difficulties, not caring what ſhall come of it. *Saturninus* well fore-ſaw this (ſaieth the Hiſtoriographer *Vopiſcus*,) For when the ſoldiors had inueſted him with the imperiall mantle whether he would or no, he ſaid vnto them, the teares ſtanding in his eies; Friends, you know not what an euill it is to commaund: Iauelings and ſwords hang ouer our heads, pikes are bent on euery ſide againſt vs, our owne guards do make vs agaſt, we feare them that accompanie vs, there is no ſauour in our meats, no ſafetie in our waies, no diſcretion in our exploits. Beſides, of what age ſoeuer he be that ruleth, he is ſure to be taxed. If he be old, he is vnwildie; if he be young, he is giddie. To be ſhort, in making me your ſoueraigne, you draw me into the iawes of death. Therefore *Euripides* the Poet ſaieth very aptly:

Hom. 66.

See *Treb. Pollio & Fl. Vopiſcus* in the liues of 50. Tirants.

Dialog. 97.

Thrice happie he to whom hard fate
Importeth not too ſtrait a ſtate,
Nor yet too great; but giues a meane,
Crown'd with a Venus *chaſt and cleane.*

In the Tragedie of *Iphigenia.*

And a little after he addeth this wiſh,

Would I a houſhold could obtaine
And keepe with quiet a ſmall traine:
High States liue ſeldome void of ſtrife,
I hate the troubles of this life.

We haue another teſtimonie hereof in certaine verſes of *Apollodorus*, a Greeke Poet. And the like is ſet foorth by the excellent *Du Bartas*, tranſlated thus: In the third day of his Firſt weeke towards the end.

O thrice, thrice happie he, who ſhuns the cares
Of citie troubles, and of ſtate-affaires;
And ſeruing Ceres, *tils with his owne Teeme*
His owne free-land, left by his friends to him:
Neuer pale Enuie's poiſon'd heads doe hiſſe
To gnaw his heart; nor vulture Auarice:
His fields-bounds bound his thoughts; he neuer ſups
For Nectar, poiſon, mixt in ſiluer cups:
Neither in golden platters doth he licke,
For ſweet Ambroſia deadly Arſenicke.
His hand's his boule (better than plate or glaſſe)
The ſiluer brooke his ſweeteſt hypocraſſe:
Milke, cheeſe and frute (fruits of his owne endeuer)
Dreſt without dreſſing, hath he readie euer. &c.

Hereunto *Polybius* ſeemeth to haue regard, when he ſaith; *That there needs a ſmall time to exalt men, eſpecially courtiers, to the top of glorie: but a ſmaller time will ſerue to bring them downe to extreame miſerie and confuſion.* This is confirmed by a notable and fearefull example of *Hebraim Baſſa*, chiefe counſeller to *Solyman* the great Turke. *Paulus Iouius* reporteth, That among all thoſe that haue beene aduanced by the fauour of mightie princes, there was neuer ſo great a Minion of the worlds vnconſtancie, nor ſo happie a man in his life vntill his death, as this *Hebraim* was. But *Solyman* one night ſent an Eunuch into his chamber, who with a ſharp razor cut his throat as he was quietly ſleeping in his bed. It is ſaid, That this man ſeeing himſelfe ſo much cheriſhed by *Solyman*, beſought him vpon a day (as they two were talking familiarly togither) that he would forbeare to make ſo much of him, leaſt being eleuated too hie, and flooriſhing beyond meaſure, his maſter ſhould begin to looke aſcance vpon him, and ſo be forced to pluck him downe from the top of Fortunes wheele, and vtterly to ouerthrow him. *Solyman* ſware vnto him, that while he liued he would neuer take away his life. But afterwards mooued vpon ſome occaſion againſt him, and yet feeling himſelfe tied by his promiſe, he forbare to put him to death; but when he was enformed by a Taliſman or Turkiſh prieſt, who, playing the doctor, maintain'd that a man a ſleepe cannot be accounted among the liuing, for as much as the whole courſe of mans life is but a perpetuall watch, he ſent to kill him aſleepe as before is ſaid. And therefore *Philip de Commines*, like an old beaten ſouldier, and an eie witneſſe, wiſely deteſteth this pompous and perillous life of the court, commending a meane kind of liuing, as a far ſafer thing. *There is nothing to be more commended* (ſaith he) *than the meane ſtate: whoſoeuer can light vpon it, and hold himſelfe in it, is beſt at eaſe of all other.* Experience confirmeth that ſaying. *For there be few courtiers that liue content: but there are a great many whom the world thought moſt happie, brought by the court to confuſion.* And there is not a more ſlipperie thing vnder heauen, than the fauour of princes towards thoſe that follow them. Therefore we may ſay with *Seneca* in one of his tragedies:

Lib. 5. hiſtorie.

Lib. 33.

Let him that can, ſtand ſtedfaſt (without wauering)
Vpon the ſlipprie edge of princes fauouring:
This is my wiſh, that I, apart from court,
May haue a little, free from all reſort.

Sannazara a Poet of our time hath alſo made two latin verſes hereof, the effect of them is this;

Who ſo feeds fat with fortunes wealth, and ſwallowes it full faſt,
Not able to digeſt it well, muſt ſurfeit at the laſt.

To come to hiſtories; we haue a memorable example reported by *Solinus*, and by *Valerius Maximus*. *Gyges* king of Lydia, proud through his victories and exceſſiue wealth, asked the Oracle of *Apollo*, If there were a more happie man in all the world than himſelfe? A voice comming foorth from the loweſt part of the Caue, anſwered and ſaid vnto him, yes; and named one *Aglaus* the Pſophidian: he was an old man of Arcadia, verie poore, that had neuer gone out of the circuit of a little field he had, but alwaies contented himſelfe with the fruits and pleaſures of his ground. And it may be that *Claudian* the Poet tooke occaſion by this ſtorie, to enter into commendation of his old countrey-man dwelling neere to Verona, who had neuer beene out of his village. I haue annexed his verſes to this Meditation, expreſſed in our vulgar, thus:

Cap. 7. of his naturall hiſtorie.
Val. Max. lib. 7. cap. 1.

Thrice happie he, that in his countrey farme
Hath paſt his life: who weares his hoarie head
In that ſame houſe where he was borne and bred,
Exempt from feare, or any fierce alarme.
The broiles of aduerſe hap he neuer knew,
Nor Lawiers griping, nor the Souldiers fear,
Nor croſsing of the ſeas to regions far;
And wrack of ſhips to him is ſtrange and new.
He liues remote from popular affrights,
He ſucks the aire that wholſome blood doth bring,
By fruits and flowres of th' Autumne and the ſpring:
He counts the yeare with all his daies and nights.
He in one field doth ſee the goodly Sun
Both riſe and ſet, the hie and hautie trees,
In forreſts thick, and long, and large, he ſees
Come on ſo forward ſince his age begun.
Verona neere, to him is far iwis,
As far as is the Indian ſea ſo cleere:
And if of Como Lake he hap to heare,
He thinks the famous red ſea named is.
A Conſuls name amateth him no whit,
Nor doth he reck of hie and loftie place:
Let who ſo liſteth into Aſia paſſe,
He rather will at home in quiet ſit.
Not broken, but of age luſtie and ſtrong,
He ſees his grandſire haile and ſound of breath:
And neither louing life, nor dreading death,
Betimes prepareth for his iourney long.

In what ſafetie then did *Heliodorus* of Carthage liue, whoſe ſepulcher was found hard by the ſtrait of Gibraltar, which the Pſophidian, and the old man of Verona durſt neuer haue reade, if they had come that way, for feare they

should haue beene thought (according to his saying) more fooles than he? The inscription went thus:

D. M. S.

SI LVBET LEGITO.

HELIODORVS INSANVS CARTHAGINENSIS AD EXTREMVM ORBIS SARCOPHAGO TESTAMENTO ME HIC IVSSI CONDIER. VT VIDEREM SI QVISPIAM ME VNQVAM INSANIOR AD ME VISENDVM AD HÆC VSQVE LOCA PENETRAVERIT.

That is to say,

Dijs manibus sacrum. *Consecration to the Ghostes.*

Reade, if thou like.

I Heliodorus, *a foole of Carthage, haue ordained by my last Will, to be buried in a Tombe, in the remotest part of the world. To see if any more foolish than my selfe would come thus far to see me.*

It was not therefore vndiscreetly done of a certaine man, to haue grauen vpon the portall of his lodging, in one of the chiefe cities of Germany, this greeke saying; ἡ ἰδιωτικὴ βίος ἀρίστη. *The priuat life is best.* This kind of life was approoued and preferred by the wise *Vlysses*, before all other (saith *Plato*) when he was to returne into the world againe. His words follow; *He told vs also, That the soule of* Vlysses *which was the last of all, had the hap to obtaine this prerogatiue, that she should make choise of that kind of life shee best liked. She roomedging her passed euils, and remembring she was cured of the euill of ambition, toiled and trotted a long time about the diuers traines of life that were propounded vnto her, to see if she might find some priuat mans life, that was not entangled with affaires: At the last she found a life had in contempt of others, which was propounded to her: hauing seene it, she said, she would haue chosen it, if it had beene her fortune she might haue made her choice at the first time, and so then he entertain'd it with great affection, and with like good will.* This also wrought much with *Sertorius*, who hauing heard of the Fortunate Islands, thought with himselfe to goe thither, and to leaue the leading of his Armie to some other, to the end that there he might liue to himselfe safely and peaceably, without publike charge, and without being enuied of any. Which if he had done, and had resolued betime, without delay, and in earnest, to embrace a quiet and a lesse ambitious kind of life, he had not beene miserably slaine at a feast by the traitor *Perpenna*. *Diocletian* the Emperour, filled with worldly honours which he had gotten both in war and in peace, euen to the making himselfe to be worshipped as a god, seeing no safetie in human affaires, and feeling how full his Imperiall charge was of trauels, cares, and perils, left off the managing and gouerment of the Empire: and choosing a priuat traine of life gaue himselfe to husbandrie, and for all that could be said to him afterwards, would neuer be drawne from the same, for therein he felt more libertie of mind, and sweeter pleasure without comparison, than in that great turmoyling and trouble of publike affaires.

In lib. de Repub.

Plutarch in his Life.

This point may be enriched with the example of *Suatocopius* king of Bohemia and Morauia: He hauing receiued an ouerthrow in a battell, by the Emperour *Arnold*, withdrew himselfe secretly out of the fight, and vnknowne as hee was, saued himselfe alone by his horses swiftnesse. Being come to a mountaine called Sicambri, and leauing there his armes, and his horse, he begins to walke a foot, and entring into a vast wildernesse, frames himselfe (like a poore pilgrim) to liue vpon apples, and roots, vntill he had met with three other Hermits, to whom he ioyned himselfe, abiding with them vnknowne till his last gaspe, and suffering with

Aeneus Sylu. cap. 13. of the historie of Bohemia.

with a patient mind all the diſcommodities of ſuch an auſtere life. When his time drew neere that he ſhould die, he calleth the three Hermits, and ſaid vnto them; *You know not yet who I am. The truth is, that I am the king of Morauia, who when I was ouerthrowne in a battell, had my refuge hither to you. I die, hauing tried both what a royall, and what a priuat life is. There is not any greatneſſe of a king to be preferred before the tranquilitie of this ſolitarineſſe. The ſafe ſleepe which wee enioy heere, maketh the roots ſauorie, and the water ſweet vnto vs: Contrariwiſe, the cares and dangers of a kingdom make all meat and drink taſte bitter. That part of my life which remained, I haue paſſed happily with you: that which I lead vpon my Royall Throne deſerueth more the title of death than of life. Bury me here when I ſhalbe dead.* It is reported that the Emperor *Charles* v. vſed to ſay, That after he had reſigned the empire, he had taſted more pleaſure and contentment in his Monaſticall retirednes in one day, than he had reaped all his life time, notwithſtanding his victories and triumphs which had made him be thought happie aboue all other princes. But the ſpeech vttered by *Charles* (great grandfather to *Ferdinand* king of Arragon and Sicilia) a little before his death, is memorable, as *Lucius Marineus* ſetteth it down: *Being come againe to himſelfe* (ſaith *Lucius*) *and turning his eyes towards them that ſtood about him, hee cried out, O how vaine are the thoughts of men! O wretched they that aſpire to the glorie of the world, that deſire nothing but riches, pompe, and dignitie! O how happie is the condition of poore men, and how ſafe and pleaſant is their life that eat their bread with the ſweat of their browes, and that liue by the labour of their hands! Miſerable I, what good doth my kingdome to me? what doe my ſubiects and the ſeruice of ſo many men profit mee? what haue they gained mee? much trauaile and turmoile, and infinit dangers both of bodie and ſoule, without the enioying of ſo much as one good day. Miſerable and wretched I, that ſo late come to know the deceitfulneſſe of the world! How much better had I liued, if in ſtead of a ſcepter I had weilded a hedging-bill, and if of a King I had ſoone made my ſelfe a Clowne.* Hee ſpake theſe words with great anguiſh of mind, remembring (as I thinke) and following the example of his brother *Alphonſus*, who dying at Naples, had (as they ſay) vttered the ſame words. Thus writeth *Marineus*.

Iib. 18. of the Spaniſh hiſt.

The like we read in the letter of *Theodatus* king of the Goths to the Emperor *Iuſtinian*, regiſtred by *Procopius*: I haue written it all out becauſe it containeth many things worth the remembring, though *Theodatus* thought one thing, and wrote another: *I am not come to the crowne as a ſtranger and forreiner: for I am deſcended of an vncle king, and haue beene trained vp to ſucceed him. Touching wars and leading of armies, it is a thing I am not much exerciſed in: for hauing bin brought vp in the ſtudie of good letters, and the force of my wit being bent that way, it is fallen out, that neuer thinking of theſe troubles and ratling of armes, I haue bin brought to take this charge vpon me: ſo as I thinke it not conuenient for me, that for a deſire to rule in the world, and thereby to poſſeſſe great wealth and reuenues, I ſhould put my life in hazard; but wiſh rather to remoue my ſelfe from theſe tempeſts, taking no pleaſure either in the riches or delights of men: for they ouer-preſſe vs, and theſe glut vs with ſacietie; whereby there followeth nought elſe but anxieties and torments. If therefore I haue any lands of inheritance that may yeeld me twelue hundred crownes rent by yeare, I care not for being king, but am readie to reſigne vnto thee out of hand the gouernment of the Goths and the Italians, as leiſer to labour the ground, without troubling my braines, than to waſte my life among ſo many cares in the royall dignitie, from whence enſue continuall perils and dangers.* There is to this purpoſe a memorable and much eſteemed ſaying of *Epictetus*, which I will here adde: *As it is better* (ſaith he) *for a man to ſleepe in good health vpon a hard and ſtrait couch, than ſicke and languiſhing, vpon a large bed: ſo the ioyfull poore man is to be preferred before the carefull rich. Clemens Alexandrinus* hath wrapt vp this Apophthegme in three

Lib. 1. of the warre of the Goths.

three words, *A little contents an honest man.* For good cause then did the captaine *Similis* in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour (after he had gotten leaue at last to retire himselfe into the countrey, where he liued in rest priuatly and contentedly about seauen yeares) when hee was to die, ordaine by his last Will this Epitaph:

Dio in the life of *Adrian.*

SIMILIS HIC IACET. CVIVS ÆTAS QVIDEM MVLTORVM ANNORVM FVIT. SEPTEM TAMEN DVNTAXAT ANNIS VIXIT.

Heere lyeth Similis, *who was of a great age, and yet liued but seauen yeares.*

As touching the second part of our Meditation, there is an ancient Constitution of *Charlemaigne* in the behalfe of Beggars, which, because it containeth some things worth the remembring, I will heere represent at large. It begins thus, *Mendici per regiones vagari &c.* That is to say, Let no beggers be suffered to roame about the countrey: let euery citie maintaine her poore: let no bodie giue them ought, if they worke not with their hands: let Iuglers, Vagabonds, Rogues, and idle fellows be represt, which deceiue people by their tricks of liegerdemain. Let the malefactor and criminall loose an eye for the first fault; for the second let his nose be cut off; and if he be taken in the third, let him die. Let no souldier entice his fellow or any other to drinke a carouse. If any man be found drunke, let him be adiudged to drinke water, and put away till he acknowledge his fault. To this the Constitution of *Iustinian* deserueth to bee adioyned, which conteineth this that followeth: If they be of this prouince, and haue an able bodie, and employ not themselues to get their liuing honestly, they may not be suffred to be any longer an vnprofitable burden to the earth, but it were good rather to deliuer them into the hands of some craftsmen that serue the common-wealth, to be seruants to Bakers or Gardiners, or some other masters that can set them a worke, taking order they may be maintained, and that by such meanes they may change their idlenesse into an actiue life. If any refuse to labour when they may be employed, we will that they be banished from our head citie. The like constitutions and ordinances we haue in the Empire, gathered succinctly by *Petrus Danais*, a learned Assistant in the Imperiall chamber. Let euery citie nourish their poore, and not send them to another place without a testimoniall, and except it be surcharged with other poore. Let it not suffer any to beg, except they be sick, or constrained through great weakenesse to beg almes. Let beggars brats be taken from them, when they come to yeares, and let them be set to some trade whereby they may get their liuing. Let the beggars that come from another place bee driuen away: let the strong and able bee punished, for an example to others.

We haue touched afore a law of the Marsellians, importing, That they who vnder colour of a new Religion sought to make themselues grosse and fat, should be shut vp: and that all superstitious fashions accompanied with cosinage, should be abolished. This law is plainly expounded by the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who ordein, That idle lubbers, such as vnder pretence of Religion exempt themselues from the charges and duties of the Common-wealth, should be drawne foorth of their holes, and sent to the places where they were borne, and other substituted in their places, that can beare the publike charges. Yet this law hath much offended *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, as made against the Monkes and Hermits: albeit the ancient Fathers haue detested idlenesse in Monkes: one of them comparing a Monke that labours not with his hands, to a thiefe: and one other saith, That it is not lawfull to liue by anothers labour, though they be in their

L. quidam ignauie C. de decur. lib. 10.

S. August. in his tract of Monks Cap. 17.

their daily ſtudie, prayers, and contemplations. Hence is it, that Saint *Hierom* admoniſheth *Ruſticus* a Monke of his time, to be neuer idle, but either of wickers to make a panier, or a basket, or elſe to delue the ground, or make a garden-bed, to ſet plants in their order, to bring water conueniently to gardens, to weaue fiſhers nets; and he addeth, that this was the cuſtome among the Monkes in Ægypt, who ſuffered no idle perſon among them: and *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, That they had not one ſpare houre. *Baſil* ſaith, That idle Monkes ſerue but for knaues to corrupt others. *Conrad Hereſbachius* obſerueth, that in old time they that were taken idle, were called into iuſtice. And indeed (ſaith he) we muſt not beare with idleneſſe, being the mother of all miſchiefe. Therefore *Baſil* would haue vs take good heed of beggars. We muſt giue nothing to theſe ſingers of ſongs that goe from doore to doore; or ſuch, as to gather the more almes, counterfeit themſelues vlcerous and maimed in diuers limbes. The very Pagans could ſee well ynough to deteſt this vice; and therefore *Plautus* ſaid pleaſantly, *He doth wrong to a beggar that giues him meat and drinke: for he looſeth that which he giueth him, and prolongeth his miſerie.* I produce not this, that any mans charitie or beneficence towards a poore neighbour ſhould be taxed or blamed: And *Lactantius* hath ſaid well, that this ſaying of *Plautus* is deteſtable, if it bee taken in that ſence: contrariwiſe, to ſpeake Chriſtian-like, I thinke we muſt doe good to all and euery one, and the reaſon is, becauſe God commaunds it; and his word doth teach vs, That we muſt not reſpect what men deſerue in themſelues, but we muſt haue regard to the image of God in them, to the which we owe honour and charitable reuerence. And therefore was it well ſaid of a Pagan Philoſopher, who was a liberall benefactor to all perſons; that he gaue not his almes to that man, or to this, but to all the maſſe of man-kind, in a ſingle portion thereof: not to a man, but to the mannitie, if it be lawfull to vſe ſuch a word.

In his Homilie of the life of Monkes.

For the difference betweene Beggerie and Pouertie; Grammarians ſay; That Pouertie is a moderat indigence or need, ſeeking by labour to ſupply its neceſſities: and it is named of the Greeks *penia*, of *peneſta*, which ſignifieth to labour: For which cauſe it is not blame-worthie in it ſelfe; nay (contrariwiſe) the ancient Greeks and Romans haue cheriſhed and reſpected it; in ſo much as Greece was called and reputed the Nource of Pouertie and Vertue: which we haue verified elſewhere by many examples. As for Beggerie, it is an extreame penurie and want of all things. And Beggars are called of the Greeks *ptochoi*, of *ptaſſein*, which ſignifieth to tremble, becauſe they ſpeake tremblingly, and after the manner of ſuppliants to thoſe that they aske any thing of: or elſe of *ekpeptokena toiv etheim*, becauſe they haue nothing, and are fallen from all wealth. For the reſt, the learned *Cauſabon* hath ſaid very well, That it makes no matter if any man be poore in reſpect of worldly goods: but the pouertie that is miſerable indeed, is that of the ſoule. To cloſe vp this chapter, let vs adde the diuers and ſundrie cauſes of pouertie: Firſt, ſome fall into pouertie either by the negligence of their anceſtors, or by their owne; Secondly, ſome ſpend all in play, in wine, and other ſuch rioting courſes; Thirdly, ſome become poore by bodily ſickneſſes, as by diuers kinds of vlcers, by blindneſſe, by loſſe or vnprofitableneſſe of their limmes, &c. Fourthly, ſome are ouerthrowne by accidents either generall or particular, as of warre, plague, famine, fire, ſuites in law, and ſuch other viſitations.

Suidas in his Collections.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That euerie man ought to liue content with his estate.

Homil. 60.



Hrysostome maketh a sharpe inuectiue against this vanitie, That euery man complaines that he is intollerably loaden with that which he is tied most too: & feeles himselfe lesse mooued with that which concernes himselfe, than with other mens affaires: *For,* (saith he) *the man that hath no children, thinketh nothing so grieuous as to be without children: who so is poore, and hath a great number, complaines of nothing else but that: He that hath but one child, thinketh it an extreame miserie to haue but one. Hath he a faire wife? it is an ill fortune (in his conceit) to haue her so faire: for as much as iealosie and snares besiege him. Is she foule? a worse match could not befall him (saith he) for it is an intollerable vexation. If he liue in priuat, there is no life (thinkes he) more odious nor more vnpleasing: If he carrie armes, it is a hard and painefull trade; he had rather liue with bread and water, than endure such toile. Hath he a publike charge? he will tell you that he is vtterly miserable, hauing to meddle with so many affaires that concerne him not. Contrariwise, if he be subiect to command, he curseth his life to see himselfe a slaue, and vnder the yoake of one that reignes ouer him. If he be married, it is death to him to take such care for his wife and his family. If he be vnmarried, he protesteth it is a discomfort to liue alone, to haue no household, nor place of rest. The merchant seeing the husbandman liue at home in quiet, iudgeth him happie: the husbandman saith as much of the merchant, because of his wealth. Thus mankind is wholy giuen to repine, euerie man condemning his estate, and carrying a mind ouerwhelmed with discontent.* The Heathen in times past were wont to make the same complaints. Among other, *Horace* the Poet doth wisely lay downe that which commonly befalleth those, who, transported with ambition, or enuie, or some other filthie affection, are euer malcontent, and aspire to innouations, vnder the fable of the Horse, and the Hart, which he concludeth thus;

The Horse once hauing feare he might stand in some neede,
Did leaue his libertie (more worth than any meede;)
And so a master seru'd and into thraledome fell,
Because he could not skill to vse a little well.

The same is set foorth in a certaine wittie and pleasant fable of the Asse, who would euerie foot change his master. For, being with a gardiner, he complain'd of his hard fare and sore trauell: with a potter, he was vexed for that he was laden continually with clay and bricks; and then could bewaile his hard fortune, and wish with griefe for the gardners cole-worts againe. At the last being sold to a tanner, he taketh on & curseth his life; for there they loaded him miserably with the skins of his allies and kinsfolks the other Asses that were flaied: He then could wish himselfe (but all in vaine) with his old masters againe. A learned Poet of our time descanting of this fable, saith thus;

If aduerse fortune bring to passe
And will that thou an asse must bee,
Then be an asse, and liue an asse:
For (out of question) wise is hee
That vndergoes with humble mind,
The state that Chance hath him assign'd.

Vnder which fictions, men of vnderstanding meant no other thing but that which the Poet *Horace* reproueth in his Satires, where he detecteth so featily and with so good grace those of his time, of that inconstant humor that they would

would neuer ſtand to one kind of life. He taketh on againſt thoſe that neuer put an end or a meaſure to their deſires, but leaue the preſent to run after that which is to come, like the children painted by *Adrian Iunius*; who (leaping and skipping after theſe bubbles which being blowne vp with a ſtrawne reede dipped in ſope and water, looke firme, and like the collour of a rainebow) haue for embleme, CVNCTA COMPLECTI, STVLTORVM: that is to ſay, *Fooles will embrace all.* The Italian prouerbe written vnder it, is no leſſe prettie, ET TVTTO ABBRACCIO ET NVLLA STRINGO: that is, *I embrace all, and hold not one.* This Apophthegme is properly applied to thoſe, that run at one time after many places and offices, and neuer content with any thing they haue, will ſometimes this, ſometimes that. They preuaile little, and returne oftentimes emptie. *Plutarch* ſeemeth as though he would giue counſell herein by a verie good ſimilitude. *Like as fearefull folke* (ſaith he) *and they that are ſea-ſick paſſe out of a boat into a barque, and then into a galley, hoping by this change to find eaſe, till they feele they looſe their labour, becauſe their humour ſtill accompanieth them: Euen ſo the leauing of one vocation to follow another, will not ſerue to fence the mind from the faſsheries and troubles that moleſt it; as are ignorance, raſhneſſe, and want of skill to ſerue ones turne for a need of that which a man hath readie by him.* And a little after he addeth; *Braineleſſe fooles, that haue no vnderſtanding how they ought to demeane themſelues in this life, doe in time of proſperitie proudly flie off the hookes; and in aduerſitie, doe cowardly reſtraine themſelues: and thus are they troubled with both extreames, or (to ſpeake better) with themſelues in the one and the other extreame, and ſpecially in this which we call* Wealth: *no otherwiſe than they that are craſie in their bodies can abide neither heat nor cold. The ignorant, who know not how they ought to liue, receiuing oft-times with the left hand the fortune that commeth to their right, doe therein commit groſſe faults: but contrarily, the wiſe doe like the bees, who ſuck out of Time the moſt penetrant and drieſt honney: ſo they, out of the croſſeſt and irckſomeſt accidents, draw ſomething that is good and profitable for them. The Grecians call this Vertue* autarkie, *We,* Contentment: *of the which* Socrates *hath ſaid almoſt all in a few words; Life content with the little that it hath, is like a ſhort and pleaſant way, hauing much delight, and ſmall trouble.* And indeed (as *Herodotus* ſaith) if all men in the world would bring their owne euils and lay them in one heape to change with their neighbours, after they ſhould haue well ranſackt and viewed ouer all, they would gladly goe home againe with their owne which they brought. The wiſe *Cleobulus* was of the ſame mind (ſaith *Plutarch*) for ſpeaking of the ſetting out of the quantitie of riches that would be ſufficient for a man and wherewith he might content himſelfe: As for wiſe-men (ſaith he) the law hath preſcribed them a meaſure; But for fooles, I will tell them this tale, The Moone vpon a time deſired her mother to make her a peticoat that might ſit cloſe to her bodie: And how is it poſſible (anſwered the mother) that I ſhould make one to fit thee, when I ſee thee ſometimes full all ouer, and anon after in the wane, and then growing againe? Euen ſo can no man aſſigne any certain meaſure of wealth to a foole, nor to a vicious man: for he hath need now of one thing, now of another, by reaſon of his manifold deſires and occaſions; like *Eſops* dog, who in the winter lying cloſe and couching round togither, becauſe he was readie to ſtarue with cold, purpoſed to build himſelfe an houſe; but in the ſummer lying and ſleeping all along, he perceiued that he tooke vp a great deale of roome, and thought it a needleſſe thing to build an houſe, and the rather for that he found it would be no ſmall matter to build one great inough. And doe we not ſee the verie ſame thing in theſe people, who ſometimes play the little ones, ſtinting themſelues to a ſmall proportion, as purpoſing

In his 16. Embleme.

In his booke of the contentment of the mind.

Lib. 7.

In his Feaſt of the ſeauen Wiſe-men.

poſing to liue verie ſtrictly and laconically, and then againe vpon a ſudden if they haue not all that which they ſee not priuate men only, but kings and princes haue, they put the fingar in the eie, complayning as if they were driuen to die with hungar. Therefore the Poet *Horace* ſaid verie well, that

Lib. 3. *Ode* 16.

Who much doe craue, of much haue need:
But well is he, whom God indeed,
Though with a ſparing hand, doth feed.

No leſſe prettie are the verſes of the Poet *Euripides.*

In the tragedie of the Phenician women.

Inough to good men is a feaſt
And one daies Wherewith is much more
Than all the wealth laid vp in ſtore,
Of many and many a yeare at leaſt.

The Spirit of God doth determine this plainely by the kingly Prophet *Dauid*, in theſe words,

Pſal. 37. 16.

Doubtleſſe the iuſt mans poore eſtate
Is better a great deale more,
Than all theſe leaud and wordly mens
Rich pompe and heaped ſtore.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 22.

To this *Lactantius* ſeemeth to agree, ſaying, *The wiſe and iuſt man that knoweth that all the goods of the world haue beene giuen him of God, coueteth nothing of another mans, for feare he ſhould offend his neighbour, and ſinne againſt humanitie: neither wiſheth he authoritie and command ouer others, to the end he may wrong any man. For he knoweth, that all men haue beene created of God, and are ioyned togither by the right of brother hood. But being content with his owne (though it be little) and remembring his brittle eſtate, he ſeeketh not but for the neceſſarie things that belong to this life; and of that little which he hath, he dealeth part to the needie, becauſe he is merciſull. Compaſſion towards the poore is an excellent vertue. Beſides, he contemneth tranſitorie and vicious pleaſures (for the ſatisfying whereof men deſire riches with ſuch greedineſſe) becauſe he is continent and maſter of all impure affections. Being neither timorous nor proud, he neither liſteth vp his head nor lookes loftily: but is peaceable, gracious, affable and mild, becauſe he knoweth his eſtate.* I will therefore crie out with the Poet *Manilius*;

How comes it, that we ſpend with ſo great care and doubt
Our vile and wretched life? that ſuch feare, ſuch deſire
To heape and hoord vp wealth (but how, none doe enquire)
Doth preſſe both old and yong, within doores and without;
That they find neither reſt nor yet the fruit which hope
Did make them to beleeue they ſoone or late ſhould grope?
How comes it, that we ſay, We will liue; liue we will,
And yet (wretches alas!) we ſee that we die ſtill?
How comes it, that he prooues moſt poore that moſt deſires,
And recking not his owne, to others wealth aſpires?

They therefore walke well and ſurely, who being content with their ſmall eſtate, make good vſe of that which they haue lying by them, guided with a liberall hope, either that their induſtrie will increaſe their heape, or that the bountie of great men will giue ſome addition thereto, or that ſome lawfull ſucceſſion will helpe all: and which way ſoeuer they turne their eies, without ſtanding yet vpon it, no more than they doe vpon that which they alreadie poſſeſſe. *Adrian Iunius* meant to repreſent this by certaine graſhoppers that ſuck

ſuck the dew, and paſſe their time ſinging, adding thereto this Italian motto, DI QVESTO MI CONTENTO, ET MEGLIO SPERO, that is to ſay, *I content me with this, and hope for better.* In his 20. Emblem.

CHAP. VII.

Why they of Marſeilles would not in times paſt ſuffer any man to enter into their Citie with weapons.

WHen we were in Italie, we were faine many times when we entred into great and ſtrong cities, to giue vp our weapons, ſpecially our piſtols, which were caried to that gate, whereat we were to goe foorth when we meant to depart the towne, and there they were deliuered to vs againe. This ſeemed a ſtrange thing to vs: for we were but meanly furniſht to put any man in feare, and we were a very ſmall companie to offer to offend ſo many people: Beſides, we had occaſion (like ſtrangers) to ſtand vpon our guard, becauſe of ſome mad fellowes that are commonly in ſuch cities. For in many places of Italie, chiefely in Lombardie, in Tuſcane, and in the territories about Rome, a man is ſafer in in the fields and remote places, than in his lodging. But it may be the Italians haue ſome reaſons why they doe this: And if it be to the ſame intent that the citizens of Marſeilles were wont to doe it, I thinke they rather deſerue praiſe than blame. *Valerius Maximus* writeth of the Marſeillians this that followeth: *It is not lawfull for any man to enter into their citie with his Armes: and there is a man readie to giue them againe to the owner when he goeth forth at the gates to trauell any other where. In which caſe their will is, that the Innes ſhould be to paſſengers and trauellers, as well places of ſafetie, as of eaſe and recreation.* This courſe is taken by them for feare of inſurrections, or offers of ſurprize, of which it ſhould ſeeme they haue paſt ſome dangers. For it is ſaid that they of Marſeilles were wont in old time to haue an eye to the wood; which we may perceiue by the Hiſtorian *Iuſtin*, ſpeaking of *Comnanus* king of the Segoregians, who went about to ſurprize Marſeilles: Theſe be his words, *The king laid ambuſcados for the Marſeillians, and vpon a ſolemne feaſt day ſent a great many valiant men into the citie, as it were to paſſe through it; he ſent in alſo waines couered ouer with ruſhes and boughs, vnder which were hidden a great number of ſouldiors: hee himſelfe lay in ambuſcado with his armie among the hilles ſomewhat neere the citie, to come vpon them in the night, and to enter the ports which ſhould bee opened by the foreſaid ſouldiers, to the end he might fall vpon the citiſens, being ouercome with good cheere and with ſleepe. But a kinſwoman of the kings diſcouered the enterpriſe, whom a faire young man a Grecian kept and mainteined: and being a bed with him, was mooued with pitie of his youth, and tels him all that was pretended, aduiſing him withall to remooue himſelfe out of the danger. Hee goeth with ſpeed, and acquainteth the Magiſtrats with the matter: whereupon the captaines and ſouldiors that were in the Innes, and that were vpon the waines are taken and kild. That done, euery man maketh himſelfe readie to expect the king, who comming boldly on, is ſo hoatly charged, that he is ſlaine dead vpon the place with ſeauen thouſand of his men. Euer ſince that day, the Marſeillians haue accuſtomed (during the feaſt dayes) to keepe their gates ſhut, to haue a Watch, to walke the round and viſit the Sentinels, to examine all the ſtrangers in their Innes, to ſtand carefully vpon their guard, and to behaue themſelues in time of peace, as if they had warre.* Lib. 2. cap. 7. Lib. 43.

The ſame *Vallerius Maximus* reporteth likewiſe, That in the ſame citie of Marſeilles, and in ſome open place thereof, they vſe to keepe poiſon wherein was mingled the iuice of Hemlocks, of which there was giuen ſuch a ſufficient quan-

titie as would kill one, to him that propounded in the councell of the ſix hundred ſome reaſons for which he thought himſelfe mooued to procure his owne death. *Valerius* addeth, That the ſame courſe ſeemed to him very honeſt, human, & prudent, becauſe death is not a wrong or outrage, but a tribute of nature: That it is ill done to denie a remedie to ſuch as craue it with reaſon, which afterwards they are forced to graunt, though neuer ſo vnwilling, to their old age. But yet I ſay, that ſuch wittie and colourable heatheniſh inuentions are repugnant to Chriſtian faith and pietie. For, who knoweth not, that the killing of a mans ſelfe is no leſſe forbidden than the killing of another? And the Ciuilians hold, That who ſo killeth another man at his owne requeſt and moſt earneſt importunitie, is guiltie of murder; conſidering, that he that is killed, is not lord of his owne bodie, nor of his owne life: and hee that killeth himſelfe, is guiltie of the wrong he doth to himſelfe. But beſides all this, the law of God, which ſaith to euery man, as well concerning himſelfe as his neighbor, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, doth and ſhall remaine alwaies firme, inuiolable, immutable, and irreuocable, ſo long as there ſhall be left any of *Adams* children in the world.

Lib. 4. of his Geographie.

This I confeſſe to be a teſtimonie of laudable temperance among them: for *Strabo* writeth, that they had this law, That the richeſt dowrie in marriage among them was of a hundred crownes, and fiue crownes for the Brides apparell, and fiue more for her rings and iewels, and that it was not lawfull to aſſigne or beſtow any more. And now that we are entred into this point, *Bodin* ſaith to the purpoſe, That it were needfull to order the dowries of women, of what eſtate ſoeuer they bee, to the end that the meane houſes be not impoueriſhed, with enriching the noble. It is forbidden by the Ordinances of Venice, to giue aboue ſixteene hundred duckats with a noble mans daughter; and if a Venetian gentleman marrie a baſe woman, he cannot take aboue two thouſand duccats. Touching the ordinance of the Marſeillians for laying aſide of weapons, it is grounded vpon many good reaſons. *Bodin* aduiſeth that the mutiniers be diſarmed, becauſe it is the way to keepe all in peace, and the needfull remedie for the diſeaſe of ciuile warres. The princes of Italie, and of the Eaſt, ſuffer none of their ſubiects to weare Armes, neither long ſwords, nor ſhort, ſaue to thoſe that guard their bodie. And it is not a new ordinance, but fetcht far off: For *Ariſtotle* wondred that the Barbarians walked through the cities of Greece with their ſwords by their ſides. And yet it is a thing not only permitted to the Germans, but alſo commanded to the Switzers; whereof enſue many quarrels, murders, and ſtirres: for he that hath his ſword at hand, will be readie to wrong the weakeſt; but he that is vnarmed, ſtands quiet ynough, or if one offer him wrong, he cannot kill his enemie, nor is in danger to be hit in the teeth that he hath put vp an abuſe.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Vertues and Vices of the ancient Romans. Other particularities worth the noting.

THey that write Hiſtories, do ſet forth infinit examples of the vertuous deportments of the Romans, and of the goodly order of their Common-wealth to their hie honour and commendation. But as we muſt confeſſe that the lawes of the Romans haue been better founded than the lawes of any other State, (for whatſoeuer might ſeeme to make for the increaſing and preſeruation of their State, hath been borrowed by them from other Common-weales, or elſe themſelues haue wiſely prouided therfore, being incited to make good lawes through euill

euill manners that occasioned them thereunto, and shewing themselues in their publike charges very seuere obseruers of good order, as may be seene in the fragments of *Polybius*, where he treateth of the sundrie sorts of gouernment, and of the excellencie of the Roman Common-wealth) so haue there been many among them that haue shewed examples of bruitish crueltie, and monstrous dissolutenes: wherby it hath oft fallen out, that innocent persons haue bin (against the law of nations, and all good ordinances) most shamefully punished, or put to cruell death. I speake not here of *Nero*, who hauing made away many excellent men, desired at last (as *Cornelius Tacitus* saith) to destroy vertue it selfe; nor of *Caligula*, who was perswaded that it was lawfull for him to do all things, and against all men, (as *Suetonius* saith) and who wished (so thirstie was he after human blood) that all the people of Rome had but one head, that with one blow he might strike it off: I leaue also *Heliogabalus* and *Caracalla*, the one well known by his parricides, incests, & periuries; the other marked out for the most mischieuous and abhominable of all that euer were. Much lesse will I touch those other monsters the Roman Emperours, of whom histories make mention, who thought that all wickednesse was lawfull for them vnder the colour of their pretended absolute power. I will content me with one example of *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* Consul, of whom *Titus Liuius*, speaking of that which *Cato* obiected against him, reporteth this that followeth: among other things, he hit him in the teeth (saith he) with a certain Bardash, whom he had enticed from Rome into France with promise of rich rewards; this womanly youth being at a feast, vpbraideth *Quintius* (as he had done many times before) how to please him, he had left Rome, and lost the commoditie of seeing the Sword-players there fight at the vttermost. As they were making merrie, and *Quintius* his head began to work with much drinking, newes was brought him that a gentleman of Bauaria, attended on by his sonnes, was fled to him for succour, requiring he might be receiued into his protection. *Quintius* sendeth for him into his tent, and beginneth to talke with him by an Interpreter. As the poore gentleman was speaking, *Quintius* said to his Bardash, Because thou neuer sawest the pastime of the skirmishing of sword-players, wilt thou see this French-man die here before thee? the other hauing (at last) made him a signe that he would, *Quintius* drawes his sword that hung at his beds-head, and therewith lets flie a blow at the French-mans head, who feeling himselfe wounded, as he began to crie, *Helpe*, and imploring the faith of the people of Rome and of the standers by, and offering to saue himselfe, *Quintius* redoubleth and runs him thorow the bodie, killing him dead in the place. Not long after this (by the report of *Valerius Antias* an ancient Historian) the same *Quintius* being in the citie of Placentia, made a feast, to which a certaine courtisan was bidden, of whom this Roman was ragingly enamoured. After they had well drunke, *Quintius* among other things relates to this strumpet, That he had put some prisoners to the rack, and had others that were alreadie condemned, whose heads his pleasure was should be stricken off. The villanous queane began to say, That she was neuer present at such sights, and therefore desired to see some of that sport. The whoremaster presently causeth one of the condemned to be brought foorth of prison, and cuts off his head. Now whither *Cato* haue exactly set downe the circumstances, or whither it be as *Antias* reporteth it, what a crueltie is it, that to please the eies of an harlot hauing wallowed in a feast, a Consull should sacrifice a man, and defile with human blood the table, the cups, the platters, and the banquet, where the custome was to poure out wine and praiers to the gods! Thus saith *Titus Liuius*.

Lib. 16. *Annal.*

Lib. 39. of his historie.

Lib.6.cap.20. *Lactantius* writeth wisely; *Who so taketh pleasure to see a man though guiltie, die in his presence, he defileth his conscience as much as if he were with robbers by a wood-side, and should consent to a murther that they should doe in his sight.* For as much then as there cannot be a greater impietie or crueltie, than to cause poore innocent slaues to be torne in pieces of wild beasts, for the shewing of a little pastime to a rascall companie; or to make fencers kill one another, for the pleasing of the bloodie eies of a fooliſh multitude; it is strange that these sights were so vsuall among the Romans as nothing was more, among the Romans (I say) who were most esteemed of all the nations for the fame and commendation of their justice. Therefore I doe not wonder, if by a speciall iudgement of God, fiftie thousand persons gathered in a heape at Fidenes to see such pastimes, were ouerturn'd and crusht to death by the fall of the Theatre. Furthermore, when pompes and dissolutions had corrupted the ancient simplicitie, crueltie did so enlarge it selfe against all, that in the time of *Augustus*, they were faine to make a law, surnamed *Fannia*, because the common-wealth of Rome receiued infinite harmes by the strange riots that were committed in feasts, wherein, besides the horrible villanies that were exercised with bardashes, strumpets, and adulteresses of all sorts, they made themselues pastime also of sword-plaiers, fencing at the vttermost to kill one another, yea and the confusion grew so furious, that the women tooke vpon them the art and trade of stabbing one another with poyniards. I will heereunto adde some worthie examples reported by *Gellius*, Lib.10.cap.3. copied out of *Gracchus* his oration touching the lawes. His words are these in substance. The Consull came (not long since) to Sidicinum: where his wife told him that she would wash her selfe in the mens bath. *M. Marius* gaue in charge to the treasurer that he should see all those that were in the bath to be put out. This woman complaines to her husband, that they had made her staie too long, and that the bath was not well clensed and fitted. Hereupon a post is set vp in the market place: *Marius* a noble gentleman is brought thither, stript out of his cloathes, tied naked, and well whipt. They of Calenum hearing this, made proclamation, that so long as the Roman Gouernour should staie in their citie, no man should presume to goe into the baths. For the same cause our Pretor commanded that the Receiuers of Ferentum should be apprehended and laid in prison: one of the which threw himselfe downe from a wall; the other was taken and whipt. *Gellius* addeth, That the same *Gracchus* saith in another place: I will shew you by one example how furious and exorbitant the intemperancie of the yong men of Rome is. Not long since a certaine yong man was sent Ambassador into Asia, who till that time had neuer exercised any publike charge; and was carried in a litter. A clowne of Venusia meets this Ambassador, and not knowing who was within the litter, asketh the seruants merily, if they were carrying a dead man to be buried. The Ambassador hearing that, commandeth them to staie, and with the leather strings that shut the litter made the poore clowne to be so whipt that he died in the place. This crueltie (vnworthie the Roman name) had beene in times past detested of other nations.

There was in our time a great prince so accustomed to take pleasure in the death of men, that vpon the birth-day of a daughter of his, towards euening he made torches to be lighted, to stare some prisoners in the face that were executed by his commandement. This was taken for an ill presage, and held as a great reproach to the prince: who hauing delighted himselfe with seeing out at his chamber-window some lords and gentlemen kild in a base-court, would (within a while after) goe and see a poore bodie hanging at a gibet: and when they

they that attended him ſtopt their noſes for the ſtinke, he repeated this ſaying which an Emperour had once vttered, That ſweet is the ſmell of a dead enemie. He had enured and fleſht himſelfe firſt vpon beaſts, not ſuch as are hunted only, but vpon aſſes, and mules, and hogs, none of which he would ſpare, but would with his owne hands pull out their guts, as if he had beene ſome butchers boy. In a word, he made pietie and crueltie all one thing. He that hath written the diſcourſe thereof more particularly, addeth for concluſion, *That Princes muſt indeed be the Authors of rigorous puniſhment, to command that they may be inflicted as often as offences require it: but they ſhould not be preſent thereat, for feare they doe not learne to deuiſe inexcuſable cruelties.*

CHAP. IX.

Certaine particularities worth the obſeruing, in the manners of Scipio Africanus, *and of the Emperour* Auguſtus.

Itus Liuius, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, and other Hiſtorians doe highly commend the continencie of *Scipio* ſurnamed afterwards *Africanus:* for that, after he had taken New Carthage in Spaine, and a young gentlewoman priſoner (who was ſo faire that ſhe rauiſhed all mens eies) was brought vnto him, he preſerued her entire, and ſo reſtored her to her friends. To ſay truth, ſo many commendations of continencie, not much vſuall in a yong Roman lord, (albeit *Scipio* may haue beene endowed with many excellent parts, as his braue exploits witneſſe) are greatly ſuſpected of many; becauſe the Romans of all other people haue beene much addicted to all proſtitutions of their bodies: and the moſt part will not be perſuaded that Hiſtorians are Hiſtorians in this point. That which mooueth them to doubt hereof, is, for that ſome report the matter one way, ſome another: and it is gathered by *Scipios* anſwere, that his heart felt at the ſame time verie ſharpe and ſtinging motions: *Plutarch* writeth that *Scipio* ſaid, *If I were but a ſouldier, I would enioy this damoſell; but being commander of an armie, I will not meddle with her. Polybius* reporteth his anſwer to be this, *There is no preſent wherein I could take more delight, than in this, were I a priuat man; but becauſe I command others, I care not for it.* As if continencie were not a vertue in a priuat man, but that it were lawfull for ſuch a one to pollute a captiue virgin, affianced to a great lord, in ſteed of reſtoring her entire to him whoſe ſhe was; and that it were agreeable to the common-wealth of Rome, and profitable in a war ſo dangerous, if he had not beene generall of the Armie. Some therefore are of opinion, that what *Scipio* was aſham'd to doe in publike, he committed in a corner, carried away with his carnall affection, and laying aſide for a time the maske and mantle of a great captaine: eſpecially conſidering his ſouldiers had aſſigned this damoſell vnto him for a peculiar and principall ſhare of the bootie. Moreouer, the common brute hath beene, that *Scipio* did purpoſely abſtaine from touching this maide being brought into his preſence, to the end it might be asked afterwards whither of the two had beene the more continent, either *Scipio Africanus*, who had reſtored to a Spaniſh lord his daughter, a damoſell readie to be married, exceeding faire, a priſoner, and brought into the preſence of the Generall being Conqueror, without once touching her: Or *Alexander* the great, who hauing taken the wife and ſiſter of *Darius* priſoners, and hearing they were princeſſes of excellent beautie, would not ſuffer them to be brought into his preſence, being afraid to looke vpon them. But

Lib. 7. Decad. 3.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 3. *Lib.* 3. *cap. vltimo.*

In his Apophthegms.

Lib. 6. *cap.* 8.

leaſt it may ſeeme, that (contrarie to the opinion almoſt of all) I would detract ſomething from the heroicall praiſes of *Scipio*, I muſt produce for witneſſe *Valerius Antias* often alleaged by *Titus Liuius*, and an ancient Hiſtorian, who was thought to beare armes vnder *M. Valerius Læuinus* Prætor, againſt *Hannibal*, in the yeare of Rome 508. In his fragments we read theſe words: Publius *ſurnamed* Africanus *hauing won by force Carthage a great citie of Spaine, tooke a verie faire damoſel whom he reſtored not to her father, but held her for himſelfe, and vſed her at his pleaſure.* Therefore *Gellius* writeth, That *Scipio* had no great good report in his youth, for which he was alſo taxed by *Næuius* the Poet in one of his commedies, ſo far as to ſay, That this great captaine who had atchieued ſo many braue exploits, and whoſe name was in the mouthes of all the world, had beene forcibly carried away by his father, muffled in a mantle, from a certaine concubine. I thinke (ſaith *Gellius*) that theſe girds of *Næuius* haue occaſioned *Valerius Antias* to write touching the manners of *Scipio* ſuch things as are contrarie to other Hiſtorians concerning the Spaniſh damoſell. Now if we may giue credit to *Valerius Antias*, *Flauius Vopiſcus* ſhall not haue written in vaine, *That there is no Hiſtorian but hath ſet foorth ſome lie or other:* yea, and that he hath found many places, wherein *Titus Liuius*, *Saluſt*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and *Trogus Pompeius* might be conuicted of falſhood by vnreproueable witneſſes.

In the life of *Aurelian.*

But let vs come to the ſecond point of this Meditation. They ſay, The Emperour *Auguſtus* was one of the greateſt whooremaſters of his time: in ſo much, as if he ſaw any faire woman, preſently he made her be brought to him, without all reſpect of nobilitie, dignitie, or honeſtie. For this cauſe *Iulian*, ſurnamed the Apoſtata, bringeth in *Auguſtus* at a banquet of the gods, euerie foote changing collour like the Cameleon, ſometimes pale, ſometimes red, now black, anon ſpeckled; and in the end taking vp his place next to *Venus* and the Graces. The Philoſopher *Athenodorus* verie inward with *Auguſtus*, was not vnacquainted with his libidinous tricks; for one day perceiuing that *Auguſtus* had ſent a litter cloſed with his ſeale, for a certaine gentlewoman of a great houſe, whoſe husband tooke on extreamely, and the Empreſſe was exceedingly mooued thereat, he praied them both to be patient, and foorthwith conueied himſelfe ſecretly into the litter in place of the gentlewoman (for the faſhion was that the women did ſo get into thoſe litters that no bodie knew of them) and carried a ſword with him. When the litter was brought, *Auguſtus* comming to open it himſelfe, *Athenodorus* ruſhed foorth vpon him with his ſword in his hand, ſaying; *What, and art not thou afraid that one ſhould kill thee in this manner?* *Auguſtus* was much amazed at this vnexpected accident, yet gently bare with the Philoſophers boldneſſe, thanking him afterwards, and making good vſe of ſo good a warning. This *Athenodorus* was of *Tarſus*, a Stoick by profeſſion, a vehement and plaine-dealing man, ſome of whoſe ſayings *Plutarch* alleageth, being written to *Octauia* the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*. Of him it is (as I take it) that *Plinie* the younger ſpeaketh, who freed a certaine deſolate and vnhabited houſe in Athens, of a ſpirit that haunted there. When he would returne home into his countrey, taking his leaue of *Auguſtus*, for a laſt farewell he ſaid thus vnto him; *When thou ſhalt feele thy ſelfe angrie with any man, neither ſay nor doe any thing till thou haſt firſt repeated ouer to thy ſelfe, the foure and twentie letters of the Alphabet.*

In the diſcourſe of the Emperors.

In his Epiſt. to *Sura* to the 7 booke.

Plutarch in his Apophth.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Memorable Examples of the excellent Courage, and inuincible Constancie of men and women.

THat which *Titus Liuius* mentioneth of *Mutius Scæuola*, who hauing resolued to kill the king *Porsenna*, came into the campe of the Hetruscans and there stabbed the kings Secretarie, or the Captaine of his guard, thinking it had bin the king, for punishing of which errour vpon himselfe, he burnt his right hand; *Porsenna* resting so amazed at the patience and constancie of *Scæuola*, that he not only raised the siege from before Rome, but also made peace with the Romans. *Agathyrsus* the Samian writeth (by report of *Stobæus*, and of *Plutarch* who calleth him *Agatarchidus*) another example very like to the same. When *Xerxes* was arriued at the Cape of Artemisium with fiue hundred thousand fighting men, he proclaimed war against the Grecians, whereat the Athenians amazed sent out *Agesilaus* the brother of *Themistocles* to discouer his armie, notwithstanding his father *Neocles* had dreamed in his sleep that he saw his son loose both his hands. He comming into the campe of the Barbarians in the habit of a Persian, slew *Mardonius* one of the captaines of the guard for the kings bodie, thinking he had bin *Xerxes* himselfe: whereupon being taken by them that were by, he was fettered and brought to the king, who was about offering of a sacrifice vpon the altar of the Sun; into the fire whereof *Agesilaus* thrusting his hand, and there enduring the force of the torment without once crying or sighing, the king commanded to vntie him: which done, *Agesilaus* said vnto him, All we Athenians are of the like courage; and if thou wilt not beleeue it, I will againe put my left hand into the fire. At which *Xerxes* much affrighted, made him be carefully kept and looked too. Who so will read in *Stobæus* the oath that the youths of Athens tooke when they entred into their adolescencie, will wonder the lesse at this magnanimitie and courage; the substance whereof is this: *I shall doe no kind of dishonour to sacred Armes, nor shall euer forsake my fellow with whom I shall be ioyned. I shall fight for the Altars and the Harths, either alone, or with companie. I shall not leaue the countrey in worse state, but in more ample and better than it shall be left vnto me. I shall alwaies obey the Magistrat appointed to commaund mee, and shall doe that which the lawes shall enioyne me, as also all that which shall be decreed by the assembly of the people. If any man offer to abolish the lawes, or refuse to obey them, I shall not consent vnto him, but oppose my selfe against him earnestly, either alone, or with companie. I shall adhere to the ceremonies and religion of the countrie. The gods be my witnesses in these things.*

To returne to my purpose; the young man of Sicilia mentioned by *Sabellicus*, who fired the Arsenall at Gallipoli, where an hundred galleys were readie rigged for the Turks warres against the Venetians, was handled after another sort: for he being apprehended, and examined by *Mahomet* the Souldan of the Turkes, What wrong had been done vnto him, that hee durst enterprise such an action? answered brauely, *That he had a will to endammage the common enemie of the Christians: that his enterprise was honourable, but had beene more honourable, if he might as well haue kild the Souldan, as hee had fired his galleys.* *Mahomet* wondring at his answere, and following his barbarous crueltie, not the gentlenes of *Porsenna*, caused the Sicilian to be cut in two pieces, with some others also of his companions. Here may be inserted the hardie and notable exploit of a certaine Bulgarian: *Lazarus* Despot of Seruia (his master) hauing been taken prisoner in war by *Murath* the first Souldan of the Turks, who put him to death in prison, the Annals of Turkie say that

In the first Decad.

Plutarch in his Paralell hist.

In his 141. discourse of the Commonwealth.

Lib. 9. *Decad.* 3.

Paulus Iouius lib. 2. of famous men.

that soone after his taking, *Murath* made him be hewen in pieces) this seruant of his made a vow that hee would die rather than suffer the wrong done to his prince goe vnreuenged. He chose an opportunitie so fit for his purpose, that with one stab he kild *Murath* dead in the place, after he had raigned three and twentie yeares. Since that time, the Souldans of the Turks suffer not any Embassadour to come neere them, but he is led vnder the armes by two Groomes of the chamber, saith the lord of Busbecke (towards whom this ceremonie was practised, when audience was giuen him to deliuer the embassage from the Emperors part to *Solyman* Souldan of the Turks.) The like example we haue in *Titus Liuius*. A certaine Barbarian prouoked to anger for that his master was kild, stabbed *Asdrubal*, sonne in law to *Amilcar*, authour of the murder: and being laid hold of by those that saw him giue the stroake, keeping his countenance as if he had beene free and at libertie, notwithstanding they rent off his flesh with force of tortures, hee neither changed colour, nor voice, nor countenance: so that ioy ouercomming griefe, he shewed in his smiling face a mind exceeding well contented and satisfied.

In his voiage of *Amasia*. *Lib.* 1. *Decad.* 3.

Among the letters of *Phalaris*, there is one written to *Peristhenes*, wherein it appeareth that some women haue not much yeelded for greatnesse of courage and braue resolution, to the most valiant men that haue been. These words are to be read there among other: *Thou hast sent vnto me the wiues of* Eubulus *and of* Aristophantes, *who haue conspired against me, that they might be done to death: and now thou wondrest much that my choller is cooled. Thou wilt wonder more (yet) when thou shalt heare I haue sent them home safe, because of their franke and excellent answers: for being examined by me if they were of the complot with their husbands; Yea (said they) and besides we haue attempted to destroy the tyrant. Asking them the reason, I had this answere, That it was not in regard of any particular interest, but in respect of the common good; that it was a wrong done to all, to offer to bring into seruitude free and franchised cities. Being againe asked, What punishment they thinke themselues worthie of, for hauing thus practised against me? To loose their heads, answered they. But I haue thought them worthie to liue, and vnworthie of death, such, I say, as would present their heads to be cut off with so great a resolution.* Euery one knoweth the storie of *Lucretia* the Roman Ladie, who being defiled (in regard of the bodie, but not of the mind) by the violence of *Sextus Tarquinius*, would not liue any longer, but kild her selfe in the presence of her husband and her friends. Her sepulchre is to be seene in a place within the Bishopricke of Viterbo, with this inscription:

Titus Liuius, Lib. 1. *Decad.* 1.

COLLATINVS TARQVINIVS DVLCISSIMÆ CONIVGI ET INCOMPARABILI LVCRETIÆ PVDICITIÆ DECORI MVLIERVM GLORIÆ. VIXIT ANN. XXII. MENS. III. DIES VII. PROH DOLOR. QVÆ FVIT CHARISSIMVS.

That is to say,

Collatinus Tarquinius *to his most delightfull and incomparable Wife* Lucretia, *the honour of Chastitie, the glorie of Women. Shee liued two and twentie yeares, three moneths, seuen dayes. Ah griefe! She was most deare!*

Sueton. in the life of *Tiberius.*

Mallonia a noble Roman Ladie, hath likewise left to posteritie an euerlasting fame of her chastitie and constancie. *Suetonius* writeth, That hauing bin brought to the Emperor *Tiberius*, now growne old, but giuen ouer to lecherie, shee could neuer be woon to please his villanous desires. He fretting at the repulse, gaue her for a bootie to his Bawds; and after she had been dishonoured, was so impudent as to aske her, If she repented her not for hauing refused him. Shee desirous to defend her honour, forced, went home to her house, and kild her selfe with a dagger,

dagger, hauing first reproached to *Tiberius*, that hee was a villanous, filthie, and stinking goat: whereupon the people afterwards made terrible ieasts vpon this Emperour. Nor must we forget that noble and chast matron, of whom *Eusebius* and *Pomponius Lætus* make mention. *Maxentius* the Emperour being enamoured of this woman, sent for her by his bawds and broakers. The husband durst not withstand their violent commission for feare to be kild. Shee desired of them a little time, to make her selfe readie: which hauing obtained, shee goeth into her chamber, and there kils her selfe. The Officers when they could stay no longer, brake open the chamber doore, and finding the bodie without life, returne and make report thereof to *Maxentius*, who without taking it to heart, or thinking to mend his life, became more insolent and dissolute in his villanies than he was before.

Lib. 8. cap. 16. In the abridg. of Rom. hist.

Bernard Scardeon writeth such a like thing (and it is worth the remembring) of *Blanche Rubea*, a woman of inuincible heart, and most rare example. *Acciolin* Tyrant of Padua, hauing surprised by treason in the yeare 1253, a little citie hard by, called Bassian, and the husband of this *Blanche* hauing bin slaine in making resistance, and fighting valiantly against the enemie; she her selfe being taken prisoner with her sword in her hand, was drawne by force before the tyrant, who taken with her beautie, with many praiers, and offers of rich presents, attempted to corrupt her chast mind: but seeing the fortresse impregnable that way, hee resolued to assault it another way, and to trie what force could doe. *Blanche* findeth a shift to rid her selfe out of his hands, and recouering a window, throwes her selfe out thereat, chusing rather to die nobly with her husband, than shamefully to loose her honour with such a villanous and cruell tyrant. But shee is taken vp from the ground weltring in her own blood, and halfe dead; caried away, and laid vpon a bed, and carefully tended and looked to. When some daies were past ouer, she being well recouered was brought before *Acciolin*, where she perseuered in her vertuous courage: But the shameleſse beast made her be bound, and held so fast by certain groomes the furtherers of his villanies, that for all the resistance she could possibly make, he defiled the bodie of this honest ladie, who was so gricued in her mind at this execrable outrage, that she resolued to die. Hauing for some few dayes dissembled her griefe, shee got leaue of her friends to see her husbands bodie, being then all putrified, saying that her sorrow would end so much the sooner, and that the sight thereof would somewhat asswage her heauinesse. The tombe-stone being lifted vp, and *Blanche* seeing the bodie open, without any more adoe falleth down vpon it, drawing the stay that held vp the stone after her, by the fall whereof her head was so crusht, that this manly woman was (in regard of her bodie) laid in the same tombe with her husband, executing her selfe the couragious reuenge of the wrong that was done to her chastitie. This *Blanche* is (euen till this day) highly praised of the Historians & Poets of Italie: for the rest, I know not if her fidelitie towards her husband deserue that she should be preferred before a Romane ladie, whom we will speake of in the chapter following, or that the Romane ladie should goe before her, let the Readers iudge. Surely the times were much changed, & that while *Blanche* liued; for the women of Lombardie where *Galeas Sforce* ruled, shewed that they were exceeding loosely giuen. For *Paulus Iouius* writeth thus: *Dissolutenesse was so great in those dayes, especially in Ladies and Gentlewomen, that euery other woman else besides, carefull of her chastitie, was reputed foolish and vntrain'd, in comparison of the courteous Curtisans: in so much that the prince inclined to such lasciuiousnesse, strong, faire, and marueilous pleasing, tooke no pleasure but in feeding the eyes, and satisfying the desires of those wanton*

In his antiquit. of Padua, *lib. class.* 14.

Lib. 3. of famous men.

wanton women, among whom this opinion was currant, that to lie downe to a prince was nothing else but honour; and that their Husbands, called of the common sort horned goates, woare indeed goodly guilded hornes, and being aduanced to places of dignitie marched before all other men. To the same purpose, the Emperour *Andronicus Comnenus* caused to be hang'd vp in the galleries of the great pallace in Constantinople, certaine stags hornes, the faireſt and curiouſeſt he could get, not that men ſhould thereby thinke of ſome great ſtags that had beene kild at hunting, but that they might be aduertiſed how many Husbands foreheads he had garniſhed with hornes, by corrupting their wiues; and therewithall to tax and touch the wantoniſts of Constantinople. Such (weneere) was the error of the ancient Indian women, of whom *Arrianus* writeth, That the women of the Indies are verie chaſte, ſauing in one point, which is, that they ſuffer none beſides their Husbands to come neere them, but vpon this condition, that they ſhall giue them an elephant. For to ride vpon an elephant among the Indians is a token of greatneſſe and dignitie: to any that will giue them ſuch a preſent, they are content to proſtitute themſelues, and ſhee that thus affoordeth the vſe of her bodie, is no manner of way diſreputed of, but contrariwiſe, thinketh the proudlier of her ſelfe, that her beautie is ſo much endeered and ſo hiely priſed.

Nicetas Choniates, in his life.

In his diſcourſe of the Indian affaires.

CHAP. XI.

Notable examples of the great reſpect, honour, and fidelitie of Wiues towards their Husbands; and of the loue of Husbands towards their Wiues.

Plutarch in his Apophthegmes.

THe Ancients highly extoll the Wife of *Hiero*, or (as others ſay) of *Gelon* king of Sicilia; and ſome report the ſame of the Wife of *Duillius*, becauſe of her rare continencie, and the reſpect ſhe bare to her Husband. For when ſome bodie had told *Hiero* that he had a ſtinking breath, and *Hiero* had blamed his Wife for that ſhe neuer told him of it; I thought (anſwered ſhe) that all mens breaths had ſmelt ſo. Behold an excellent teſtimonie of chaſtitie, in that this woman neuer came neere any man, to know if his breath were ſweeter or ſtronger than her Husbands. But *Arria* Wife to *Cecinna Pætus* doth goe before her a great way, as well in fidelitie, as greatneſſe of courage. *Plinie* writeth hereof an excellent letter, the contents whereof is, That this ladie miſtruſting her husband was condemned to die, and that he was permitted to chuſe what manner of death he would haue, ſhe went vnto him, and hauing exhorted him to depart this life couragiouſly, and bidding him farewell, gaue her ſelfe a ſtab into the breaſt with a knife ſhe wore vnder her gowne, and that before her husbands eies; and then drawing the knife out of the wound, and reaching it to *Pætus*, vttered theſe words, *Vulnus quod feci*, Pæte, *non dolet: ſed quod tu facies:* that is, *The wound which I haue made*, Pætus, *doth me no harme: but that which thou muſt giue thy ſelfe, grieueth me.* Or (as ſome write) ſhe ſaid but three words in reaching him the knife, Pæte, *non dolet.* Whereupon *Martial* made an Epigram, thus tranſlated:

Lib. 3.

When Arria *to her Husband gaue the knife*
That made the wound whereby ſhe loſt her life:
This wound (deere Pætus*) grieues me not (quoth ſhe)*
But that which thou muſt giue thy ſelfe grieues me.

Lib. 4. in his Treat. of famous women.

That which *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus* report of certaine Wiues of the Minyans, is worthie to be remembred. Their Husbands being impriſoned for hauing attempted to ſeiſe vpon the kingdome of Sparta, were condem-

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ned to die. Now the cuſtome of the Lacedemonians was to execute the offenders in the night. Theſe women of noble deſcent, vnder collour of talking with their Husbands (who had no long time to liue) got leaue of the watchmen to goe into the priſon; where putting themſelues in their Husbands places, and making them to put on their womens gownes, they taught them their leſſon ſo well, that they hauing couered their faces, in ſigne of extreame ſorrow, &(as it were) bearing their heads in their hands, went out of the priſon, and ſo ſaued themſelues. Such women deſerued well to marrie with ſuch men as theſe Minyans were. But not to let goe all the honour to ancient and ſtrange women, and leaſt it ſhould be thought that our time hath not brought foorth any endowed with ſuch and more excellent vertues; let vs heare that which *Lodouicus Viues*, a learned Spaniard, writeth to haue ſeene at Bruges, in a notable ladie of that place, of which many others were witneſſes as well as himſelfe. *Clara Ceruenta*, one of the faireſt and featieſt maides of Bruges in Flanders, being aſſured to *Bernard Valdaura* (at that time aboue fortie yeares old) the firſt night after they were married, found that her Husbands thighes were rolled and wrapped with clouts, and that he was a man verie ſore and ſickly; yet for all that ſhe neither hated nor loathed him a whit the more. Within a while after, *Valdaura* fell ſo ſick that he kept his bed, being in ſuch plight that all the Phyſitions deſpaired of his life. She, hauing ſome helpe of her mother, neuer ſtir'd from the patients bed-ſide but tended him continually, ſo that in ſixe weekes ſpace they did not doff their cloathes, except it were to change ſmocks: nor reſted in the nights paſt an houre or two at the moſt, and that but in their cloaths; and watched the moſt part of that time without ſhutting their eies. This diſeaſe was ſome cruell and venimous relick of the pox. The Phiſitions counſelled *Clara* not to touch the ſick man ſo much nor come ſo neare him. Her kinsfolkes and friends counſelled her the ſame. Her companions and goſſips told her ſhe had no reaſon to vex her ſelfe ſo about a man that could not liue, and who had the tokens of death in his face; that ſhe ſhould prouide for his ſoule, and neuer take care for his bodie, but where and how it might be buried. All this talke mooued her neuer a whit, but hauing taken order for that which concerned the benefit of his ſoule, ſhe tooke all the care ſhe could to prouide him that which was for the health of his bodie, her ſelfe making him boild-meats and broaths in the kitchin (ſuch as were good for a ſick-man) and giuing them him at his houres, often changing his ſheets, and his clouts, although, by reaſon of a continuall looſeneſſe and many ſores that he had about him, his bodie neuer left running with matter and filth, ſo as he neuer had any cleane part about him. All the day ſhe reſted not, but ran vp and downe euerie foot going or comming, and with a good heart ſupported her tender and delicate bodie, which could neuer haue held out with ſo much buſineſſe and trouble, had not the great affection ſhe bare to her Husband ſtrengthned and encouraged her. By this good meanes *Valdaura* eſcaped that danger, the Phiſitions affirming that his wife had by ſtrong hand pluckt him away from death. And one among the reſt ieaſting more merily than chriſtianly ſaid, That God had purpoſed to haue ſlaine *Valdaura*, but that his Wife was againſt it, and would not let him goe out of her hands. After this, by reaſon of a hot rheume falling downe from his braine by his noſe, the griſtle within his noſe began to be eaten away: wherefore the Phiſitions appointed a certaine pouder, which was to be blowne vp ſoftly into his noſe at certaine times with a quill: No bodie could be found to take ſuch a loathſome ſeruice in hand, becauſe of the ſauour that came from him; but *Clara* did it cheerefully, and when his

*Lib.*2. of a Chriſt. woman.

his cheekes and his chin were couered all ouer with ſcabs, wheales and ſcales, ſo as no barber either well could, or willingly would vndertake to ſhaue him, ſhe with her little ſheeres plaid the barber verie deftly, and made him a handſome beard. From this ſickneſſe, he fell into another which laſted about ſeuen yeares, during which time, ſhe, with incredible diligence and paines-taking made readie his meat, though ſhe had two chamber-maids in the houſe, and a daughter now growne big. Beſides, euerie day ſhe laid on his tents and plaiſters, handled, and dreſt, and bound vp his thighes all rotten with ſcabs and vlcers: ſo as a man would haue ſaid, that had ſeene her, that ſhe handled muske, and not ſuch ſtincking ſtuffe. And indeed ſhe would ſweare, that her Husbands breath (which none durſt abide or come neere by ten paces) was to her verie ſweet. And when I told her once that it ſtunck exceedingly, ſhe was verie angrie with me, and ſaid it had the ſauour of ripe ſweet apples. During this long ſickneſſe, there was great coſt beſtowed euerie day about the nouriſhing and medicining of this bodie oppreſſed with ſo many diſeaſes: which was a great matter in a houſe that had neither rents, nor other profits comming in, and where traffick had ceaſed of a long time, and conſequently the gaine. Therefore to furniſh the expenſes, ſhe was faine to ſell her precious iewels, her gold-chaines, her rich carcanets, her gownes and coates of great value, a cubbord of plate, nor caring for any thing ſo her Husband might be relieued, and contenting her ſelfe with a little ſo her ſicke Husband might not want any thing. Thus *Valdaura*, by the helpe of his Wife, lingred on a life within a rotten bodie (or rather within a graue) ten yeares togither after his firſt ſickneſſe. In which time ſhe had two children by him, and ſixe before, hauing liued that life twentie yeares, and yet was ſhe neuer infected or once touched with any contagious euill from her Husband, nor had ſhe ſo much as a ſcab, wheale, pimple, or any ſpot in all her bodie, nor any of her children, but they were all as ſound and as cleane as poſſiby could be. Which plainely ſheweth, how excellent the vertue and holineſſe of thoſe Wiues is, who reſpect their Husbands with a ſincere and entire affection, as dutie alſo requireth: and how Almightie God rewardeth them for it. To returne to *Valdaura*, he died an old man, hauing languiſhed a long time; or rather, he departed out of the world, freed from the burden of ſo many grieuous ſorrowes: For whoſe death, his Wife *Clara* made ſuch mourning, that all they who knew her well ſaid, They neuer ſaw woman make ſuch ſorrow and lamentation for a Husband that had beene yong, ſound, faire luſtie and rich, as ſhe did for *Valdaura*; and when diuers came to her, and in ſteed of comforting her, would ſay, That God had done much for her, in giuing her ſuch eaſe by taking away her Husband, and that they were come to congratulate with her; ſhe would in good earneſt defie and abhor them, wiſhing (if poſſibly it might haue beene) to haue had her Husband againe in exchange of fiue children that were left her. And though ſhe was yet but yong, and luſtie, ſhe reſolued neuer to marrie, ſaying ſhe ſhould neuer meet with any that ſhe could like ſo well as ſhe did *Bernard Valdaura*. I ſpeake not here of chaſtitie and holineſſe of life, of which *Clara* was a cleere example: I ſpeake but of the dutie of a Wife, which neuer lightly goeth alone, but is alwaies accompanied with other vertues. Who ſeeth not now, that this woman did not marrie *Valdauras* bodie, but his heart? or elſe reckoned his bodie, her owne bodie. Beſides all this, after her Husbands deceaſe, ſhe tooke great care to performe all that he had giuen in charge, as well as if he had beene aliue, alleaging no other reaſon but this, My Husband hath commanded me to doe it. This diſcourſe doth *Vives* make, who in another place

giueth

giueth this good leſſon, That the man that deſireth to marrie, ſhould be carefull to chuſe a wife that is well inſtructed, and vertuouſly brought vp, though ſhee be of no great means otherwayes: for if the husband haue wherewith to entertaine himſelfe and his wife in good ſort, he cannot doe any thing more pleaſing to God, nor more comly before men, nor more agreeable to his houſhold, than to marrie one of a meane condition, and vertuouſly giuen.

This was vſuall among the ancient Germans, to marrie their wiues vpon this condition, That they ſhould be their companions in labours and dangers. The wife alſo (by report of *Cornelius Tacitus*) is maried but to one man, & they two are but one bodie, and one life: to the end, that the thought may not roaue any where elſe, that there may be no vnbrideled deſire; and that the wiues may loue their husbands for mariage ſake. *Theogena* the wife of *Agathocles* tyrant of Sicilia had the ſame conſideration: for being not able to endure that ſhe ſhould be ſeparated from her husband, ſhe ſaid, That by marrying him, ſhe was bound to beare him companie, as well in his aduerſitie, as proſperitie: which wee will enrich with the famous example that hapned about the yeare 1460, betweene *Bona*, a Lombard or Griſon, and *Peter Brunor* of Parma, as ſome Hiſtories of Italie report it, and which wee will ſet foorth in the behalfe of vertue, to make it more commendable, as indeed it is, in what perſon ſoeuer it may be knowne and perceiued: therefore to begin the ſtorie; *Bona* was borne in the valley of Telhin in the countrey of the Griſons, by which place as *Peter Brunor* (a Parmeſan, a valiant knight, and well experienced in the feats of war) paſſed, leading his armie, he ſaw by chance this young maid, who was keeping ſheepe in the field, being of a litle ſtature, browne colour, ſomewhat ilfauoured, but very frolike; and playing among her companions, ſhee ſhewed a certaine quickneſſe of ſpirit, which, *Brunor* the knight eyeng her in all her ſports, could take ſo good note of, and thereby hope for ſome great matter in her, that hee cauſed her to be taken, and againſt her will caried her away with him: ſo as being woon and ouercome with time, he made her many times change her habit, and goe apparelled like a man in ſport and for recreation, carying her a hunting, bringing her to ride horſes, and to doe ſuch other exerciſes, in all which ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe very actiue and readie: and although it ſeemed that the knight kept her but (as it were) for his delight and paſtime, yet ſhe framed her ſelfe to ſerue him with an exceeding great loue and diligence: in ſuch ſort that ſhe willingly endured all the toiles and trauels both of bodie and mind with *Brunor*, and marched alwayes with him in all dangers, following him on foot, and on horſebacke, vp-hill and downe-hill, by land and by ſea, with entire and faithfull obedience, neuer leauing him, or lothing that kind of life. Shee went alſo with him to *Alphonſus* the king of Naples (for at this time *Peter* the knight ſerued *Alphonſus* in his warres, hauing left the partie of *Francis Sforce*:) but afterwards changing his mind, he determined to leaue *Alphonſus*, and to returne to the ſeruice of the Earle *Sforce*, but as hee made his preparation to conuey himſelfe away, the matter could not be ſo cloſely caried, but the king had an inkling of it, and made *Brunor* to be ſecretly taken and laid in priſon, where he kept him a long while without hope of deliuerance. Wherfore *Bona* (knowing ſhee ſhould neuer be able to take any reſt, or haue good day, till ſuch time as *Brunor* were ſet at libertie) went to all the princes and potentates of Italie; to the king of France, to *Philip* duke of Burgundie, to the Venetians, and to many other, from whom ſhe obteined letters in the behalfe of her deere and welbeloued maſter. Whereupon *Alphonſus*, ouercome with the prayers and requeſts of ſuch and ſo many great lords, was (in a manner) conſtrained to deliuer

Corn. Tacitus in his booke of the deſcriptiõ of Germanie. *Juſtin. lib.* 23.

Brunor out of prison, and so gaue him to this valiant Amazon: who hauing receiued him, to endeere her lord by a greater benefit, she made such meanes that the Senat of Venice entertained *Brunor* into their seruice, and he was made Generall of the armie of that mightie Seniorie, and allowed a great pension for his entertainment: By which good turnes the knight hauing knowne the faith, vertue, and valour of his *Bona*, thought it not honourable to haue her any longer for his wench (as till that time he had done) but maried her, and tooke her for his lawfull wife, making alwaies great account of her, and following her counsell in all matters of importance; by meanes of which he woon in short time great reputation with the Venetians, becausse his enterprises had luckie and fortunate successe. This valiant ladie was alwaies armed when occasions of fighting were offered; and when any troupes of foot-men were to be lead, shee would march before them like a magnanimous warlike woman. Shee was verie skilfull in the feats of warre, as she oftentimes made triall, and chiefely in the war of the Venetians against *Francis Sforce*, then Duke of Milan; where shee made her selfe knowne; at which time after the castle of Pauona in the countrey of Bresse was lost, her valour appeared so great that euery man wondred at her: for being armed at all points, presenting her selfe to the assault more couragiously than any other, her targuet on her arme, and her curtelasse in her hand, shee was the occasion that the place was recouered. Finally, the Senat of Venice putting great confidence in *Brunor*, and in the counsell and valour of *Bona*, sent him to the defence and guarding of Negropont against the Turks; where, besides the fortifications they both made, so long as they taried there, the Turke had neuer the face to annoy them, or once to hinder or interrupt them. At the last *Brunor* dying there, and being buried with great solemnitie; and *Bona* going to Venice for the confirming of her husbands estate to two of his sonnes, growing sickly, and feeling her selfe euery day more and more declining, shee caused a Tombe to be builded of great cost and workmanship, which she would see perfected before her death; and when she died shee was laid in it, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred sixtie eight.

Eccleſiaſt.25.1. It was therefore well said, that there be three things appearing beautifull before God and men: Vnitie among brethren, Loue among neighbours, and a man and wife agreeing well together. We read a notable storie touching this, taken out of *Nauclerus*, and alleaged by many. The Emperor *Conrad* the third, after a very long and doubtfull warre he had against *Guelphus* duke of Bauaria, forced *Guelphus* at last being growne too weake, to put himselfe within Weinsberg, where the Emperour determined to coope him vp, and to ruine the citie, resoluing not to accept of any conditions whatsoeuer. But yet in the end ouercome by the supplications of certaine Ladies and Gentlewomen, hee suffered them to depart in safetie, vpon this condition, That they should carrie nothing out of the citie, but what they might well take vp and beare away vpon their shoulders. Then these vertuous women with a manlike and deuout courage tooke vp vpon their backes, one the duke, and the rest of them their husbands, children, fathers, and mothers: a sight that gaue such contentment to the Emperour, as he (weeping heartily for ioy to see such a naturall and kind loue) first laid aside all his displeasure, and then pardoned the citisens of Weinsberg, and receiued the duke into his fauour and friendship, whom but a little before hee wisht all the ill too that might be. *Iohn Bodin* writeth, that *Laurence de Medicis* was cured of a grieuous sicknes, vpon the reading of this storie, without any other phisicke; as likewise *Alphonsus* and *Ferdinand*, kings of Arragon and of Sicilia recouered their

In his Preface to his Method of Histories.

their health which they had loſt, by the helpe of *Quintus Curtius*, and *Titus Liuius*. Neither muſt we forget that which befell once at Rome, as appeareth by an old Inſcription that is yet to be ſeene and read there: A ladie named *Publia Cornelia Annia*, hauing liued with her husband the ſpace of twentie yeares without any ſtrife or iarring, when ſhee ſaw he was departed by reaſon of ſickneſſe he had taken, conceiued ſuch griefe for his death, that ſhee threw her ſelfe into the graue, where ſhe gaue vp the ghoſt, and was buried with her husband, hauing before ordeined, That euery yeare vpon the ſame day that each of them died, their children and freed-men, ſhould offer a ſollemne ſacrifice to *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*, and ſtrew the ſepulchre with Roſes, and then ſhould feaſt together vpon it.

Heere it were not amiſſe to inſert the ſtorie which *Sabellicus* reporteth touching a ladie of Smyrna, whilome a flouriſhing citie of Ionia. It fell out ſo, that the Venetians tooke this citie by force; and when among other women-priſoners, they were leading this ladie (being then in her flouriſhing yeares) towards the gallies, as ſhee paſt by the tombe where her husband lay buried (which was in the way that they went) ſhe fell to the ground, and taking hold of the tombe, with a pitifull voice ſhe called oftentimes vpon her husband; and after added theſe words, *See (deare husband) the totall ruine of our countrey is the cauſe that the hand of a cruell enemie carrieth her away captiue, who could neuer hitherto either by loue or force bee made any other but thine. Wretch that I am! they hale me from thee: ſo that I ſhall neuer more ſee either my deere countrey, or this precious monument. I mingle theſe laſt teares with thy aſhes: I will mooue thy ghoſt at this time with theſe my obſequies: But what, whither ſhall I goe? I will rather die than bee ſeparated from this ſo ſweet embracing.* Saying theſe laſt words, ſhe became as one glued faſt to the ſepulchre, ſo that being not able to be drawne from it either by threatnings, or prayers, or any other meanes, the ſouldier that led her (vexed at ſuch her conſtancie) ran her thorow the bodie with his ſword: ſo as ſhe had this hap accompanying her, that ſhee was left in the place whereas ſhee deſired to breathe out her laſt. *Ierome Oſorius* in his Hiſtorie of Portugall reporteth an excellent ſtorie of *Hota* the wife of *Rahi Benxamut*, a valiant Captaine and greatly eſteemed of among the Alarbes: Shee hauing beene brauely reſcued out of the hands of the Portugals (who were carrying her away priſoner) by the valor and exceeding courage of *Benxamut* her husband, who ſlew their Captaines, and the chiefe Officers, and beſt ſouldiers of their armie, ſhewed her ſelfe thankfull to her huſband for ſo great a benefit, by making the moſt of him that euery way ſhe poſſiblie could. Some time after, *Benxamut* in a conflict was kild as he followed one of his enemies, who turning head, and running at him with a force-gallop with a launce ran him through the bodie. *Hota* performed her husbands funerall obſequies with infinite lamentations, laid his bodie in a ſtately tombe, and for nine daies together did neither eat nor drinke: whereupon ſhe died, and was buried (as ſhe had ordeined in her will) by her husbands ſide, thinking it diſhonourable to be ſeuered by death from his graue whom ſhee had onely loued, and who for his part had borne her a moſt ſingular affection.

Lib. 9. Decad. 3. of the hiſtorie of Venice.

Lib. 10. fol. 25.

Behold what *Sabellicus* and *Oſorius* write of two Mahumetan women, whoſe conſtant fidelitie towards their Husbands is ſo much the more remarkable, for that among thoſe of their profeſſion we ſee marriage to be little regarded, becauſe the men take them Wiues according to their owne meanes and eſtate: which libertie the Moores and Numidians had in times paſt, as appeareth in *Saluſt.* Therefore we muſt not giue credit to *Simonides* (or whoſoeuer it was elſe) that

In Bel. Iugurt.

that made ſuch an abſurd anſwer to the queſtion was asked him touching a Wife; *That ſhe was (forſooth) the ſhip-wrack of man, the tempeſt of a houſe, the reſt-troubler, the priſon of life, a daily puniſhment, a ſumptuous conflict, a beaſt in companie, a beautified bitch, a neceſſarie euill.* Or as another Philoſopher, who being demanded what a Wife was, made an anſwer as fooliſh as that, to wit; *That ſhe was the confuſion of man, an inſatiable beaſt, a continuall care, an ordinarie battell, a daily hinderance, the diſturber of ſolitarineſſe, the ſhip-wrack of the Husband, the veſſell of adulterie, the wicked beaſt, the inſupportable burden, the deadly Aſpe, the humane ſlauerie.* To ſuch deſcriptions as theſe had *Chryſoſtom* a regard, when he ſaid, *What is a Wife? the enemy of loue, the ineuitable paine, the neceſſarie euill, the naturall temptation, a deſirable calamitie, a domeſticall perill, a pleaſant damage.* The ſame doctor in one of his Homilies maketh a vehement exclamation againſt women. All which deſcriptions, inuectiues, and exclamations are receiueable, I confeſſe, and may take place, if they be applied to women that are wicked, vnchaſte, and which breake the ſacred bond of marriage. Such the holy Scripture deſcribeth, detecteth and deteſteth more ſufficiently than all Philoſophers and Doctors, how eloquent ſoeuer they may be. One may make a whole chapter of that which *Salomon* writeth of this point in his Prouerbs. Let vs marke ſome of his words. *The lips of the ſtrange woman drop hony-combs, and her pallat is ſweeter than oile. But the end of her is bitter as wormwood, and ſharpe as a two-edged-ſword. Her feet goe downe to death, and her ſteps take hold of hell.* In the ſeuenth chapter he ſetteth out the ſubtill tricks of the Adultereſſe, and the horrible woes that enſue of keeping her company. See alſo the 9 chapter towards the end: and the 22 verſe of the 11 chapter. *The mouth of ſtrange women* (ſaith he in the 22 chapter, and 14 verſe) *is a deepe pit; he with whom the Lord is angrie ſhall fall therein.* And in the 23 chapter, verſes 27, 28. *A whoore is a deepe ditch, and a ſtrange woman is a pit of diſtreſſe. Alſo ſhe lieth in waite as for a prey, and ſhe increaſeth the tranſgreſſors among men.* In the 19. 21. 25 and 27 chapters he reproueth riotous, brawling, and contentious women. But (on the other-ſide) in diuers places he ſetteth foorth the great bleſſings of mariage, preferring a vertuous Wife before all other goods & pleaſures in the world. Among other chapters, ſee the 12, 18, 19, and 31. Touching the ſentences of others, there may be found inow to make whole volumes againſt the enemies of Gods holy Ordinance, and ſuch as confound the ſame with ſuggeſted pollutions, brought in and mainteined by the vncleane ſpirit and his adherents.

But let vs proceed and come to the other part of this chapter, to the end it be not thought that the good parts before mentioned be onely proper and peculiar to women-kind. For there be likewiſe notable examples of the loue and fidelitie of Husbands towards their Wiues: of which we will for the preſent alleage one or two among a great many. *Valerius Maximus*, *Plinie* the ſecond, and many others write, That *T. Sempronius Gracchus* finding two ſerpents that came out of his bed, enquired of the Sooth-ſaiers what it might preſage: They anſwered, That if he kild the femall his Wife ſhould die; and himſelfe, if he kild the male. But he bare ſuch affection to his Wife *Cornelia*, that he commanded to kill the male, and himſelfe ſoone after died. *Valerius* reherſeth other examples of the two *Plautij* that would not ouerliue their Wiues. But that which we read of *Meleager* the ſon of *Oeneus* is notable. He (vpon ſome diſcontentment) kept his chamber, angrie with himſelfe, and with his kinsfolks, friends and ſubiects. The Curetes were at that time in war againſt the Calydonians, ouer which *Meleager* commanded. It fell out that the Curetes beſieged Calydonia, and preſſed it ſo ſore that they had no more hope to hold out. The Ancients and chiefe men of the

Vpon the 19 chap. of Saint *Matth.*

In the Hom. of the behead. of *Iohn Bapt.*

Chap. 5. verſ. 3, 4. & 6.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 6. chap. 57. of famous men.

the citie ran to the laſt refuge and ſhoot-ankar of their countrey, *Meleager*, imploring his force and armes to relieue the preſent neceſſitie: The prieſts come to him in their veſtments, with all the ceremonies and reliques, promiſing large recompenſe of ſeruice. *Meleager* would not once vouchſafe to looke either vpon the one, or the other. After them came the reuerend wiſe old man *Oeneus*, who ſpeedily proſtrats himſelfe to the ground, embracing his ſonnes knees: next comes the mother, who by her brawling and ill ſpeeches had beene the cauſe of all that ſtir: She then changing her note, praied and humbly beſought her ſonne: his ſiſters and familiars did the like, praying and coniuring him not to leaue them in that extremitie. But nothing could mooue him: his fierce ſtomack continueth reſolute, caring not a whit for the deſtruction of all thoſe who by their exhortation, aduertiſements, ſweet words, faire promiſes, humble praiers had ſought to him for ſuccour. In the meane while, the enemie hauing giuen a hot aſſault wins the rampier, enters the citie, ouerthrowes, ſlaies, and kils, and begins to fire the houſes. *Cleopatra* the Wife of *Meleager* runs to him all amaſed, ſaying vnto him, *I pray thee, good Husband, awake: all is loſt if thou helpe vs not: the enemie is within the citie.* Thereupon ſhe telleth him all that had paſſed, which the Poet *Homer* expreſſeth, when he ſaith;

What miſchiefes come on heapes at ſacking of a towne!
Numbers of perſons there are cruelly beaten downe.
Houſes are ſet on fire; Wiues, Chrildren, made a prey,
From Husbands, Fathers armes are ſnatcht and drag'd away.

At the onely voice of his Wife, and her deſcription of the danger, this iron-hearted man is mollified, runs to his armes, and then to his enemies, whom he driueth back and putteth to flight, ſauing his citiſens from preſent death, and his citie from totall ruine. This couragious lord (ſaith *Viues*) had the law of nature imprinted in his heart, and engrauen in his entrails, which he had neuer ſeene or heard, and which yet told him, That *Meleager* and *Cleopatra* were but one: that all the reſt (though neuer ſo neere to him) were yet without him: but that he was ioyned to his Wife with ſuch a bond of affection, that he could not denie her that which (it may be) he would not haue done for the loue of himſelfe. Therefore a certaine Gouerneſſe ſaid wiſely in *Euripides*,

In his booke of the husbands dutie.

It is a matchleſſe hap to ſee thoſe two agree,
Whom bond of marriage-knot hath made but one to bee.

In the tragedie of *Medea.*

But much more properly, and with better grace hath the Poet *Homer* ſaid,

Our eies cannot behold a more delightfull ſight
Than when a Wife in loue, and of a kind intent,
Sits by her Husbands ſide: it breeds our foes deſpight,
But faithfull friends thereat reioyce with great content.

In *Odyſſ. lib.* 6.

The learned *Tiraqueau* repeateth theſe verſes, and diuers ſentences out of other Authors, in his expoſition vpon the fifth law of marriage, and addeth, Therefore I thinke *Macrinus* happie (if any ſuch euer were) who (by report of *Plinie* the yonger in a letter of his to *Geminius*) liued nine and thirtie yeares with his Wife, without brawling, quarrelling, or any falling out. The like may be ſaid of *Paternus*, who in the territorie of Niſmes had an Epitaph importing, that he had kept houſe with his Wife two and thirtie yeares without any grieuing between them. The Epitaph goes thus,

Lib. 7.

D. M.

S. SYLVIVS PATERNVS VXORI RARISS. EXEMPLI CVM QVA VIXIT ANNIS XXXII. SINE VLLA ANIMI LÆSVRA. *E. S. V. P.*

that made such an absurd answer to the question was asked him touching a Wife; *That she was (forsooth) the ship-wrack of man, the tempest of a house, the rest-troubler, the prison of life, a daily punishment, a sumptuous conflict, a beast in companie, a beautified bitch, a necessarie euill.* Or as another Philosopher, who being demanded what a Wife was, made an answer as foolish as that, to wit; *That she was the confusion of man, an insatiable beast, a continuall care, an ordinarie battell, a daily hinderance, the disturber of solitarinesse, the ship-wrack of the Husband, the vessell of adulterie, the wicked beast, the insupportable burden, the deadly Aspe, the humane slauerie.* To such descriptions as these had *Chrysostom* a regard, when he said, *What is a Wife? the enemy of loue, the inevitable paine, the necessarie euill, the naturall temptation, a desirable calamitie, a domesticall perill, a pleasant damage.* The same doctor in one of his Homilies maketh a vehement exclamation against women. All which descriptions, inuectiues, and exclamations are receiueable, I confesse, and may take place, if they be applied to women that are wicked, vnchaste, and which breake the sacred bond of marriage. Such the holy Scripture describeth, detecteth and detesteth more sufficiently than all Philosophers and Doctors, how eloquent soeuer they may be. One may make a whole chapter of that which *Salomon* writeth of this point in his Prouerbs. Let vs marke some of his words. *The lips of the strange woman drop hony-combs, and her pallat is sweeter than oile. But the end of her is bitter as wormwood, and sharpe as a two-edged-sword. Her feet goe downe to death, and her steps take hold of hell.* In the seuenth chapter he setteth out the subtill tricks of the Adultteresse, and the horrible woes that ensue of keeping her company. See also the 9 chapter towards the end: and the 22 verse of the 11 chapter. *The mouth of strange women* (saith he in the 22 chapter, and 14 verse) *is a deepe pit; he with whom the Lord is angrie shall fall therein.* And in the 23 chapter, verses 27, 28. *A whoore is a deepe ditch, and a strange woman is a pit of distresse. Also she lieth in waite as for a prey, and she increaseth the transgressors among men.* In the 19. 21. 25 and 27 chapters he reproueth riotous, brawling, and contentious women. But (on the other-side) in diuers places he setteth foorth the great blessings of mariage, preferring a vertuous Wife before all other goods & pleasures in the world. Among other chapters, see the 12, 18, 19, and 31. Touching the sentences of others, there may be found inow to make whole volumes against the enemies of Gods holy Ordinance, and such as confound the same with suggested pollutions, brought in and mainteined by the vncleane spirit and his adherents.

Vpon the 19 chap. of Saint *Matth.*

In the Hom. of the behead. of *Iohn Bapt.*

Chap. 5. vers. 3, 4. &c.

But let vs proceed and come to the other part of this chapter, to the end it be not thought that the good parts before mentioned be onely proper and peculiar to women-kind. For there be likewise notable examples of the loue and fidelitie of Husbands towards their Wiues: of which we will for the present alleage one or two among a great many. *Valerius Maximus, Plinie* the second, and many others write, That *T. Sempronius Gracchus* finding two serpents that came out of his bed, enquired of the Sooth-saiers what it might presage: They answered, That if he kild the femall his Wife should die; and himselfe, if he kild the male. But he bare such affection to his Wife *Cornelia*, that he commanded to kill the male, and himselfe soone after died. *Valerius* reherseth other examples of the two *Plautij* that would not ouerliue their Wiues. But that which we read of *Meleager* the son of *Oeneus* is notable. He (vpon some discontentment) kept his chamber, angrie with himselfe, and with his kinsfolks, friends and subiects. The Curetes were at that time in war against the Calydonians, ouer which *Meleager* commanded. It fell out that the Curetes besieged Calydonia, and pressed it so sore that they had no more hope to hold out. The Ancients and chiefe men of

Lib. 4. cap. 6. chap. 57. of famous men.

the

the citie ran to the last refuge and shoot-ankar of their country, *Meleager*, imploring his force and armes to relieue the present necessitie: The priests come to him in their vestments, with all the ceremonies and reliques, promising large recompense of seruice. *Meleager* would not once vouchsafe to looke either vpon the one, or the other. After them came the reuerend wise old man *Oeneus*, who speedily prostrats himselfe to the ground, embracing his sonnes knees: next comes the mother, who by her brawling and ill speeches had beene the cause of all that stir: She then changing her note, praied and humbly besought her sonne: his sisters and familiars did the like, praying and coniuring him not to leaue them in that extremitie. But nothing could mooue him: his fierce stomack continueth resolute, caring not a whit for the destruction of all those who by their exhortation, aduertisements, sweet words, faire promises, humble praiers had sought to him for succour. In the meane while, the enemie hauing giuen a hot assault wins the rampier, enters the citie, ouerthrowes, slaies, and kils, and begins to fire the houses. *Cleopatra* the Wife of *Meleager* runs to him all amased, saying vnto him, *I pray thee, good Husband, awake: all is lost if thou helpe vs not: the enemie is within the citie.* Thereupon she telleth him all that had passed, which the Poet *Homer* expresseth, when he saith;

What mischiefes come on heapes at sacking of a towne!
Numbers of persons there are cruelly beaten downe.
Houses are set on fire; Wiues, Children, made a prey,
From Husbands, Fathers armes are snatcht and drag'd away.

At the onely voice of his Wife, and her description of the danger, this iron-hearted man is mollified, runs to his armes, and then to his enemies, whom he driueth back and putteth to flight, sauing his citisens from present death, and his citie from totall ruine. This couragious lord (saith *Viues*) had the law of nature imprinted in his heart, and engrauen in his entrails, which he had neuer seene or heard, and which yet told him, That *Meleager* and *Cleopatra* were but one: that all the rest (though neuer so neere to him) were yet without him: but that he was ioyned to his Wife with such a bond of affection, that he could not denie her that which (it may be) he would not haue done for the loue of himselfe. Therefore a certaine Gouernesse said wisely in *Euripides*,

In his booke of the husbands dutie.

It is a matchlesse hap to see those two agree,
Whom bond of marriage-knot hath made but one to bee.

In the tragedie of *Medea.*

But much more properly, and with better grace hath the Poet *Homer* said,

Our eies cannot behold a more delightfull sight
Than when a Wife in loue, and of a kind intent,
Sits by her Husbands side: it breeds our foes despight,
But faithfull friends thereat reioyce with great content.

In *Odyss. lib. 6.*

The learned *Tiraqueau* repeateth these verses, and diuers sentences out of other Authors, in his exposition vpon the fifth law of marriage, and addeth, Therefore I thinke *Macrinus* happie (if any such euer were) who (by report of *Plinie* the yonger in a letter of his to *Geminius*) liued nine and thirtie yeares with his Wife, without brawling, quarrelling, or any falling out. The like may be said of *Paternus*, who in the territorie of Nismes had an Epitaph importing, that he had kept house with his Wife two and thirtie yeares without any grieuing between them. The Epitaph goes thus,

Lib. 7.

D. M.
S. SYLVIVS PATERNVS VXORI RARISS. EXEMPLI CVM QVA VIXIT ANNIS XXXII. SINE VLLA ANIMI LÆSVRA. E. S. V. P.

The like inscription is at Rome, of one that was twentie yeares without being euer mooued against his Wife, or she against him. In the Antiquities of *Appian* we read the same in these words.

Q. CAVIVS SEVERVS RVTILIÆ PRIMITIVÆ CONIVGI SVÆ DVLCISSIMÆ CVM QVA VIXIT ANNIS VIGINTI SINE BILE.

There is another to be seene at Rome, quite contrarie to these former, and coucht in homely tearmes, betweene a Husband and his Wife, chiding still in their graue. It may perhaps be worth the labour to set it downe, that it may appeare how few there be that may boast of hauing liued in marriage without some bangling and strife.

HEVS VIATOR MIRACVLVM.

HIC VIR ET VXOR NON LITIGANT. QVI SVMVS NON DICO. AT IPSA DICAM. HIC BEBRIVS EBRIVS ME EBRIAM NVNCVPAT. NON DICO AMPLIVS. HEV VXOR ETIAM MORTVA LITIGAS.

That is to say,

Hoe Passenger, a Miracle.

Heere the Husband and the Wife chide no more. I say not who we are. But I will tell. This Bebrius *being drunke calleth me drunkard. I say no more. Hau, Wife, dost thou chide after thou art dead?*

To this short Dialogue of ill house-keepers brauling in their graue, let vs ioyne the agreement of *Pithecus*, turn'd into a prouerbe, as saith *Suidas*. This man liuing in continuall wrangling with his Wife, at last they made this agreement in presence of their friends, That he should neither beat, bite nor pull her by the haire: and, That she should not strike him, nor scratch him, nor pluck him by the priuities. Surely, the ancient Pagans were not so veric beasts, as that they knew not the sweet pleasures and commodities of marriage: Nay (contrariwise) they earnestly desired to haue their share thereof. Thence it came, That when they sacrificed to *Iuno*, whom they thought the goddesse and patroneſſe of marriage, they tooke the gall out of the beast they offred, and buried it by the Altar; signifying, that marriage is amiable and sweet, and that it ought to be without gall, spite, malice, choller and bitternesse. For the gall in bodies is the seat of choller, as the learned Naturalists affirme and prooue.

CHAP. XII.

How euery good Houſ-wife ought to haue a care of the health of her family. Of the Discipline and Nurture of the ancient Romans.

THe world is full now adayes of men Phisicians, and women Phisicians, who doe not onely take vpon them to discourse of the meanes how to prepare medicines for sicknesses that are grieuous and doubtfull (whether well or ill I refer me to the truth) but besides, are not afraid to prescribe the ingredients of such remedies, and then to minister them, without respecting either the causes of the disease, or the time of the sicknesse, but doe all to the great perill and hazard of the patients: whereby it commeth to passe, that the expert and learned Physicians are hindred from putting in practise that which they know, or else refraine from giuing their opinion, for feare least these quack-saluing-tricks should be imputed also to them. Now though it be the part and dutie of euery good houſ-wife to prepare and haue in a readinesse certaine houſhold remedies which may preserue health, rather than impaire it: yet it is not

fit

fit that ignorant Empyricks should be suffered to exercise the profession of ministring physicke in kingdomes and common-wealths where any good order is: for if they be, that will fall out which is reported of a certaine patient, to whom when a Physician had ministred phisicke, which wrought so well that hee recouered of his sickenesse, and was perfectly amended, the same partie some yeares after falling againe into the same sickenesse, and neuer asking any counsell of the Physician, tooke the same receit, but it did him no good: whereupon sending for the Physician he told him, that the same physicke which had done him good the time afore, had now done him hurt, wondring what the cause might be. It is true indeed (answered the Physician) that it is the verie same receit, but it hath done no good, because I did not appoint it; meaning, that it is for Physicians to appoint the remedies, because they know when and how they should be giuen: For that which is good for a young man, is ill for an old; and that which doth good in a hoat climat, offends in a coole aire. Therefore was it wisely said by *Plutarch*, That it is time which bringeth either establishment or ruine to affaires, euen as medicaments either cure or kill a man. To this *Chrysostome* agreeth, saying; If a Physician giue any potion, hee must take it, without asking what it is; for as much as it tendeth to the good of his health: but if some poisoner, Magician, or Inchanter minister it, he doth not onely aske what it is, but takes heed of it, stopping his eare against such fellowes. Fitly therefore doth *Lieuin Lemnius* iudge, that these Mountebanks, Triacle-carriers, and such other Dog-leaches as do commonly deceiue people, should in no wise be borne with-all, but banisht out of well ordered places, seeing they are not afraid to destroy mens bodies, and to take away their liues; and in a word (as the prouerbe signifieth) to learne the trade of making pots by marring pots; that is to say (according to *Plinie*) to get knowledge by making knobbie Church-yards, and by deceiuable receits (which some call *Recipe-Decipe*) and foolish coniectures kill without any feare the first patient they meet withall.

In the life of *Lucullus*.
In his 7. Sermon of Destinie.
Lib. 1. of the secrets of nature *cap.* 17.

To returne to our Meditation; let vs heare the learned *Viues*, who wisely setteth downe how far it is conuenient to wade in such medicines: *The mistresse of a house* (saith he) *will skill of the remedies that agree with ordinarie diseases, and such as come almost daily: shee will haue them readie in a closet, to helpe therewith her husband, her little children, her men-seruants, and maid-seruants, that she may haue no need to send for the Physician, nor to buy drugs of the Apothecarie, and pay deere for them. I doe not counsell her to studie physick, nor to trust too much vpon her receipts, but onely to know some remedies for vsuall diseases, and that come euery day, as the Cough, Hoarsnesse, Scabbednesse, Tetters, Itches, Collicks, Laxes, Bindings, Wormes, Head-aches, Sorenesse of Eyes, Light-agues, Brooses, cuts that are not deepe, and such like harmes as come suddenly and very often. Adde hereunto the manner of handling her sicke ones, for such things as they are to take at the mouth; to know what they must take, and when, and how much, and what they must abstaine from: shee shall learne this skill by conferring with other wise matrons, by consulting with some physician dwelling neere at hand, or shee shall learne out of some booke that treateth of such remedies, rather than out of the great volumes of Doctors in that facultie.* Thus is the opinion of *Viues*. Whereunto we must adde further, that besides the cure of the bodies of her children, and of their health, shee must also take order that their minds (euen from their tender age) bee framed to learning, and good sciences: for they that haue no care of the vertuous bringing vp of their children, wrong both the children, and the common-wealth, saith *Cicero*: and the reason is, for that we get and bring vp children, not for our selues alone, but for our countrey; that they may (one day) not onely be delightfull to vs, but also doe seruice to the common-

Li. 2. of a Christian woman.

In his 5. inuectiue against *Verres*.

Prou. 13.24.

In the dialog. of Orators.

common-wealth; which the wise king *Salomon* meant, saying; *Who so spareth the rod hateth his son, but he that loueth him chasteneth him betime.* Therefore *Quintilian* the Orator did not without cause complaine of Rome, and of the ordinarie and peculiar vices that did there take hold of children, and grew in them with their yeares: magnifying the discipline and seueritie of the old Romans in the education of their children. *Then* (saith he) *the child borne in lawfull matrimonie, was not brought vp in a hired nourses chamber, but in the mothers bosome, and in her lap, whose honour consisted herein, that she kept the house, and looked to her children and seruants. They made choice in their kindred of some woman that was well in yeares, of approoued life, and vertuously giuen; to whose gouernment all the children of the house were committed. It was not lawfull to cast out an ill word in the presence of this Gouernesse, nor to doe any thing that was vnseemly. Moreouer, out of her modestie and grauitie, she had an eie to the sports and pastimes of the children, that therein there might not any excesse be vsed. In this manner we read that* Cornelia, *the mother of the* Gracchi; Aurelia, *the mother of* Cæsar; *and* Attia, *the mother of* Augustus, *brought vp their sonnes, who haue been great princes as it is well knowne. This discipline and austerenesse was vsed to this end, that the nature of the child being yet sound, and tender, and not corrupted by leaud examples, might readily and frankly giue it selfe to all honest things, whether his mind were inclined to Armes, or to the Law, or to the profession of Oratorie, that he might make account but of one thing, and wholly giue himselfe to that. But now adayes, so soone as a child is borne, they put him into the hands of a Grecian woman-seruant, with one or two groomes of the vnhandsomest of all the meanie, and that know not how to doe any thing worth a pin. This little, tender, and new soule is soone poysoned with the fabulous tales and false opinions of such Schoole-masters; and none in all the house takes care of any thing that is said or done in presence of the child that must be the lord of the house: nor doe the parents themselues any whit accustome their children to good manners, or any modestie whatsoeuer, but giue them the bridle to run their full carreir in all insolencie, the mother of shamelesnesse, pride, and contempt of euery man. In a word, I am of opinion, that the ordinarie and peculiar vices of Rome sticke fast to the children in their mothers wombs.* *Quintilian* enlargeth this discourse: but it sufficeth me that I haue drawne from thence that which might serue for my purpose.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Iealousie.

IEalousie (according to the opinion of the Stoicks, alleaged by *Cicero*) is a griefe proceeding from this, That one should enioy that which another would keepe to himselfe alone. Some say, it is an apprehension of seeing that common to two, or more, which you pretend ought to be onely yours. Well, howsoeuer it be, experience sheweth, that Iealousie is a grieuous trouble of the mind, and so terrible, that a man were better die than liue vnder such a tyrannie. Therfore the ancient wise men gaue aduice to banish betimes vnruly loue, like a wild beast, before it haue teeth and nailes: and what be those teeth and nailes? mary Suspition and Iealousie. For remedie whereof, God made certaine expresse lawes to his people Israel touching Iealousie: for if a man suspected his wife of adultrie, hee brought her to the doore of the Tabernacle: where the Priest by consecrated waters, and words of cursing, made triall of the innocencie or faultinesse of the woman. For the Lord God would haue the maried ones liue together with a ioyfull heart, and free from all opinion of euill. That Ceremoniall law being abrogated, the curiositie of man sought and found out many other

Num. 5.

remedies

remedies againſt Iealouſie: as in times paſt the purgation by the burning yron, the ſuſpected woman being conſtrained to carie it in her naked hands, or to goe vpon it on her bare feet. There was alſo the Duell or ſingle fight; moreouer, the boyling water or oyle, wherin the parties accuſed wet their hands, & took them out againe without any hurt, if their honor were vntouched. All this was done with certain ceremonies which we will ſpeake of in another place. Now as man is a creature wonderfull jealous (as *Homer* ſaith) ſo we read of many tragicall ſtories of iealouſie both in men and women. *Iuſtina*, the faireſt of all the daughters and damoſels of Rome in her time, being maried to a rich man, but hare-braind, and as furious as might be, was (by reaſon of her beautie) ſuſpected of her husband, as hauing ſmall care of her honour. One day as ſhe ſtooped downe to pull off her ſhooe, this cruell wretch ſeazed with furious jealouſie, ſeeing her wonderfull white necke all open, ſuddenly drew his ſword, and whipt off her head: whereof was made an Epigram in Latin thus tranſlated:

A Husband inhumane hath ſtricken off my head,
In pulling off my ſhooe as I was buſied.
O cruell he! that did not once reſpect the bed,
On which my glories flower he late had gathered.
I heauen and earth aiteſt, that no fault was in mee;
But of hard Deſtinie ſuch is the high decree.
Yee Fathers, if you will learne of Iuſtina *heere,*
To fooles and iealous men giue not your daughters deere.

Now, as experience ſheweth, that one nation is more ſubiect to this paſſion of jealouſie than another: ſo doth *Bodin* prooue by the teſtimonie of *Irenie* and of *Munſter*, that the Germans are not tainted with it, but hold it honourable, that women and men ſhould bath and ſtoaue together in the common baths and hoat houſes. But the Southerne people cannot abide that men ſhould accompanie women, no not in churches: but they are ſeuered and kept aſunder with a wall betweene, as doe the Italians, eſpecially in Lent-time. Moreouer, the Meridionalls or Southern inhabitants are ſo jealous, that many of them when they are toucht with this euill, die of it without any remedie. The king of Puna among the Indians, to free himſelfe from ſuch a griefe, cauſed his Eunukes or guards of women, not onely to haue their priuie parts cut off, but alſo their noſes and armes. If there be any men in the world (ſaith the lord of Busbeck) that are watchfull ouer their women, they are the Turkes, for they ſhut them vp ſo cloſe within their houſes, that ſcarce the ſunne ſhines vpon them. If neceſſitie driue them abroad, they ſend them foorth ſo couered, vaild, and fumbled vp, that who ſo meets them would thinke they were ſpirits, or elſe maskers. They can ſee men thorow a vaile, or cobweb that they were, but no man can ſee any part of their bodie. For the Turkes are all of this mind, that a woman with a faire face, or that is in the flower of her age, cannot be ſeene of any man but he muſt couet to enioy her, and conſequently defile his heart: which is the reaſon they keepe all their women ſo cloſe. *Epiſt.* 3.

Petrarck hath featily deſcribed the force and effects of jealouſie in theſe tearmes. The husband that hath a jealous wife is much tormented by her, and moſt of all in the night time, one while by her coy and quaint deuiſes, another while by ſighes and fained accuſations and complaints: He hath (forſooth) been glauncing too much with his eye, to winke vpon ſome one woman, vpon another, he hath ſmiled too ſweetly, he hath kindly ſaluted his neighbours wife, praiſed ſome other woman for her beautie, came home late to bed, in a word, hath ſaid

or

or done ſome thing that giues her cauſe to ſuſpect him of falſe play. If this traine may be called life, I know not what we ſhall call death. This paſſion (among the examples of our time) raigned moſt violently in *Iane* Queene of Spaine (mother to the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and to *Ferdinand* of late memorie) for ſhe was ſo extreamely jealous of king *Philip* her husband, that ſhe ſuffered him to be in no peace or reſt, but afflicted him vnceſſantly, ſo as at laſt it was verily thought ſhee ſhortned his dayes: and withall brought her ſelfe to that weakneſſe of mind, that ſhee loſt all iudgement to diſcerne of any matters propounded to her. For which cauſe Hiſtorians write, That her ſonne the Emperor cauſed her to be kept in perpetuall priſon; albeit *Buchanan* writes, that hee kept her ſo becauſe ſhee would haue maried againe.

Such another example of this tyrannicall jealouſie, we may draw out of the tombe of *Caius Vibius*, a yong man, who (not able to compaſſe the good will of *Putillia* whom he feruently loued, and ſeeing himſelfe repulſed for another) ouercome with the force of jealouſie, ſlue himſelfe, when he was nineteene yeares and two moneths old. As alſo another out of the tombe of *Trebia*, who hauing beene but fiue weekes married, had an opinion that her husband committed adulterie with another woman, which ſhe laid ſo to her heart, that with a daggar ſhe ſtab'd her ſelfe in her chamber. *Polyphilus* ſetteth out the inſcription of this fact, with the purtraiture of the tombe, wherein are two gates, the one open, whereby two little naked children weeping enter, hauing theſe words about it; NATVRÆ NOVERCÆ INEVITABILE STATVTVM, that is, *The ineuitable ordinance of ſtep-mother Nature.* At the other gate halfe open, two other children ſhew themſelues comming out and laughing, with theſe words, NATVRÆ MATRIS BENIGNVM EDICTVM, that is, *The gracious decree of Mother Nature.* There was heretofore publiſhed in print at Venice, an Italian booke entituled *Antidoto de la Geloſia*, made by *Leuantio de Quidicciolo Mantouano*, wherein are many examples of this paſſion. And *Tiraqueau* in his 16 Law of Marriage made againſt jealouſie, hath inſerted before it a letter conſolatorie to *Nicoſtrata*, a jealious woman, which becauſe it is too long I omit, as alſo the letters of *Cælia* a gentlewoman of Rome to a louer of hers, wherein are ſeene the deſcriptions of infinit ſorts of jealouſie.

For the end of this Meditation, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeake a word or two of the loues of *Fauſtina*, of whom the Emperour *Marcus Antonius* her husband was jealous, as he had good cauſe. *Iulius Capitolinus* writeth thereof (whither by heare-ſay without any other ground, or that there was ſuch a thing indeed) this that followeth. Fauſtina *the daughter of* Antonius *the meeke, and wiſe to* Marc. Antonius *the Philoſopher, ſeeing ſword-plaiers paſsing by, became ſo far in loue with one of them, that ſhe fell ſick, and confeſſed her paſsion to her husband, who asking the opinion of the ſoothſaiers, was counſelled by them to cauſe the ſword-plaier to be kil'd, and to haue* Fauſtina *bath'd in his blood, and preſently thereupon to companie with her: which being done, her paſsion was alaied: but of this accompanying was* Commodus *borne, who being afterwards Emperour, in ſteed of ſhewing himſelfe a prince, ſhewed to the people in one day a thouſand ſeuerall combats of ſword-plaiers or fencers that fought at the vttermoſt. And it was a ſtrange thing, that of ſo good a father there was borne a ſonne, who for villanie, rage, and crueltie ſurpaſſed all the cutters and killers of men in his time. But many thinke he was not the ſonne of* Antonius; *for it is well knowne that* Fauſtina *being at Caietta, proſtituted her ſelfe to the mariners and ſword-plaiers that were there in great number: and when the Emperour her husband was aduiſed to diuorce her, ſeeing he would not puniſh her for it: yea marrie (quoth he) but if I put her away, I muſt reſtore her dowrie; and that it*

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the Roman Empire, which he had of his father in law, by the consent of Adrian, whom he adopted, vpon condition that he should marrie Faustina. Thus saith *Iulius Capitolinus*. To the which *Polyphilus* addeth (either of his owne inuention, according to his manner, or of some other bodies) a certaine long Epitaph made by *Faustina* vpon the death of her sword-plaier. She was one of the dissolutst women in those times, and whose name is turn'd into a prouerbe, to signifie *a strumpet past all shame and grace.*

CHAP. XIV.

The great force of Imagination.

THe learned *Viues* wisely writeth, That imaginations or conceits are dangerous, and worke mightily in a humane bodie: therefore he aduiseth women with child not to print in their minds the thought of any thing that is il-fauoured, shamefull, or infamous, and exhorteth them to shun all places where any strange sights are. And if they bring themselues in danger of meeting with any such, let them preuent all apprehension of such things, to the end that the sudden seeing of a thing that is strange, new, or fearefull, doe not hurt the fruit they beare within them. That this aduise may be of verie good vse, it appeareth by that which *Empedocles* and the naturall Philosophers haue written thereof, who hold, that the representation of a thing meeting with a womans conceit in the verie time of conceiuing, hath such power ouer the fruit conceiued and taking shape, that the marke of the thing so imagined, remaineth imprinted in the child for euer. To this purpose there is a tale of a countrey fellow that was verie il-fauoured, who fearing to haue children like himselfe, deuised to haue his chamber hang'd with verie faire pictures, charging his wife to turne her sight alwales towards them; by which helpe she brought him faire children. *Quintilian* witnesseth the same, in his plea for the woman that was brought a bed of a yong Moore: because she had in her chamber a little black picture. By the same reason *Hippocrates* saued a woman suspected of adulterie, because she was brought a bed of a sonne vnlike to her husband: for he shewed, That the child had a cast of the countenance of a mans picture that hung in the chamber where this maried couple lay. And indeed, the vertue imaginatiue is so strong, that if sometimes a woman fixe her eies and her thought vpon any thing, all the power of Nature being set awork about the making of the child, the humors running thither from all parts, and meeting there by the secret command of this ladie and mistresse, who is verie earnest about the finishing of her worke, it falleth out sometimes that she worketh and maketh diuers formes not vsuall, as double limbs, superfluous parts or additions, which she ioyneth to her worke, as *Lieuin Lemnius* discourseth thereof verie learnedly. This imaginarie power reacheth euen to beasts, as appeareth in Mares: for if one couer them with cloathes of diuers collours when the Stallions leape them, their foales are commonly of a mingled collour. The holy Historie sheweth that the same hapneth in other beasts, witnesse that which *Iacob* did in Mesopotamia, when he kept the sheepe of his vncle *Laban*. *Andrew Alciat* a Ciuilian maketh mention thereof, and alleageth withall the example of the duke of Plombino, to proue that some whoremongers get children that resemble themselues: This duke thinking that a certaine wench of his had beene with child by him, had many of the chiefe men of the countrey to the christning. She was brought a bed of a boy, more like the

In the 2 booke of a Christian woman.

Lib. 4. cap. 7. de the Miracles of nature.

Genes. chap. 30. *de Verborum significatione.*

the dukes cooke. For this bidding and prouision the duke was well laught at and flouted, who got out the truth of the matter by racking the knaue cooke. Yet *Phocylides* said a great while since, that

Adulterous children of all other
Resemble neither father nor mother.

Seeing then both experience and naturall Philosophie teach vs, That the things which are set before womens eies in the moment of conception, haue a maruellous force to imprint the marke and resemblance of the same things in the child; that which some affirme is not altogither incredible, how in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, a woman settling her eies (in the time of conceiuing) vpon a tablet representing Saint *Iohn Baptist*, drawne (as he is commonly) clothed with hairie skins, was brought a bed of a daughter, as hairie as a beare. It hath beene told me by a ladie both honorable and worthie of credit, that not long since, another German woman of good reputation was brought to bed of a lump of flesh as it had beene a beare, hauing nailes and a snout, but no life. Such a like monster was that which the concubine of Pope *Nicholas* the third bare, saith *Iohn Bale* in his life; alleaging for his Author *Iohn* of Nieumeghen in the illustrations of *Beda*: And he addeth, That *Martin* the fourth, the first yeare of his Popedome entertained this dame, and fearing least she might bring foorth other beare-whelps, he made all the beares that were painted in the Popes pallace while the lords of the house of the *Vrsins* bare sway in Rome, to be blotted out. And *Bale* saith further (after the other Historians, and namely *Thomas Cooper* in his abridged Chronicle) that this Pope was not ignorant, how that the shapes and pictures which are conceiued in a womans imagination at the time of the Venerian action, remaine imprinted for the most part of time in the bodie conceiued. *Iohn Baptista Porta* likewise maketh mention of another woman that was deliuered of a dead child, resembling for all the world a certaine image of marble that she had standing in her chamber. Moreouer, we read in the Ethiopian Historie, how *Persina* queene of Ethiopia had in her chamber a goodly faire picture of *Andromeda*, and casting her eies vpon the same at the instant that she conceiued, it made her that she was deliuered of a daughter, as white as snow: For which cause fearing least she should haue beene put to some shame for bringing foorth such a child (which according to that countrey should haue beene black) she made as if she had beene deliuered of another child, and caused that daughter of hers to be carried away far off. Who hauing past thorow many great dangers, and at last (by meanes of certaine iewels and tokens that had been sent away with her) being knowne and accepted for the queenes daughter and heire, she was giuen for wife to the faire *Theagenes*, the companion of her distresses and miseries, to whom she had promised her selfe in marriage.

Lib. 2. de Mag. natural. cap. 23.

Of *Heliodorus.*

But this which *Ludouicus Viues* writeth is worthie of memorie; how that *Margarite* (daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the first) vpon a time told the Ambassador of *Ferdinand* king of Hungarie, That at Tsertoghenbosch a citie of Brabant, in a certaine procession vpon a sollemne feast day, some of the citisens going disguised (according to the ancient custome of the place) some in the habit of Angels, and others in the shape of deuils, as painters commonly draw them; one of these deuils hauing plaid his gambals a great while, ran home to his house in his deuils attire, takes his wife, throwes her vpon a bed, saying, That he would get a yong deuill vpon her: and so he did. For of that carnall copulation there was borne a child such as the wicked spirit is painted, which at his comming into the world began to run and skip ouer all the chamber. *Lienin Lemnius*

Vpon the 12 booke of Saint *August. de Ciuitate Dei.*

Lemnius alſo telleth ſtrange things of a monſter that a certaine woman was deliuered of (to which woman he was Phyſician, and preſent at this ſight) which at the appearing of the day, filled all the chamber with roaring and crying, running all about to find ſome hole to creep into; but the women at the length ſtifeled and ſmoothered it with pillowes. *Lib.* 1 *cap.* 8. of the miracles of nature.

CHAP. XV.

Sudden Counſels are hurtfull.

IOhn Dubrauius, writing the life of *Lewis* the ſecond, king of Hungarie and Bohemia (who hauing not accompliſhed the one and twentieth yeare of his age, a prince worthie of longer life, was ſo vnhappie in his counſell, that by the fooliſhneſſe and braineſicke boldneſſe of ſome that ſhould haue medled with other things, he durſt in a ſet battell with a handfull of ragged ſouldiers and vnarmed clownes, await and ſtand againſt the huge armie of tried warriours of *Solyman* the Sultan of the Turks, who ouerthrew him neere Mohac in Hungarie, the one and twentith of Iuly, in the yeare 1526, the young king lying drown'd in a ditch full of water which his horſe could not leape) addeth, that a man might note in *Lewis* three ſpeciall things that he was too forward and ouerhaſtie in: one, That he became great in a verie ſmall time; another, That he had a beard too ſoone; and the third, That he had white haires before hee was paſt ſeauenteen yeares of age. One might adde hereunto his haſtie birth: for when he was borne into the world, he was without skin, which yet he got ſoone after, the Phyſicians helping nature. *Lieuin Lemnius* alſo writeth, That corne and fruit late ripe, are obſerued to keepe better than the haſtie, which paſſe away and rot forthwith. A ſudden ripening is of no long continuance: therefore wee allow not an ouer-ſpeedie and quicke iudgement in children, nor other gifts of the bodie or mind, which appeare in them extraordinarily; for moſt commonly ſuch die young. *Quintilian* hath a prettie ſaying, *That haſtie wits ſeldome beare fruit.* So we ſee the Spring flowers to be ſuddenly out, and ſoone faded: and ſo the deſeigns and counſels that are not mature and deliberatly taken, abort in the bearing, to the ruine of thoſe perſons that labour to bring them forth. Therfore the aduiſe of the Poet *Menander* is very good. Towards the end of the hiſtorie of Bohemia. *Ioh. Leonclauius* in his Pandects of the hiſtorie of Turkie. *Lib.* 2, *cap.* 39. *Lib.* 1. of his Inſtitut.

In all affaires take Counſell for thy Guide;
It is the ſureſt courſe what ere betide.

Worthily therefore is their heedleſneſſe, or rather boldneſſe and inſolencie blamed, who ſtudie and beat their braines how they may haſtily take in hand ſome buſineſſe of importance, and attempt to execute the ſame, without hauing (firſt of all) caſt and diſcourſed in their minds what the end thereof may be. *Hanibal* ſaid well to thoſe of his time; *If the gods would giue vs vnderſtanding in proſperitie, wee ſhould not onely thinke vpon things after they are come to paſſe, but ſhould alſo haue our eyes fixed vpon that which may happen afterwards.* And what other thing (I pray you) doe they that hazard themſelues ſo, but draw euils vnto them (as the wind *Cæcias* gathereth clouds together) and when they thinke to cut off one of *Hydras* heads, ſee ſeauen other grow vp in place thereof? For it falleth out moſt commonly, that to helpe one difficultie, into which they haue raſhly run themſelues, they fall into many other far more dangerous. *Seneca* knew it well: *There be ſome affaires* (ſaith he) *which a man may leaue vnperfect; other ſome, which it is impoſſible to ſee the end of, becauſe one of them begetteth another; and as the waues follow one another,* Tit. Liu. Dec. 3.

ther, so the difficulties appeare tyed one to another. There is nothing more easie than to stir confusions vnder a faire pretence, to shake that which standeth firme, and to disturbe a setled estate: But to cleare the troubled water, to settle a building that shaketh *(hoc opus, hic labor est)* is the part of cunning masters, and not for euery man to doe. Whereof it commeth, that rash and inconsiderat counsels endanger oftentimes, yea and bring into horrible confusions both those that inuent them, and those that admit and execute them: all reaping the deadly fruit of their improuidence and hastinesse. But the danger is, when such euils creepe into the counsell of a prince: for, if a priuate mariner neglect his dutie, hee doth small hurt to the passengers; but if the Pilot be drunke, or mad, he sends all to the bottom of the sea: So likewise in publike States, if a particular man commit a fault, he offendeth himselfe more than the State: but if the prince doe amisse, hee ouerthrowes all. *Xenophon* remembring that, vnder the name of *Agesilaus*, beareth fauourably with an ill turne done by priuate men; but condemneth sore a fault done by princes: who with one leaud blow, make an infinite number of wounds.

Lib. 10. *Philip de Commines* wisely asketh this question; *If princes* (saith he) *or their fauourites, or some Common-weales doe amisse, who shall informe of it? who shall exhibit the bill of complaint to the Iudge? who shall take vpon him to iudge of it? who shall punish the offenders? That shall* (saith he) *the complaints and teares of the poore that haue been cruelly tormented; and the sighs and cries of the widowes and orphans, whose husbands and fathers such barbarous ones haue kild: and (to bee short) the sobs and gronings of those households which they haue afflicted, rifled and ransomed, shall accuse them before Gods iudgment seat; who being prouoked by so many grieuous offences, suffereth not the offenders to go long vnpunished, but sometimes chasteneth them speedily with such a quicke, plaine, and strong hand, that no man can doubt but he is the most righteous auenger of wrongs.* A little before he had said, *That if men thought there were a God, who leaueth no wickednesse vnpunished, and that there be horrible and euerlasting torments prepared for the wicked; it is likely there would not any be found that would giue themselues to extortion, couetousnesse, or crueltie.* Now, although in the height of the tempests that disturbe a State, the princes may oft times commit many disorders against their liking, as it chanceth to Pilots to be caried by the violence of a storme acrosse some rocks far distant from the hauen: yet one may say, that when their treasure and other things doe faile them, they haue neuer about their eares but mischieuous counsels, which are followed commonly with euents both wretched and pitifull: therefore some say, That rashnesse is a want of counsell, and a certaine precipitation (the cousin of heedlesnesse) by which are committed things vnreasonable, either by violence, or by particular affection, or by contempt. They haue therefore comprehended it vnder precipitation, which presupposeth heedlesnesse, and more (yet) want of counsell: for which cause the Poet *Horace* said wisely, that

Papyr. Masson lib. 2. & 3. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 3. Ode 4.

Force void of Counsell, not of might,
Doth fall downe vnder its owne waight.
The gods also giue good successe
To Force exempted from Excesse:
And they detest all Powerfulnesse
That nought intends but wickednesse.

Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. S. August. lib. 5. de Ciuit at. Dei. cap. 26. When they of Thessalonica had raised such a mutinie, that the Emperour *Theodosius* (extreamely prouoked therewith) had made many thousands of them being assembled in their Theatre, to be cut in pieces by his Legions; Saint *Ambrose* counselled the Emperour to establish the tearme of a whole moneth betweene

betweene the day of any capitall ſentence, and the time of the execution thereof, to the end that violence and wrath might not make him commit faults that could not afterwards be repaired; and that time might giue him leaue to repent him, and to vſe mercie, if need were. *Sozomenus*, Saint *Auguſtine*, and *Iuſtinians* Code make mention of it. It fareth with theſe of whom we ſpeake, as it did with him that got vp (ſaith the tale) vpon a furious horſe, which taking the bridle in his teeth, carieth his man quite away, without giuing him the leiſure to alight off him: Being met by one, and asked whither he ran ſo faſt? he anſwered in three words (pointing to his horſes head) Whither this wil. So, if a man ſhould aske of the princes before noted, Whither run you? If they will anſwere truly, they muſt needs ſay, Whither our paſſions will: which ſometimes ſhall be pleaſure, another time ambition, or couetouſneſſe, or anger, or feare, or ſome ſuch other thought. Theſe be the horſes that carie them with a full carreere to their confuſion: whereby wee ſee that many men moſt commonly get themſelues great falles which they neuer feared; and that not ſo much by their owne fault, as through the inconſtancie and reuolution of this worlds affaires, together with the violence of the great ones, that deale ſo with their inferiors: but when it chanceth that any throw themſelues into precipices and dangerous places willingly and with their conſent, the blame muſt not bee laid vpon any other but themſelues. And that is the cauſe why we pitie and compaſſionat thoſe that we ſee are fallen into any aduerſitie, through the ill fortune which commonly followeth, and (as it were) treadeth vpon the heeles of humane affaires; yea, and we excuſe them, and helpe them all that euer we can: Contrariwiſe, wee controle, blame, and hate the others, which wee know haue drawne any confuſion vpon themſelues by their owne folly and wickedneſſe.

L. ſi Vindicari C. de pœnis. cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc

Polyb. lib. 2. of his hiſtories.

This conſideration mooued *Philip de Commines* to taxe thoſe princes, that are choſen of God to ſit in the higheſt place of authoritie, and yet are to be blamed in this that they neuer thinke of their dutie. He addeth, that a man cannot find any fault with melancholy and mad perſons: but if it happen that men of vnderſtanding, and ſuch as are in good diſpoſition of their bodies, fall by careleſneſſe and wantonneſſe into open calamitie, one ſhould neuer grieue or once be ſorie for their fall. We haue a memorable example hereof in a certain king of Scotland: This prince being caried away with ſome affections of delight and pleaſure, for all that he was warned by the voice of God, and the nobles of his land, yet would not leaue his humours, vntill he had loſt himſelfe with a great part of his Nobilitie: the ſtorie is ſet downe in theſe tearmes; *As the king was riding towards his armie, being gone to heare Euenſong at Limnuch, there came in an old man, hauing his haire inclining towards red, and hanging downe ouer his ſhoulders; the forepart of his head bald, and without a hat, cloathed in a blew gowne girt vnto him with a linnen girdle, bearing a graue port and a reuerend face; who demanding to ſpeake with the king, cleft the preaſe, and made himſelfe roome: ſtanding neere the king, with a ruſticall plainneſſe he leaned vpon his chaire, and ſaid thus; Sir, I am ſent vnto you, to warne you that you goe no further, and if you doe otherwiſe, it will be ill for you, and for all thoſe that ſhall attend you. Moreouer, I am commanded to tell you, that if you conuerſe with women too familiarly, and follow their counſell, it will bee your ſhame and ouerthrow. This being ſaid, the old man enters againe into the preaſe; and when after Euenſong the king had cauſed him to be ſought for, being deſirous to queſtion more particularly with him, he could not be found: which was thought the more ſtrange, becauſe not one of all thoſe that had (as it were) felt and noted him, could perceiue how he was gone away.* The Authour ſaith, he hath ſet downe this ſtorie after the report of them that were neere the king at

Lib. 9.

that time. But this poore prince ſetting light by ſuch aduertiſements, and the good counſels of the lords of Scotland, who praied him that he would not giue battell to the Engliſh, and inſteed of thinking vpon the afaires of the war, ſpending his time with a yong gentlewoman that was his priſoner, his troopes (being lodged in a barraine countrey, and deſtitute both of victuals and munition, whereby they were forced to breake) was a while after ouerthrowne in a ſet battell, and he kild in the place, with the moſt part of his nobilitie.

I remember that talking one day of this accident with my deceaſed father, he ſaid of theſe raſh enterpriſers, that which *Euerates* reporteth befell him (as *Lucian* diſcourſeth of it.) This *Euerates* being arriued in Egypt, grew acquainted with a magician that did verie ſtrange things: Among other, when we came (ſaith he) into any lodging, this magician would take the doore-bar, or a broom, or a log, which hauing couered with ſome old ragged cloath, he would make to goe and ſeeme a man to all that ſaw it, hauing firſt vttered certaine words. This ſpirit would draw water, make readie our meat, ſet it on the table, ſerue vs, and doe any thing we bad him. When all was done, *Pancrates* (ſo was the magician called) would turne him againe to a bar, a broome, or a log as it was afore. I did all that I could to know this myſterie, but could neuer draw it out of him, though he told me many things elſe. But one day hauing hid my ſelfe in a cloſe place where I was ſure none could ſee me, I heard his enchantment plainely, which was but of three ſillables. And then, after he had commanded a log or a ſtake what he was to doe, he himſelfe would be gone to walke in the market place. The next day ſeeing him buſie there, I tooke me a ſtake, and hauing put ſome cloath about it, ſaid the three words, and bad him goe draw water: which he preſently did, and brought a good paile full. I ſaid vnto him, it is inough; returne to thy former being: but he ſtill continues drawing and bringing, till he had filled all the houſe with water. When I ſaw that I could not ſtop him, and being afraid of the anger of *Pancrates* (who alwaies kept a great ſtur at his returne) I tooke an axe, and cut the ſtake in two pieces, of which, each one taking a paile, drew water and brought it, ſo that of one ſeruant I made two. In this meane-while commeth *Pancrates*, who hauing ſet all right againe, conueied himſelfe from me, ſo that I could neuer tell what became of him. This is *Lucians* fable, who vnder ſuch inuentions bewraieth the folly of arrogant men that enter into ſuch labyrinths as they cannot get out of them againe. *Plato* glanced at this long agoe ſaying, That when a man is growne inſolent becauſe of his dominions and ſigniories, or proud becauſe he is faire, and that his folly doth ſo beſot him that he thinketh he hath no need either of a guide or a maſter, but that he hath inough in him to direct all other men; he is vtterly forſaken of God: then he giueth himſelfe to his paſtimes, and finding men of his ſort, turnes all vpſide-downe, making himſelfe to be feared of many: but ſoone after, the iuſt iudgement of God ouertaketh and puniſheth him, ſo as the wretch doth ruine himſelfe, his houſe, and the common-wealth.

Lucian, in the Dialogue intitul. *Philopſeudes*.

In his lawes.

For proofe hereof, I will alleage that which hath falne out in our time in Germanie, where a certaine prince growne verie proud by reaſon of the ſudden proſperitie of his affaires, beſieged (for ſome daies) a caſtle belonging to a gentleman. The place was yeelded to him by compoſition, which among other articles conteined, That the beſieged ſhould depart, their liues and goods ſaued, and beſtow themſelues where they ſhould thinke good. It hapned, that as he would haue entred with his troupes into the caſtle, a ſouldier of the garriſon that ſtood ſentinell in the top of a tower, and knew nothing of the treatie, diſcharged

charged an Harquebuze a-crock, and kild a Rutter that was ſtanding not far from the prince, who thereupon entred into ſuch a rage, that without all reſpect of the other ſouldiers (without whoſe priuitie the piece was ſhot, and who by the compoſition, were to depart with their liues and goods) he cauſed them all to be hang'd at a tree hard by the caſtle, and their Curat higher than all the reſt, to doe him credit, as he ſaid: violating therein the lawes of armes, and playing a part neuer heard of among the Germans before that time. Now albeit this ouer-haſtie and cruell execution diſpleaſed many counſellors and captaines of this prince, and that in priuat among themſelues they ſhewed a great miſlike thereof: yet fearing the anger of this their maſter, who in his furie would know no man, not one of them durſt open his mouth againſt him. But ſo it fell out afterwards, when his heat was cooled, that both himſelfe and they abhorred this wofull ſpectacle, wiſhing (but in vaine) that it had neuer beene. The euent ſhewed, that God curſed the counſells and deportments of this prince and of his ſeruants, for both he, and a great many that followed him, were within ſome ſpace of time, brought to vtter ruine; the prince ſo indebted, that after he was brought to all extremitie that might be, and forced to flie his countrey, he was at the laſt entertained of a moſt horrible diſeaſe, and taken out of the world with extreame torments. Many ſeruants and counſellors of his made not much better ends: For, the blood of the ſlaine, and the vengeance of God neuer left running after them, vntill they were cleane ſwept away from the face of the earth. The like hapned, in the age going before, to *Charles* the mightie duke of Burgundie. For he, hauing beſieged Granſon, and receiued them that were within to a compoſition that they ſhould haue their liues and goods ſaued; was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the place, but he brake his faith that he had giuen, and vpon a haſtie and raſh counſell made ſome of them be hang'd and ſtrangled, and other-ſome be drown'd; After which faithleſſe part his heart was ſo changed, that moſt proudly contemning his ſubiects, he put his truſt in ſtrangers for the guarding of his perſon, neuer did any thing to be accounted of, many of his enterpriſes had wrong ſucceſſe, feeling war vpon war he was beaten in diuers encounters, and at laſt defeated before Nanci, his forces diſperſed, and himſelfe ſlaine: A prince otherwiſe verie couragious, mightie in wealth, and of good parts. But

Such is moſt commonly
The end of cruelty.

His Epitaph is to be ſeene (ſomewhat rude, but ſutable to the time) in the Annals of the biſhops of Colen, and in the fifth booke of the deſcription of Burgundie, made by *Pontus Heuterus*, to this effect.

Quiet and peace thou (Charles) *didſt aye deteſt;*
Now thou art laid, allow thy bones ſome reſt.

The Apophthegme therefore of king *Lewis* the eleauenth is worthily eſteemed of; *Where Pride and preſumption goe before, Shame and loſſe follow hard after.* For experience ſheweth vs, that ignominie waiteth vpon ambition, and glorie accompanieth humilitie.

To ſhut vp this chapter with ſome ancient examples, we haue one in *Thucidides* verie memorable, and worth the noting. When as the Athenians, without any lawfull cauſe, but onely carried with a proud deſire to ſhew their power, enterpriſed the conqueſt of Sicilia: ſome Thracian aduenturers hired to ſerue vnder their pay, comming too late (the Athenian fleet being put to ſea, and no meanes left to tranſport this new re-enforcement into Sicilia) they were diſ- *Lib.* 17. of his hiſtorie.

missed againe, the citie being not able to giue them entertainment. These Thracians in their returne homewards, tooke by scalado a citie in the firme land of Bœotia, called Mycalessus; rifled the houses and the temples; kild man woman and child, without sauing any, no not so much as the cattle; such aduenturers being the most barbarous and cruell villaines in the world, when they haue once gotten the vpper-hand. All that poore citie was brought at that time to extreame desolation; and the murtherers entred by force into the Colledge, where a great number of schollers were, of which they saued not one, but cut all their throats. This calamitie of the Bœotians hapning through the proud and precipitate counsell of the Athenians, was as lamentable as could be: But the Athenians also paid for it themselues; For euer after, their matters went with the wrong end forward, their armie was wholy defeated both by sea and by land, and themselues at the last brought to miserable seruitude. Another example we haue in *Cræsus* a mightie king of Lydia. He not able to liue quietly in his owne peaceable and florishing kingdome, would needs make war vpon *Cyrus* king of Persia, without any iust cause, onely puffed vp with his riches, and happie successe in his affaires. But first he sent his Ambassadors to the Oracle at Delphos, where they presenting themselues in counterfeit attire, and without telling from whence they came, the prophecying woman said vnto them, as *Cedrenus* reporteth after *Herodotus*:

Herodot. lib. 1.

In the abridgement of Hist.

I know what depth and round the Ocean doth containe,
How many graines of sand vpon the shore remaine:
I know the verie thoughts of a close-silent minde,
And yet king Cræsus, *he, and his folke are so blinde*
That they thinke by their wit, euen now, within this place,
To play a worthie part, and flout me to my face.

At last, the Ambassadors hauing deliuered the true cause of their Embassie, the Oracle made them an answer with two meanings in words to this effect:

Cræsus *the riuer Halys shall passe ouer,*
And after spoile great store of wealth and treasor.

They were his owne goods and treasures which he brought to nought, and not those of *Cyrus*, to whom the Prophet *Daniell* declared (as *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* affirme) according to the reuelations of *Isaie* the Prophet, that he should haue the victorie: for which cause, these Authors say, That after the war was ended, *Cyrus* sent home the Iewes to Ierusalem. To these two former examples we will adde a third, of *Perses* a mightie king of Macedonia. He taking delight in killing of his innocent seruants, and with great pride contemning as well friends as foes, was so taken and ouerthrowne with crueltie and couetousnesse, that from thence forwards one could discerne nought else but foolishnesse and rage in the gouernment of his affaires. Before that, he had made triall of some wit and valor in combats, demeaning himselfe reasonable well: but in an instant, and ere one could tell how, he became a coward, dul-headed, giddie, and troublesome to all, good fortune hauing vtterly left him; a thing that hath chanced to many other, who hauing beene well one day, were the next growne witlesse and miserable, as *Suidas* obserueth in his collection of Histories, after *Titus Liuius*, and *Plutarch*. Therefore *Paulus Æmylius* said wisely, and to our purpose: *That a man in prosperitie should resolue of nothing that sauours of pride and violence against any, nor trust the present state of things: considering the future time is vncertaine, and no man knoweth what will happen before the sunne be set.* Prosperitie lifteth not vp a noble minde, nor can aduersitie deiect and quaile it. And (as *Asdruba*

Plutarch in the life of *Paulus Aemylius.*

Tit. Liuius lib. 5. Decad. 5.

Hadus

Hadus ſhewed in the open Senat at Rome) *It is a rare thing that men ſhould be happie and wiſe altogether: and the people of Rome remained inuincible, becauſe in proſperitie they ſtood vpon their guard, and remembred their buſineſſe to thinke thereupon with all care and earneſtneſſe.*

CHAP. XVI.

Of the ſignes that foregoe ſuch puniſhments as are deſerued by reaſon of miſ-deeds.

IT falleth out often times, that men deſpiſe and forego their true goods, as namely, wiſdome and good counſell, by helpe whereof they might haue auoided great tempeſts, and put themſelues into ſome ſafe harbour, at ſuch time as the dangers drew neere, with which they were to be taken and ouerwhelmed: whereof it followeth by an extreame kind of miſerie, that their fortune is taken for deſert, and men blame and accuſe them euen in the midſt of their ruine. Now of this ruine there is not a plainer preſage (ſaith *Philip de Commines*) than when God ſo taketh away their vnderſtanding, that reiecting wiſe Counſellors, they preferre ignorant, braineleſſe, and vnfit fellowes and flatterers, that neither ſay nor doe any thing but to pleaſe. For, when a prince is once at that point, we may well ſay that God is rearing of a ſcaffold, whereon to make ſome exemplarie puniſhment of him. This hath beene heeretofore expreſſed in verſes to this effect: In the Oration of the Orator *Lycurg.* againſt *Leocrates.*

If the ſtrickt Iuſtice of Almightie God,
Doe ſometimes draw the wicked to the rod,
It firſt bereaues them of their vnderſtanding,
Then blindeth them, that furious, they may run them
(By ſleep-downe wayes deuoid of ſtay or ſtanding)
Vnto their death, which their leaud counſels woon them.

Irænæus, an ancient Diuine, hath holily expounded this point, ſaying, *That they who are moſt enclined to chuſe that which is euill, are wont to lay the blame in God for the miſeries which they themſelues draw vnto them by their iniquities: conſidering that to harden* Pharaohs *heart, and to make the people blind, is nothing elſe before God, but to withdraw his mercie from the wicked, which is graciouſly imparted to men of good will. For, ſo ſoone as a man forſaketh God, deſpiſing good things, he looſeth the grace of the holy ſpirit, all difficulties take hold of him, he ſeeth no longer the right way, hee oppoſeth himſelfe wilfully againſt all admonitions, and becommeth ſo dull, that hee knoweth not how to leaue the euill, nor chuſe the good. So we ſay, that God blindeth and hardeneth him, as the Sun when it ſetteth, cauſeth by his abſence from vs, the darkneſſe of the night: for otherwiſe nothing proceedeth from God which is not good, as from the Sun commeth alwaies heat and brightneſſe.* To this agree the words of Saint *Auguſtine: Gods anger* (ſaith he) *is no trouble of the mind in him, but a ſincere iudgement, by which, puniſhment is decreed againſt ſin. As for Gods thought and remembrance, it is an immutable Decree concerning mutable things.* For the Lord God doth neuer repent him of his doing, as an angrie man would doe: but his decreeing of all things is as firme as his fore-knowledge is certaine. If the holy Scripture did not vſe ſuch phraſes of ſpeach, how could it applie it ſelfe ſo familiarly to all ſorts of perſons whoſe good it reſpecteth, to terrifie the prowd, to roule the ſluggiſh, to exerciſe the ſtudious, to edifie the vnderſtanding? In the ſame worke of the Citie of God, ſpeaking of Gods will, he writeth theſe words: *Gods will is neuer changed: but we are they that change. God ſeemeth to be changed after a ſort, when we ſee his meekneſſe conuerted into anger: and then againe,*

Lib. 4.

Lib. 15. *de Ciuit. Dei, cap.* 25.

Lib. 22.

againe, his ſeuere iuſtice into grace and mercie. So then when we change our ſelues, we find him (as it were) changed in regard of that which hapneth to vs: euen as wee imagine a change in the Sun, according to the ſtrength or weakneſſe of our ſight. Sometimes it cheereth and comforteth vs, at other ſometimes we cannot endure it, but it hurteth vs; not of it ſelfe, for the nature of it is alwaies one, and is no way changed: but it proceedeth of ſome defect that is befallen vs. God repenteth not; but through his incomprehenſible wiſdome he ſuffreth humane affaires to fall into changes, as he limited the Iewiſh prieſthood, and aboliſhed the Monarchie of the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Grecians.

Suidas in his collection of Hiſtories.

Now as there may be infinite examples both ancient and moderne alleaged to this purpoſe: ſo without ſtanding thereupon at this time, it ſhall bee ſufficient for vs to conſider of that which befell good king *Dauid*, when as againſt the expreſſe will of God, and the aduiſe of his Counſellers (without being forced vnto it, but only mooued with ambition) he commanded the people to be numbred. But although in this action he behaued himſelfe vnwiſely and inſolently, yet might it ſeeme ſtrange that *Dauid* was ſpared, and that the plague deſtroyed ſuch a great number of people, as the Hiſtorie plainly declareth. Therefore *Cedrenus* ſaith, *When ſome grieuous and extraordinarie puniſhment is neere the contemners of God, whom he muſt in his iuſtice viſit, then hee ſuffereth the princes to commit ſome wickedneſſe, to the end we ſhould not thinke that the chaſtiſements are beſtowed vnproperly, or by chance; but that we ſhould remember, that the guiltie are iuſtly taken off. And we muſt not thinke that it is onely the faults of princes that draw on plagues, famine, ſtrange diſeaſes, and other common ruines of people: both great and ſmall being guiltie of hauing violated the lawes of nature, or of the magiſtrats, haue their turne, and are chaſtened one after another. The holy Scripture omitting the great heape of ſinnes committed by the priuat men, is content (without making ſo long a numbring) to put the ſubiects in remembrance of the fault of the prince, as the cauſe of the puniſhment of all. The hiſtorie of* Dauid *ſerueth vs for an example. The wrath of God made readie ſome rods to ſcourge Iſrael with, becauſe of their many ſinnes; therupon a wicked ſpirit ſetteth on the king to the numbring of the people: Which done, the Prophet* Gad *ſent in the morning from the Lord, commeth to* Dauid, *and offereth him the choice, of three yeares famine throughout his kingdome, or of three moneths war and flight before his enemies, or of three dayes peſtilence among his ſubiects. Thereupon he confeſſed himſelfe taken, and ſeeing himſelfe beſet with euils, ſaith, Hee had rather fall into the hands of the mercifull God, than into the hands of cruell men, and ſo choſe the plague. It was in the time of Harueſt: then from the breake of the day, vntill noone, there died threeſcore and ten thouſand perſons.* This doth *Cedrenus* gather out of that ſtorie. Whereby we learne, that when vngodlineſſe maketh kings and princes become like beaſts, ſo as in contempt of all good counſell, they offer to perpetrate wicked and pernicious things; not their faults alone, but thoſe alſo of the people, cauſe and draw on ſuch calamities. To this the wiſe king *Salomon* had an eye, when he ſaid; *That for the offences of the countrey, there is oftentimes a change of princes.* And the Authour of *Eccleſiaſticus* declareth, *That a kingdome is tranſlated from one people to another, becauſe of iniuſtice.* For as it is not ynough for the preſeruation of the bodie, that the head doe well, but the other members alſo muſt diſcharge their dutie: ſo is it not ſufficient that the prince bee faultleſſe, if his ſeruants and ſubiects be not anſwerable to him in dutifulneſſe and vertue. Therfore the ſame *Cedrenus* writeth, That in the time of the parricide *Phocas*, who murdered his prince the Emperour *Maurice*, a certaine worthie man complaind to God, and made bold to aske him, Wherefore he had giuen that wicked man for a Commander ouer the Chriſtians? Vpon this he heard a voice without ſeeing any bodie, that ſaid thus vnto him; *I could not of all men haue found out a worſe: the*

2. *Sam.* 24.

Pro. cap. 28.

Cap. 10.

In the hiſtorie of *Phocas*.

the mischiefes of the inhabitants of Constantinople haue deserued it. And *Theodoret* writeth very materially; *That the gracious Lord vsing a ballance and a measure composed of Iustice and of Mercie, and knowing that sinnes would fill vp the scale of mercy, beginneth to strike off by his Iustice the faults that are aboue the measure.* *Lib.5.cap.1.of his Eccles. hist.*

CHAP. XVII.

The Face bewrayeth the Thought. But God onely knoweth the Heart.

THe Authour of *Ecclesiasticus* saith wisely; *That a man may be knowne by his looke, and the vertuous may be perceiued by the marking of his countenance.* This is prooued true as well in the godly as in the wicked, so as many times vices or vertues are discouered by the posture and bearing of the bodie. *Aristotle* was not ignorant hereof, who was wont to iudge of a mans nature, by looking in his face. They (saith hee) that haue their for-head large, are blockish, who haue it round, are collericke. The French-men expresse it by an old by-word, ORGVEILLEVSE SEMBLANCE, MONSTRE FOLLE CVIDANCE, *A proud cariage argueth a foolish conceit.* Touching vices, wee haue a famous example in the Emperor *Iulian*, surnamed the Apostata. So soone as *Gregorie Nazianzen* beheld him, he iudged of his nature and of his mind: thus he saith of him, and the Historian *Socrates* setteth it down: *His ghastly treadings and countenances made me ghesse what was in him; as they count him a cunning diuiner that coniecture well by the things that appeare vnto him. I held not for markes of a good man, those often turnings of the head; that leaping of the shoulders one after another by euen compasse, his looking askance, his rouing eyes full of proud threatnings, his vnsteadie feet, and making of knees almost at euery step. His nose arguing a mocker and a contemner, all his face bewraying nought else but a right Iugler, made for all assayes: He laught ordinarily, and with a ringing noise; made a nod in calling for, or sending away without saying a word; cut off his speech without finishing it; asked many questions heaped together, and impertinent; made answers dis-ioynted, mingled, repugnant, hauing neither head nor taile. And who could set him out at full? Such did I see him before-hand, whom his deportments haue discouered since. If they that were there at that time with me, and marked these things, should heare what I say now, they would remember that I cried out then with these words, What a plague doth the Roman Empire nouriish at this present?* *Cap.19.* In the 2.oratiõ against *Iulian.* *Lib.3.cap.19.of his Eccles. hist.*

Likewise of the other side, in the face a man may discerne the excellencie and worth of a man. We haue an example in *Vlisses:* What time a storme cast him naked vpon the shore of the Phæacians, they of the countrey running thither in crowds, and beholding him with wonderment, vsed him with more respect because of his graue carriage, than they did the richest and greatest in all their Island: vpon which occasion the wise Poet *Homer* addeth, That men ought to haue Vertue in singular reputation. And indeed among all nations, Shee is of marueilous efficacie, saith *Plutarch*; for as much as Shee draweth not the good onely, but also the vicious to loue and admire her. There is another memorable storie to this purpose, of the Emperour *Traian*, who hauing besieged the Agarenians in a certain citie, and going about the same in disguised manner, that he might not be knowne, was noted for his gallant old-age, and maiesticall port, how well soeuer he sought to counterfeit and dissemble: so as the enemies making full account that he was the chiefe Commander of the armie; shot many arrowes at him, one of which lighted vpon him that followed the Emperour, and killed him. *It is the custome of the Barbarians* (saith *Curtius*) *to reuerence men of a faire* *Homer* in his *Odissea.* In his treatise of morall vertue. *Dion* in the life of *Traian.* *Lib.6.of* the hist. of *Alex.*

faire and goodly ſhew; and to thinke, that they (and none other) are capable of high deſignes, and generous enterpriſes, whom nature hath graced with ſome remarkable and excellent carriage. *Suetonius* writeth of *Titus* the ſonne of *Veſpaſian*, that euen from his infancie the guifts of the bodie ſhined in him, that from age to age they increaſed, ſo that he grew a moſt goodly prince, carrying a faſhion graue, venerable, delightfull, & exceeding deſierable. This was a thing that the Ancients had a verie great regard of (ſaith *Cicero*) who maketh two ſorts of beautie: one manlike, which he tearmeth Dignitie; the other womanlike, which he calleth Goodgrace. In his perfect Orator he ioyneth them togither. *How much Dignitie & Grace* (ſaith he) *hath the face, which preuaileth moſt next to Speech?* yong *Plinie* ſaith as much: *The vigorous and tall ſtature of the bodie, the graue port and venerable countenance, doe they not bewray the prince both neere at hand and a far off?* We read that the Ancients attributed to *Pompey* the great, for a moſt goodly guift of nature, an honourable forehead, and a pleaſing countenance. And indeed the forehead is a marke both of gentleneſſe and of ſeueritie.

Lib. 1. Offic.

Alexand. de Alexandria lib. 2. cap. 19.

The Ancients made as great reckoning of the eies, becauſe in them the image, nature, and thought of man is much diſcouered and ſeene. For as lions by the ſtirring of their tailes, and horſes by the playing of their eares demonſtrate their affections: ſo the eies repreſent the imaginations of mens thoughts. In them we ſee both vices and vertues; we perceiue the mind troubled, and quiet; the heart merrie, or otherwiſe affected: briefely, the eies for the moſt part ſhew the beautie, or foleneſſe of the face, and diſtinguiſh life from death. *Lieuin Lemnius* diſputeth hereof both largely and learnedly, ſaying among other things, That Phyſitions in the diſeaſes of their patients, doe carefully obſerue the conſtitution of their eies. If they be ſpotted with red, or blood-ſhot, it is a ſigne of furie and frenzie proceeding from the inflamation of the braine. If they be wan, of the collour of lead, and ſet all ouer with black ſpots, they boad the decaying of naturall heate, and the end of life. The eies that are alwaies rolling, that twinckle and turne continually, and without releaſe, preſage the loſſe of ones wits, and beſtraughting. The languiſhing, moiſt, running, caſt-downe, dimme, trembling, fierce, vnſteaddie, ſwolne, hollow, ſet, dull, halfe-ſhut, doe ſignifie in whole perſons diuers paſſions of the minde: in ſick, an indiſpoſition of the braine, proceeding of ſuperfluous or defectiue humours, of ouer-much heate and cold, to the endangering of life. Gogle-eies, ſquint-eies, eies that are turn'd, that are poare-blind, or looke awrie or askew, haue the muſcles wreſted or ſhrunke by ſome error of nature: and becauſe this defect is about the braine the manſion place of the vnderſtanding, as it diſfigureth the ſight outwardly, ſo doth it (in ſome ſort) infect the mind with vnruly affections. We haue a notable example of the eies in *Titus Liuius*, who reporteth, That the Samnites were of opinion that the eies of the Romans ſparkled like burning candles. And the ſouldiers of the garriſon of Aquilea, who by a ſudden ſally ruſhed out of an Ambuſcadoe vpon *Attila* who was followed with a ſmall troupe, and was not knowne to them, confeſſed a while after, that nothing daunted them ſo much in that charge, as the eies of *Attila*, which all the while he was fighting with them, ſeemed as if they had beene full of fierie ſparkles. Not without cauſe then did *Cornelius Tacitus* write, That in battells the eies are the firſt that are conquered. And we read that *Marius* did with his looke ſo aſtoniſh the executioner whom they of Minturnæ had ſent to kill him, that he return'd without doing any thing; whereupon the Minturnians purſued him no further, but ſuffred him to goe his way.

In the Miracles of Nature lib. 4. cap. 6.

Lib. 7. Decad. 1. Nicol. Olahus in the life of Attila, cap. 8.

In his Deſcrip. of Germanie.

Plin. cap. 67. of famous men, and Plutarch in the life of Marius.

Here may we infer that which *Ariſtotle* and *Adamantius* obſerue in their treatiſes

tiſes of Phyſiognomy: How that they on whom Nature beſtoweth reddiſh eies, are impudent & bold; drie eies are ſignes of naturall choller; moiſt, of drunkenneſſe; the inflamed and ſtaring, of venerious intemperancie, of blockiſhneſſe, and inclination to plaies; the diuers colloured and ſanguin, of craft and violence. *Achilles* in *Homer* obiected to king *Agamemnon*, that he had dogs-eies, taxing him of impudencie; becauſe dogs commonly haue eies ſpotted with red. They that haue the blood dreggie and thick, are moſt of them fierce, leaud, inhuman, cruell, without conſcience, without feare, without religion, bereft of all pietie and humanitie: There are a number of ſuch found among minſtrels, mariners, ſwine-heards, porters, cariers, and men of war, who for the thickneſſe of their blood, and the turbulent ſpirits that ſtir and carrie them, haue their conſciences aſleepe, and their vnderſtandings obſcured with vices, as *Lemnius* obſerueth. Thus the temperature of the bodie ſheweth that which is hidden within. For we ſee moſt commonly that the ſanguin are bold, quick, raſh, and impatient in trauell: The flegmatike turbulent, paſſionat, patient, aduiſed: The chollerick light, nimble, proper, of haſtie iudgement: The melancholick, heauie, ſimple, but of iudgement graue and ripe, as *Fauſtus Longianus* hath diligently noted. In like manner, they that haue the skin thin and of a fine greine, are commonly more ingenious and prudent: therefore dul-heads were called by the Greekes *Pachydermes*, as who would ſay, people of a groſſe skin, and of a courſe paſte. Theſe predictions by *Metopoſcopie*, (which is the iudging of the inward paſſions and affections by the only looke of the face) are not held for vnlawfull, in the iudgement of *Bodin*, who putteth this diſtinction, that ſome of them are naturall, as ſudden bluſhing ſignifieth ſhame; and pale collour, feare: otherſome rather human than naturall, as ſparkling eies, and that are ſpotted with red (ſuch as *Sylla* and *Cato* the Cenſor had) are markes of a violent ſpirit. According to this coniecture, they that haue flat crumped noſes, are impatient & chollerick: contrariwiſe, long noſes haue more prudence and patience. God himſelfe ſpeaking to *Moſes*, among other titles which he attributeth to himſelfe, calleth himſelfe ſlow to wrath; *Erech appaïm*, which ſignifyeth one that hath long noſtrils, or a long noſe, to expreſſe vnder human termes the long patience of God. But omitting his high conſideration, that which we haue noted in men, is alſo found true in birds that liue by prey, the nature of which is knowne by their feathers. For the hawke that hath a yellow plume, and ſhining like gold, is eſteemed the nobleſt and moſt couragious of all other, by Faulconers, who haue out of their long practiſe obſerued, that ſuch birds are of a hardie, gentle, tractable, & quiet nature. He whoſe feathers draw towards white, is iudged by them to be ſtrong and forcible, but not ſo much as that before. If he be of a red collour, they haue tried him to be proud, bold, curſt and wild. But, if the red incline towards yellow, they hold him for a bird eaſie to be man'd, and of great valor: If towards black, he is fierce, hardy or reſolute, but ſtrong. The black and aſhcollour'd are the worſt. Theſe be the obſeruations of *Beliſarius* duke of Nerito.

Thus then doth the mind diſcouer it ſelfe in the face, and outward apperance: for the chollerick grow hot, they that are afraid wax pale, and cold. Yea, and if we take good heed to the countenance of one and the ſame perſon, we neuer ſee him ſcarce in one and the ſame tune: ſometimes we ſee choller painted there, ſoone after, calmneſſe, and preſently ſorrow: Now he wilbe of a merrie cheere, and then ſuddenly ſad and heauie, or troubled with ſome other paſſion, according as the ſeuerall images of things ſhall ſtrike his apprehenſion, which will preſent a thouſand collours in the face. This being ſo, ſome Diuines haue aken

Lib. 1. *cap.* 16.

In his 5 booke of Duell. chap. 7.

Suidas in his Collections.

In his *Demonom. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

Exod. 34. 6.

In his Faulconrie.

taken occaſion hereupon to ſay that by theſe ſignes and monuments of the mind, the deuill may coniecture what the thoughts of our hearts are, and according to them lay his traps, and nock his arrowes to ſhoot when and where he ſeeth cauſe. If we conſider the heart apart by it ſelfe, the power of Sathan doth not extend it ſelfe ſo far as that he can know our thoughts and deliberations. He proudly taketh that power vpon him, as we haue ſeene in the 15 chapter of this booke: and I am not ignorant that there be diuers opinions touching this point. It hath beene told me by a kinſman of mine, a gentleman of good birth and qualitie, that he once ſaw in great Cairo an Egyptian enchanter, who bragged that he could diſcouer not onely things hidden, but alſo the thoughts of hearts: whereof he made a notable proofe in the preſence of this gentleman, and of another called *Alexander de Schulenbourg*. But my kinſman thought verily that the deuill ſuggeſted this ſecret vnto his bond-ſlaue, as he had a little before bewraied, by their diſcourſes that had asked him of many things. For they had agreed among themſelues afore-hand what they would thinke of when they ſhould put him to his deuination. It may be alſo that the wicked ſpirit doth ſuggeſt to the curious that which he knoweth they deſire: & if they receiue his ſuggeſtion into their thought, he can eaſily reueale it to his bond-ſlaues. *Chryſoſtom* aduertiſeth vs of this deceit, in theſe words: *The deuill inſpireth not temptation into man, but he conſidereth euerie mans deſire, and as he ſeeth the man affected, he taketh occaſion thereafter to ſeduce him. And where it is alleaged, That humane vnderſtanding dependeth of the imaginations and figures of the things, not hidden to Sathan; that is not repugnant to this that we ſay: For admit it were ſo, yet though he will, he cannot ſee whereabout our vnderſtanding is occupied; much leſſe doth he perceiue what the will reſolueth thereof: becauſe the will doth not run after the likeneſſes of things, but followeth the vnderſtanding.*

Ieremi. 17.10. But the holy Scriptures (vpon which we muſt wholy reſt our ſelues) doe teach vs, That God alone knoweth the hearts, as the Prophet *Ieremie* ſaith: and the Church ſingeth

Pſal. 44.20,21.

If we had our Gods Name forgot,
And helpe of idols ſought:
Would not God then haue tried it out?
For he doth know our thought.

1. *Reg.* 8.39. 2. *Chron.* 6.30. In the definitions of Eccleſiaſt. inſtructions. *Act.* 1.24. *Ioh.* 2.24,25. And *Salomon* in the dedication of the Temple, ſaith to the Lord, *Thou alone knoweſt the thoughts of men.* Therefore Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith well; *We know for certaine, that the deuill ſeeth not the inward thoughts; but we haue learned by experience, that by the moouing of the bodie, and the diſcouering of the paſſions he gathereth ſomething thereof. But he alone knoweth the ſecrets of thoughts, to whom it is ſaid; It is thou onely which knoweth the hearts of all men.* Saint *Iohn* would alſo teach vs that, when he ſaith; *That* Ieſus *did not commit himſelfe vnto the Iewes, becauſe he knew them all; and had no need that any ſhould teſtifie of man; for he knew what was in man.* To this agreeth the 28 article of a determination concluded at Paris by the Sorboniſts, in the yeare 1398. touching ſome ſuperſtitions newly crept in, which determination is wholy inſerted by *Bodin* in his *Dæmonomania: That our intellectuall thoughts are cauſed immediatly from heauen, and that by ſome magicall tradition one may diſcouer them, and iudge certainely of them.* An error; ſay the Sorboniſts. But doctor *Peter Martyr* expoundeth this queſtion at length, and ſoundly, *Whither the deuils can ſee mens thoughts?* as before him *Macarius* among the Ancients made an Homily thereof. *Iohn Wier* hath both learnedly and orthodoxically prooued by teſtimonies out of the holy Scriptures, and out of the Fathers, That the deuill knoweth not the

Vpon the 28 chap. of the 1 booke of *Samuell.* Homil. 62. *Lib.* 1. *de Impoſt.*

the thoughts of men, and alleageth out of *I. Cassianus* these words; *There is no doubt, but that the vncleane spirits may attaine to the qualities of our thoughts, which they gather by the signes and tokens of the outward sences, that is to say, by our countenances or wordes, and by the deeds wherein they see vs most occupied. But they cannot in any wise pierce into those which are not yet come foorth from the bottome of the mind.* *Lactantius* said fitly and holily, *That the bridle of Consciences is to beleeue that wee liue in the presence of God; who both seeth what wee doe, and knoweth what wee thinke, and heareth what we say.* Let vs adde heereunto one saying more out of Saint *Augustine* in these wordes: *God searcheth and beholdeth the heart, hee is both the Witnesse and Iudge of it, hee approoueth and crowneth it: it is ynough that thou offer him the will.*

Collat.7.cap.15.

In his booke of wrath. *cap.8.*

Vpon the 134 Psalme.

To close vp this chapter, I thinke it good to annex heereunto certaine prayers taken out of the Morning Hymne made by *Prudentius*, an ancient Latin and Christian Poet, who attributeth this properly to God, That hee alone knoweth and soundeth our hearts, thoughts, and actions:

Gods holy cheerefull light vnto our soules giues light,
And cleansing mists, it makes vs cleane in his eye-sight:
So as we may not speake that which is false or foule,
Nought earthly or obscure may turne into our soule.
Not once all day our tongue, that vsed lying vile,
Our hand, or glauncing eye our bodies may defile.
A Censor liues aboue, that all our workes doth see
From morning vntill night: Seuere and Iust is hee.
He Witnesse is and Iudge, he sees more than the Sun,
As well far off as neere, all that on Earth is done.
He onely sounds the depth of euery human mind,
And no man euer could his Sou'raigne Iustice blind.

The Philosopher *Seneca*, as great a Pagan as he was, (albeit some imagine he was a Christian, and familiar with Saint *Paul*) was not ignorant of these things: as also *Lactantius* highly commendeth one sentence of his, being this that followeth: *The Deitie* (saith he) *is I know not what great thing; yea greater than a man can thinke. We serue it as we liue: let vs prouide it may approue vs. A conscience close shut vp auaileth nought: we are all naked before God.* *Lactantius* addeth, *Let vs then clense the conscience that lies open to the eyes of God, and carie vs alwaies in such sort, that we may remember we must yeeld an account: and let vs thinke continually that it is not men that behold vs vpon some earthly stage, but that we are looked vpon from heauen by a witnesse that shall be our Iudge, and from whom no man shall be able to hide, or denie that which hee shall haue done, when this Iudge shall require an account thereof.* The Ægyptians in times past meant to represent this by an open eye, expressing God by such a Hieroglyphicall character. For euer as the eye seeth all that is set before it, so doth God know and behold all things. To this purpose, *Thales* being asked, If the works of men were vnknowne to the gods? No, nor yet their thoughts, answered he; to the end that we, beleeuing that the Deitie doth pierce into the very bottome of our hearts, may not thinke it sufficient to be good in shew, but that we may also endeauour to haue pure and sound consciences.

Lib.6.cap.24.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Sacrifices of the Pagans. And of the diuerſitie of Religions.

Lib.17. of the hiſtorie of the gods.

THe ancient Pagans, namely the Romans, vſed an infinit number of ceremonies in their Sacrifices. *Lilius Gyraldus* hath diſcourſed thereof both largely and exactly, gathering out of the Grecians and Latiniſts all that could make for the purpoſe. *Gaſpar Peucer*, a great learned man, hath ſet foorth ſome particulars thereof in his Commentarie of deuinations; the which I will heere write out. When the Prieſt had brought the beaſt for ſacrifice, and had ſet it neere the Altar, he ſtood and laid one hand vpon the Altar and then made a praier, in the which *Ianus* & *Veſta* (the principall gods in all ſacrifices, and to whom the vowes were made firſt of all, becauſe the opinion was that by them men might eaſily approch to the other) were the firſt named; and there was eſpeciall care had, that in this praier *Iupiter* ſhould be called the moſt Good and moſt Great Father: likewiſe, that all the other gods ſhould be called vpon and named Fathers. But to the end that no one word might be forgotten, or pronounced amiſſe, there muſt be a prompter or Reader, who pronounced by writing, and ſaid the words to the Prieſt; beſides, hee had an aſſiſtant ioyn'd with him, to take heed that no word were left or skipt ouer. Another cauſed ſilence to be made, and the Trumpetter cried, that they ſhould looke well that no vnluckie thing were heard: for if any extraordinary let ſhould happen, if the Prieſt miſt neuer ſo little in his oriſons, there was oftentimes neither heart nor liuer found in the entrailes, or elſe there was found two. This being diſpatched, the prieſt began his ſacrifice by immolation, which was a paaſt made of wheat flowre wet with water and ſalt, like our common paaſt: this mole, lumpe, or ſeaſoned dough was laid vpon the beaſts head that was to be ſacrificed, ſome male incenſe being put vnto it; ſometimes inſtead of dough they vſed certaine fruits, and all the ceremonie was called Immolation, becauſe of the firſt part; as who would ſay, a laying on, or placing of the mole or lump. Anon after, the Prieſt ſcattered wine all about, but before the ſcattering, he tooke ſome in a little boule of wood or of earth, and taſted of it, and then offered it to the ſtanders by, to doe ſo likewiſe: and this ceremonie was called Libation; which being done, he tooke off the haire from between the beaſts hornes, and caſt it into the fire for a beginning of the ſacrifice: then turning himſelfe towards the Eaſt, he paſt a crooked knife ouer the top of the head vnto the taile of the beaſt: and laſt of all, after he had preſented and dedicated the beaſt to the gods, he commanded ſome other prieſts (whoſe charge it was) to cut his throat, which they did forthwith: ſome other receiued the blood in baſons, others flaied and waſhed the beaſt, or kindled the fire. The beaſt being waſhed very cleane, preſently the Flamine or chiefe Prieſt turned and ſearched the entrails with an yron knife, noting preciſely, whether all the aforeſaid ceremonies had been well performed, and whether the gods were propitious. This yron knife was long, with an Iuorie haft ſet with braſſe nailes of Cyprus, and the pommell of ſiluer: for it was not lawfull to touch the entrails with the hand, for feare that the filthineſſe of ſome particular men ſhould mar and make void the ſacrifices. After all was well reuiewed and ſeene, the Prieſts that cut vp the ſacrifice, tooke out certaine portions of the entrails, and of euery limbe of the beaſt, rubbed them with wheat flowre, preſented them in paniers to the high prieſt, who laid them vpon the Altar, and burnt them in the fire; into which it was forbidden to caſt any wood of the oliue or lawrell tree, or any other that bare a very thicke rind, or whoſe ſtocke was hollow, or had holes, to burne the

Lib.7. cap.9.

ſacri-

ſacrifice of the gods with, becauſe ſuch kinds of wood were held for vnluckie preſages. The pieces of fleſh offered to the gods being conſumed, the ſacrificers fell to feaſting, and as long as the feaſt laſted, ſung the praiſes of the gods, and daunced about the Altars at the ſound of certain ſongs, and ſome inſtruments of muſicke. Theſe be the words of Doctor *Peucer.*

Now as the Romanes haue carefully obſerued and reteined the ceremonies of their ſacrifices: ſo we may gather out of *Titus Liuius*, that they haue often by publike authoritie condemned new Idols and ſuperſtitious religions brought in by ſome particular men. Not onely the bodies (ſaith he) began to languiſh, but alſo a fantaſticall & new-deuiſed religion crept into the minds. Some Deuiners (that make ſale of ſuperſtitious ſouls) caried into houſes certain new ceremonies: In the end, the chiefe men of the citie not able to endure this ſhamefull diſorder, to ſee in euery lane, ſtreet, and chappell ſtrange and new inuentions for appeaſing of the gods, charged the Ædiles to take order, that men ſhould adore no other gods but thoſe of Rome, and that in their ſeruice they ſhould follow the ceremonies that were moſt vſed in the countrey. In one place, where he deſcribeth the ſecond Punicke war, he ſaith; So long did the warre laſt, and the happie and vnhappy euents gaue ſo diuers a ſhaking, not ſo much to the fortune as to the minds of men, and a kind of ſuperſtition come from other places had taken ſuch hold of the citie, that men or gods ſeemed to be changed, and growne other than they were wont to be. The Roman ceremonies were deſpiſed, not in ſecret only, betweene wals, and within houſes; but alſo in the ſtreets, in the market place, in the Capitoll a man ſhould ſee flocks of women ſacrificing and praying to the gods, but not after the faſhion of the countrey. The Prieſts and Deuiners had gotten the maſterie of human thoughts. The Ædiles, & Triumuiri or criminall Iudges (being roundly ſhaken vp by the Senate, becauſe they oppoſed not themſelues againſt this diſorder) as one day they would haue driuen ſome companie from the place, and ouerthrowne the prouiſions for ſome ſacrifices, were in danger to be ſoundly beaten. This euill being grown to ſuch head, that there was no hope to haue it redreſſed by the inferior Magiſtrats, the Senat authoriſed *M. Attilius* Prætor of Rome, to free the people from thoſe ſuperſtitions: who in a ſolemne aſſemblie read the decree of the Senat, ordaining That they who had bookes of predictions, oriſons, or the manner how to ſacrifice, ſhould deliuer them into his hands; expreſly forbidding any to offer ſacrifice in publike, or in any ſacred place after the new manner. Thus ſaith *Titus Liuius.* *Lib. 41. Decad.*

For this cauſe *Cicero* condemning nocturnall and ſtrange Ceremonies, magnifieth the ſeueritie of the ancient Romans, and the authoritie of the Senat and Conſuls, who with force of armes puniſhed and put downe the celebration of the feaſts of *Bacchus.* For extraordinarie nouelties haue alwaies bin ſuſpected of the Romans, as alſo the conuenticles of people gathered together in one place, fearing that ſedition would follow thereof. Vpon this conſideration the young *Plinie* obeying the commiſſion of the Emperor *Traian*, diſperſed the congregations of the Chriſtians. And many tyrants haue ſuffred thoſe that made profeſſion of the true Religion to liue peaceably at home, but would not ſuffer them to aſſemble, nor communicate together. *Dio* writeth, That the knight *Mecenas* counſelled *Auguſtus* to maintaine with all care the old Roman ſuperſtition, and to force all other ſuperſtitions to follow that: yea and to repreſſe and puniſh as wel in regard of Religion, as of the common ſtate, ſuch as would bring in an innouation or new ceremonies in Religion: becauſe vnder colour hereof many alterations were proiected, and miſchieuous factions made, which would bring forth *Lib. 52.*

Lib. 1. & 3. De Colleg. & corp.

Cap. 5. de Apologetic.

conspiracies, seditions, and such other confusions, the enemies of a state. To this the Lawyer *Martian* had regard when he said, That it is not forbidden that men should assemble together because of Religion: but that the same is not permitted but to the fraternities or societies that are allowed. In another place he saith, that no fraternitie or fellowship is lawfull, if the Senat and the Emperor doe not approoue it. In this sense *Tertullian* said, That there was an ancient ordinance, importing, that none should be canonised or deified by the Emperour without the approbation of the Senate. And therefore, *Tiberius*, when he would out of his Imperiall authoritie haue put Christ into the number of the Gods, was withstood by the Senate, and letted from proceeding further. And it may be, that such decrees haue beene drawne out of the lawes of *Romulus*, or of the twelue tables, prohibiting the Romans to worship other gods than those of their countrey. *Cicero* following such decrees ordaineth in his lawes; *That none should haue his gods apart, nor should worship in his house any new or strange ones, except they haue beene first receiued by publike authoritie. That all should haue the chappels builded by their fathers, and be content therewith.* The consideration whereof occasioned the Pagans to persecute with all extremitie the Religion of the Christians, as new, and repugnant to reason and to the discourse of humane wisedome. The

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 10. of his Eccles. hist.

persuasion of *Æmilian* gouernor of Africa vnder the persecution of *Valerianus* and *Galienus* Emperours, sheweth what opinion the ancient Idolaters had of our Religion: see here a fragment of his Oration to *Dionysius* bishop of Alexandria and to other Christians driuen into exile. *I haue acquainted you particularly with what gentlenesse our lords entreate you. For they suffer you to liue peaceably, so as you would returne to that which verie nature teacheth, to worship the gods that are the protectors of this Empire, and to forget your manners and fashions repugnant to Nature; What answer yee hereunto? I thinke, seeing they persuade you to become more wise, that you will not vnthankefully disdaine their clemencie.* In the Edict of *Maximinian* one may see the

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 18.

accusations that those old Idolaters alleaged against the Christians.

Moreouer, as this pretence and collour was a plausible thing with the wisemen of the world, so likewise the secrets of the truth were not reuealed vnto them: which was the cause that they esteeme the articles of the Christian religion as discourses of mad men; witnesse that which Saint *Luke* writeth in the

Chap. 26.

Acts of the Apostles: For when Saint *Paul* yeelded a reason of his faith and doctrine before *Portius Festus* the gouernour, and *Agrippa* the king, *Festus* accused him that too much learning had made him mad. Therefore Saint *Augustin* hath

Lib. de Vtilit. credendi. cap. 13.

said verie well, *That in so great a diuersitie of opinions, no man can safely distinguish foolishnesse from true Wisedome, if he beleeue not that God is, and that aboue all things he embrace his holy Word by Faith.* So as, they that will frame themselues to Religion, must begin by Faith. A little after he setteth downe this difference betweene the Christians and Pagans, that the one sort command men to beleeue in Christ, without asking wherefore; the other will haue men yeeld an euident reason for it. But not the Romans alone haue beene strickt obseruers of the ceremo-

Valer. Maxim. lib. 1. cap. 1.

nies, and haters of nouelties, but other Nations also haue done the like. The Scythians were not so barbarous and vnapt to be taught, but they could conceiue what after-claps might fall, if all men should be suffred to bring in and follow at their pleasures, new deuotions, in an age so superstitious: and therefore they kild their king *Scyles*. He could not away with the custome of the

Herodot. lib. 4.

countrey, but liked that of the Grecians better, among whom he had beene brought vp from his child-hood, and that so far foorth as he was inducted into the fellowship of *Bacchus*. The Scythians, who condemne the Grecians because of

of their Bacchanalls, and cannot be brought to beleeue that a God ſhould be the inuentor of ceremonies where the perſons ſhew themſelues furious and mad; perceiuing that their king was of that ſect, eſtabliſhed his brother *Octamaſades* in his place, who hauing intrapped *Scyles* that was fled towards *Sitalces* king of Thracia, made his head be ſtricken off. So carefull obſeruers were the Scythians of their cuſtomes, and ſeuere puniſhers of thoſe that offred to bring new-fangled ſuperſtitions into their religion.

I doe not alleage theſe things, as if I would approoue the opinion of thoſe who hold, That two contrarie religions may not indifferently be tollerated in one kingdome or countrey, thinking it a thing that cannot hold but it muſt bring great trouble to the ſtate. For as we muſt confeſſe, that when the prince or magiſtrat, to maintaine his greatneſſe, beareth with the one ſide and treadeth downe the other, and vnder pretence of religion ſtirreth vp leagues and factions, there muſt needs grow ſeditions thereby, ſuch as haue beene ſeene both heretofore and in our time: ſo we may hold for certaine, That ciuile wars will ceaſe, if the prince beare his drawne ſword equally betweene both parties, without leaning either to the right hand, or to the left, except it be to take off the heads of the Authors of tumults ſeditions and factions, without reſpect of perſons. To ſay truely, and pollitickly withall, the profeſſion of true Religion neuer brings of it ſelfe any changes or alterations of States well eſtabliſhed: but the changes come when the prince mainteineth and wilfully endureth an old ſuperſtition, without any true reaſon or ſound iudgement, but onely becauſe it ſo pleaſeth him. The verie Turkes ſhew themſelues more equall and indifferent, who in their ſpacious Empire tollerate diuers Religions, without forcing the conſciences of their ſlaues in regard of their bodies. That is ſeene at this day in Ieruſalem in the Temple of our Sauiours ſepulchre, where the Latins, Grecians, Armenians, Georgians, Mareonites, Abyſſins, and others (making profeſſion of Chriſtianiſme) haue their peculiar ceremonies, which they exerciſe quietly in the ſame place one after another, although there be great hate and grudge betweene them. It is reported of *Solyman* Emperour of the Turkes who died in the ſiege before Ziget, that when he was admoniſhed by the father of the Mahometiſts whom they call Muphti, and by the Cadileſchers or Arch-biſhops, and by ſome of his Baſſaes, to baniſh out of his territories the Iewes, the Chriſtians, and others of religion contrarie to the Turkiſh, or elſe compell them to become Mammelucks and to turne Catholikes of *Mahomet*; he ſhewed vnto them out at a window (that looked towards a garden ſet with ſundrie hearbs and flowers) a certaine ſquare that was full of flowers all of differing collours, ſaying vnto them; *As yond difference and diuerſitie of hearbs and flowers doth not any way hurt but exceedingly recreate the ſight and ſmell: ſo the ſundrie Religions that are in my Empire are rather a helpe than a charge to me, ſo long as my ſubiects liue peaceably and obey in all things my commandements. It is better therefore to let them liue after their faſhion, and to follow their owne Religion, as my predeceſſors gaue them leaue to doe, than to raiſe troubles, and to ſee my ſtate brought to deſolation. For that were to pluck vp all theſe flowers, and to haue but one collour: and then what ſhould I doe elſe but vncloath this garden of his lively hue and beautie?* The like mooued the Emperour *Numa* in former times, to inhibit by Edict all calling of any manin queſtion for the matter of Religion. *Alexander Seuerus* had the ſame conſideration, who for all he was a Pagan, allowed the Chriſtians a temple within the citie of Rome. *Traian* and *Adrian* graunted the like before him. Finally, *Conſtantine* ſurnamed the Great proſpered eueric way, becauſe he ſuffred the Chriſtians to haue certaine

places appointed them for the exerciſes of their Religion, maugre the oppoſitions of all the ancient idolaters for the hindring of the ſame.

In Germanie, the eſtabliſhing of peace in the cauſe of Religion, ratified, and often confirmed by the ſtates of the Empire, doth ſtill continue, to the great aduantage and benefit of the whole nation: and ſo far is it off that ſuch eſtabliſhment engendreth troubles or ſeditions; that (contrariwiſe) the cruell wars and vnreconcileable rancours raiſed before vnder the cloake of Religion, are, and haue beene of a long time repreſſed and quenched. So that we ſee in diuers places husbands, wiues, fathers, mothers, children, brothers, ſiſters, and kinsfolks liue quietly in their houſholds, in their affaires, trades and trafficks, and without any ſtir acquit themſelues of their charge and duties. And this is ſeene eſpecially in a verie famous Imperiall citie, which containeth within her walls fiue States of the Empire that haue place & voice in the Diets, and adhere to the ceremonies of Rome: neuertheleſſe the ſame citie maketh profeſſion of a contrarie religion, enioyeth peace, and among ſo many contrarie ſides maintaineth her libertie in reſt and quietneſſe. If we may not hope for one onely true Religion, in all Chriſtendome, and a full reuniting of the hearts of all thoſe that are called Chriſtians, yet God grant that theſe times ſomewhat peaceable may laſt and continue alwaies. For there are but too many turbulent ſpirits, whoſe feet and hands itch, and who deſire nothing elſe but to be ſtirring, or (as it is in the old prouerbe) to ſee the water troubled that they might fiſh therein. Whereby we may gather, that wiſe men doe (for good cauſe) deteſt the crueltie of thoſe who thinke, that the beſt way to keepe their ceremonies, is, with ſword and fire in one hand, and with ropes and water in the other, to ſet vpon all thoſe that run not a courſe with them in the matter of human traditions. I ſpeake not of obſtinate Heretikes, that ouerthrow the articles and ground of Faith, nor of ſeditious fellowes that trouble publike States, and will not acknowledge the ſuperiorities and powers that are ordained by God. Religion would be free, it taketh no root in forced minds, there is nothing gotten of it by violence. *Who will impoſe this neceſſitie vpon me* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *either to beleeue that which I condemne, or not to beleeue that which I approoue?* For there is nothing ſo voluntarie as Religion, which, in a mind that abhorreth it, decaieth and fadeth away. And this ſheweth (as was ſaid not long ſince by an Ambaſſador of a mightie king) That the ſoule (the nobleſt part of man, and a beame of the diuine Eſſence) when it commeth once to be illuminate by the light of the Goſpell, cannot be ſo preſſed with the miſeries of war, nor conſtrained by rigor of torments, that it can embrace a doctrine which ſhe iudgeth to be falſe, idolatrous, and profane: conſidering, that neither flatteries, nor promiſes, nor violent courſes, nor tortures, are the things that diſcouer the truth of ſaluation to make the ſame to be receiued: but that commeth by a louing and gracious conference, by Counſels and quiet diſputations, ſuch as the ancient Church had ſome, but our time hath not yet ſeene any of them.

Saint *Auguſtine* is of opinion, That a man ſhould perſuade and maintaine Religion rather by inſtructions and admonitions, than by commandements and threatnings: Therefore if therein ye offer violence, and force the conſciences of men, you make (ſaith he, ſpeaking to princes) that your ſubiects become worſhippers of your mantles, and are no more the ſeruants of God. This rough dealing begetteth in mens hearts contempt of Religion, and is the cauſe, that the conſcience in ſtead of the pure ſeruice of God (making doubt of that ſeruice which ſhe is drawne vnto by force, or abhorring it in her ſelfe, and not able ſafe-

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ly to returne to that which ſhee was made to leaue) begins to grow careleſſe, and then to run into diuers thoughts, and at laſt plungeth her ſelfe in the gulfe of profanitie, carnall libertie, and atheiſme: for mens conſciences are not commanded as their tongues are. Of theſe violent courſes commeth robbing and ſlaying, contempt of great men, conſpiracies againſt their perſons and ſtates: many taking pleaſure to torment the conſciences of men, to the end that by this inuention they may open the gap to the miſeries which their ſeditious leagues, and their ambitious, madde, and cruell counſels haue brought foorth: witneſſe the great kingdom ſo much beaten with the winds of the League, of ſedition, of profaneneſſe and atheiſme. Such euils neuer take place in their hearts that loue their Religion ſincerely, and onely for her ſelfe, not for any other reſpect: for (as Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith) There is none but God that is the king of conſciences. Furthermore, it was neuer ſaid, heard, or ſeene, that one Chriſtian put another Chriſtian to death openly, by the hands of a tormentor, for matter of Religion, though they agreed not together in ſome articles, ſo long as there was no manifeſt blaſphemie or impietie. I will note one example of *Priſcilian*, who was once a Biſhop: He being declared an heretike in ſome Synods, and namely that of Burdeaux, by Saint *Martin* and other Orthodoxall Biſhops, vpon the falſe and intollerable opinions by him ſet abroch: it hapned that *Itacus* and *Vrſatus*, Biſhops likewiſe, mooued with the zeale of Chriſtian Religion, accuſed *Priſcilian* to the Emperour *Maximinus*, and followed the cauſe ſo hotely, that *Priſcilian* and ſome thouſands of his followers were put to death. For which cauſe *Sigebert*, a Monke of Saint *Benets* Order, procured, that S. *Martin* and many other Biſhops aſſembled againe, ratified the condemnation of the hereſie of the *Priſcillianiſts*, and (of the other ſide) excommunicated *Itacus* & all his adherents: yea, and from that time all they were called *Itacians*, and held for heretikes, who, according to the opinion of *Itacus*, maintained that they who erred in matter of Religion, ought to be put to death. Finally, *Dominicus*, author of the Order of the *Iacobins*, was the firſt that among Chriſtians brought vp the puniſhment of fire for Religion: and ſtill at this day the Friers of his ſect reteine and hold the title of Inquiſitors of the faith, and make themſelues terrible in many places by reaſon of their crueltie and rigour. It is ſaid, that his mother, when ſhe was with child of him, and readie to lie downe, dreamed that ſhee was deliuered of a great dogge bearing in his throat a burning fire-brand. It is likely that this fire-brand ſignified the fires that this good Frier firſt kindled, whereby an infinit number of people in Chriſtendome haue ſince been burnt and conſumed to aſhes.

CHAP. XIX.

The execrable ſacrifices and wicked actions of Iulian *the Apoſtata. Memorable Collections concerning humane Sacrifices.*

ALthough the life and death of the Emperour *Iulian* be ſet foorth by *Ammian Marcellinus*, *Libanius*, and other followers of that prince, in the tearmes of honour, with great commendation of his wiſdome, pietie, juſtice, temperance, and other vertues: yet the other Hiſtorians, namely the Eccleſiaſticall, agree together in the rehearſall of his wicked deportments, and horrible death: for they write, how that *Iulian* being wounded with a blow of a launce as darted from heauen, in a certaine battell he had againſt the Perſians, taking a handfull of his owne blood, hee threw it vp into the aire with theſe blaſphemous words

words against our Sauiour Christ, from whose seruice he was vngraciously reuolted: *Galilean, thou hast got the victorie in the end.* Thus writeth *Theodoret, Cassiodorus* in the Tripartite Historie, and *Nicephorus*, who also reporteth, that *Iulian* at the point of death, with a force altogether extraordinarie, opened his eyes, and cried out (seeing) *Iesus, Nazarite, glut thy selfe.* Saint *Ierome* writeth of his death as followeth: The Emperour *Iulian* going to make warre against the Parthians, vomited out seauen books against *Iesus Christ*, and felt (as himselfe was wont to say) that from the beginning he had to doe with the Galilean: at last he receiued the reward of his stinking tongue, his bodie being pierst through with a launce. After that *Iulian* had abandoned himselfe to the seruice of Idols, he grew the craftiest persecuter of all, ouerthrowing more people by faire speeches, promises, rewards, and publike employments, than all the other Emperours had done by tortures and punishments. He was so subtill and so beaten in cosining tricks, that he induced the poore Iewes to rebuild the Temple of Ierusalem: but they were diuerted from their enterprise by earth-quakes, and thicke flames of fire that came vp from the foundations. But he had a death worthie of his life: for (to spight and vexe the Christians, whom he had euer since his reuolt persecuted and afflicted many wayes by his cunning sleights and odious practises) he published certaine Edicts, set open the temples of Idols, and commaunded that all should offer sacrifice to them; In his coyne hee caused *Iupiter* to bee grauen, whom he made to set the Diademe about his forhead, *Pallas* to apparell him, and *Mercurie* to giue him the Scepter. He ordeined also that in his Statues, *Iupiter* should be represented like to him, comming (as it were) out of heauen, and presenting vnto him the Diademe and purple Robe, markes of Imperiall dignitie; besides, *Mars* and *Mercurie* beholding him, and with a winke of the eye, giuing (as it were) a certificate, that he was both eloquent and valiant. Moreouer, hee determined to establish againe the Oracle of *Apollo*, which since Christes birth (as all other Oracles) had beene made dumbe at the appearing of the Prince of Light and Truth, ouerthrowing the power of darkenesse. For this end hee sent *Oribasius* his Physician and Treasurer to the citie of Delphos, who being arriued there, and going about his businesse, the wicked spirit spake, and told him in plaine tearmes set downe by *Cedrenus*, this which followeth:

Goe hence, and tell your Prince, that now
The Curtaine wrought so curiously
Is fallen downe; and none heereby
My words regard or once allow.
The Bay-tree whence all Oracles came
Is vanisht: and the water of skill
Whose Christall Brookes did yeeld such fame
Shall bee in silence buried still.

To this agrees the Verses alleaged by *Porphyrius* in the booke of sacred Philosophie, in this sence:

Ah, wee is me! Three footed stooles lament:
For your Apollos *speech is meerely drownd.*
A heauenly Light workes mine extinguishment,
Whose force, with force, doth cast me to the ground.

Wee reade, that the like (welneere) befell the Emperour *Augustus*, who hauing made a sacrifice of a hundred oxen, sent to demaund of the Oracle at Delphos,

Lib.3.cap.25. Lib.6.cap.47. Lib.10.cap.35.

Ruffin.lib.1.ca. 32. of his eccles. historie.

Sozom.lib.5. Cap.16.

In his abridgment of hist.

phos, who should succeed him in the Empire. The wicked spirit after a short pause, declared in three Greeke verses why the Oracles had left speaking, and answered of Iesus Christ newly borne, and of his power, this that followeth:

A new borne Hebrew Babe, King of the Gods most blest,
Commands me to dislodge, and hie me hence apace
Into the deepest gulfe of the most darksome place.
Therefore our Altars leaue, and neuer aske the rest.

This Oracle receiued, *Augustus* was no sooner returned to Rome, but he caused a great altar to be set vp in the Capitol with this Inscription, ARA PRIMOGENITI DEI, that is, *The Altar of the first borne God.*

But to come againe to *Iulian* the Apostata: it is written of him, that not content to haue committed these faults aboue mentioned, hee vsed to helpe himselfe with magicall sacrifices most detestable: for, going from Carras against the Persians, he went into a caue, where hee made certaine horrible sacrifices, which hauing ended in the presence of some that were his most familiars, hee made all the doores be shut and sealed, appointing good guards before the same. But the newes of his death in that warre being brought, some curious persons coueting to know what *Iulian* made to bee so carefully guarded, opened the doores of the caue, where being entred, they found a woman hanged by the haires, her hands stretched abroad, her breast opened, out of which this cruell Apostata had pluckt the liuer, to know by inspection thereinto, what should be the issue of his voyage against the Persians. *Cedrenus*, *Godfrey* of Viterbo, and *Abbas Vrspergensis* in their Chronicles, write, That in Antioch and elsewhere in caues and secret places, there were found coffers full of dead mens heads, and many bodies in the bottome of welles, which were the remnants of *Iulians* sacrifices. *Ælius Lampridius* reporteth, That the villanous monster *Heliogabalus*, once Emperour of Rome, practised this manner of cruell ceremonie called *Anthropomantia*, chusing (to that end) many faire young Gentlemen throughout all Italie, and whose parents were liuing, that the sorrow and mourning for them might be the greater. But the wretch went not long vnpunished for his so hainous offences: for within a while after he was murdered, and his bodie cast into a priuie, where it lay vnburied, and there rotted. *Dio* witnesseth, that the Emperour *Adrian* (a prince otherwise adorned with many vertues) esteemed greatly of such sacrifices, so farre, as in Ægypt hee offered vp *Antinous* his Bardash, as faire a youth as any was in his time, and after placed him in the number of the gods; caused a citie to bee builded in honour of him, called *Antinoa*, and images to bee set vp throughout all the Roman empire, of which some are yet standing at Rome. The Emperour *Valerian* was much giuen to such trades and sacrifices of Sathan; hee slew and offered children, pluckt out their entrails, to gheese by them what was to come, renting the creatures of God, and persuading himselfe that such abominations would bee a great furtherance to his affaires. But all his gouernment was vnfortunate, and at the last (defeated in a set battell) hee was taken prisoner by *Sapor* king of Persia, who vsed him for a foot-stoole to get a horse-backe on: and hauing languished some yeares in this miserie, he was afterwards flaied aliue most pitifully.

In the life of *Adrian.*

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Such horrible and most execrable oblations were once much vsed among the Hetruscians, of which a man may see yet at this day the ceremonies in tablets of marble, and one among the rest at Perousa, verie whole and plaine; which

which I haue beheld with great admiration. Now to omit the sacred Histories, where we read that sacrificings of men haue beene practised among the idolatrous and reuolting Iewes after the manner of the Pagans; it appeareth that such sacrifices haue beene much vsed in France. Vpon which occasion many thinke (and of this number is one *Geruasius*, alleaged by *Robert Gaguin*) that the citie Arles in Prouance hath taken her name, the Ancients hauing called it Aralata. For in a place that is hard by the citie, called La Rochette, there stood two pillars, and vpon them an altar of stone, vpon which the people (meeting there euerie yeare the first day of May) offred human sacrifices for the prosperitie of the citie. Their custome was to buy three yong men, vpon whom they bestowed good store of daintie victuals, and fatned them a whole yeare; and after at the day appointed they cut their throats vpon this Altar, and with their blood sprinkled all the people standing deuoutly round about the pillars. This bloodie ceremonie was abolished by Saint *Trophimus*, one of the seuentie and two disciples of our Sauiour Christ, sent out of Iudea into Prouance; who taught such as heard and beleeued him, That they were not to besprinkle their bodies and garments with the blood of sinnefull men; but their soules, with the precious blood of Iesus Christ. These furious & mad superstitions are yet at this day in vse among the Caribes a people of the West Indies, as *Ierom Benzo* affirmeth after others. They carrie with them to the war an Idoll named *Chiappe*, and before euer they put themselues into the field, they cut the throats of the faireſt and lustiest prisoners they haue, of which they make many sacrifices, and rub this Idoll all ouer with their blood, and after that, with the flesh of the bodies they make great cheere among themselues. Who so desireth to know more of such wicked and cruell sacrifices of the Heathen, shall finde the ceremonies of them briefely and exactly gathered out of ancient Authors by *Lilius Gyraldus* in his Historie of the gods, and seuenteenth booke.

Lib.19. of the Hist. of France.

Lib.2. of the New world.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Penates, of the Palladium, and of the bucklers named Ancilia, among the Romans. Memorable obseruations of other Images and fatall pictures.

THe Vestalls were so much honoured among the Romans, that if any one of them would walke foorth of the cloister of their goddesse *Vesta*, it was not lawfull for her to goe without hauing certaine Mace-bearers before her, and a great traine of ladies of the citie wayting on her, because of the reuerence euerie one bare to their order. These religious virgins kept verie carefully the sacred fire in a secret place, worshipped the Palladium, and the gods Penates brought from Troy, for a luckie pawne of the lastingnesse of the Roman Empire; with so many ceremonies or superstitions, that it was not lawfull for any to come neere the said things, saue the Vestalls & the chiefe bishops. It is the manner of poore idolaters, the more such bables and deuises are hid from them, the more earnestly to desire them; and to thinke that some great misteries and much vertue lie hidden vnder them. Such is the nature of the common people that they thinke all is good and profitable which they vnderstand not. They write that these Penates or gods brought from Troy, were two images but grossely hewen, hauing faces like two yong children, sitting, and holding each of them a dart. Some thinke that the Palladium, rescued by *Æneas*, was an image of *Apollo* or of *Neptune*: others, that it was a Troian *Pallas* shewed at Rome,

Alexander ab Alexandria. lib.5. cap.17.

Rome, at Lauinium, and other places. To be short, Authors differ about it, and it skilled not greatly if there were no newes at all of these Idols, nay it were a good turne if they had neuer beene. But seeing it is so, let vs proceed with that we meane to say, and lay open the miserie of the Pagans, and the horrible blindnesse they haue beene stricken with for the space of so many ages. *Pierius* telleth diuers things of this Palladium, and holdeth that it was a buckler that fell from heauen as the idolaters beleeued. *Apollodorus* writeth, That one named *Ilus* (hauing built a citie called Ilium by the commandement of the Oracle in a chappell vpon a little hill of Phrygia called Ates) praied *Iupiter* to giue him some signe; the next morning at breake of day, he spied before his tabernacle the Palladium, which *Iupiter* had caused to slide downe to the earth. It was an image of three cubits hie, hauing the feet set in such sort as it seemed to walke, carrying a iauelin in her right hand lift vp, and in the other, a distaffe and a spindle. The same *Apollodorus* fastning one fable to another, discourseth of the Palladium somewhat ridiculously: I will set it downe briefely that it may more and more appeare, in what bottomlesse pits of error these wretched idolaters and infidels haue beene plunged. He saith, That *Minerua* hauing beene noursed and brought vp in the house of *Triton* the father of *Pallas*, these two maids gaue themselues to the following of armes, and one day there fell a quarrell betweene them; in the which *Minerua* being vpon the point of doing *Pallas* some hurt, *Iupiter* affrighted therewith put his buckler before, whereat *Pallas* being agast and looking back, was hurt by *Minerua* and so fell downe: *Minerua* exceeding sorie for that was done, made an image resembling *Pallas*, and fastned this buckler to the breast thereof, and then placed the image (for loue) hard by *Iupiter*. A while after a sore pestilence reigning, *Electra* had recourse to this Palladium, and carried it away with her into the countrey where Troy was builded. Afterwards *Ilus* in remembrance of *Electra*, greatly reuerenced the temple which she had caused to be built. *Cedrenus*, a Greeke Historian thinketh that the Palladium was a statue of wood, representing *Minerua*, who is also called *Pallas*. The fame was (saith he) That this Palladium had such vertue through charmes, enchantments, and other such deuilish arts, that the citie where it was kept could neuer be lost. A Philosopher and Priest being a witch named *Asius*, brought and presented it to *Tros* king of the Troians at such time as he tooke in hand to build Ilium: and *Tros* for this priests sake called all his countrey Asia, which before was named Epirrhope. We may see in *Homer*, in *Virgil* and others, that the Pagans were so fetcht in and so miserably deluded that they gaue credit to all these fooliſh toies. The Grecians insisting vpon Oracles, thought that the Troians should remaine inuincible and their citie impregnable, so long as they should be guarded by the Palladium. Therefore *Vlysses* with great cunning stoale it away: and from his hands it fell into the hands of *Diomedes*, who warned by an Oracle (so saith the fable) gaue it to *Æneas* comming into Italy, full sore against his will. And thus was this idoll brought and aduanced into credit. At the length it vanisht into smoake: for in the time of *Nero*, the greatest part of Rome being burnt with some of those temples (and namely that of the goddesse *Vesta*) the Penates, and the Palladium of the Romans were consumed to ashes, witnesse *Cornel. Tacitus*, though I am not ignorant that some other Authors are of another opinion.

Lib. 42. of his Hieroglyph.

Lib. 5. of the Origin. of the gods.

Lib. 15. Annal.

Concerning the bucklers called Ancilia, the Romans had them in deuout keeping. When in the time of *Numa Pompilius* the citie was so infected with the pestilence, that no sacrifices or expiations could remedie the euill: it is said, There

There fell from heauen a buckler of braſſe into *Numas* hands, in which buckler the future aduentures and deeds of the Romans were contained. They thinking that the ſafetie of their citie conſiſted in this buckler, and fearing leaſt it might be ſtolne away, cauſed eleauen other ſuch to be forged by an excellent workeman called *Mamurius*, who made them ſo like that a man could not diſcerne the true one from thoſe that were counterfeit; and being conſecrated to the god *Mars*, they were all committed in keeping to the prieſts named *Salij*. The Ancilia were of an ouall ſhape, more long than broad, as appeareth by a figure of one of them in the other ſide of an image of *Antoninus* the debonaire, repreſented by *Pierius*, and in the faire booke of the ancient funerals publiſhed in Italian, with exquiſite figures, by *Thomas Porcachi*. The ancient Amorrhites had the like idols of gold erected vpon precious ſtones, and had in great eſtimation, which they called, Holy Nymphs. Theſe idols, when they were inuoked and praied vnto, ſhewed to their ſeruants what they were to doe, if we may beleeue *Philo Iudæus*; who ſaith further, That an Angell of the Lord ſeeing he could not burne, nor breake thoſe images, threw them into a bottomleſſe gulfe of the ſea.

Lib. 42. of his Hierogl.

In his Antiquit. of the Bible.

We ſhould haue ſpoken more than inough of theſe Sathanicall coſining tricks (which we ought to deteſt and tread vnder the feet of our thoughts) if immediatly after and a long time ſince the Chriſtian truth was manifeſted in the world, there had not beene ſeene in publike namely among the Grecians, many ſuch fatall images worſhipped with great ſuperſtition. They were called *Stichioſes*, or *Stæchiodes*; the moſt part of which were broken or beaten downe by the Latins after they had poſſeſſed themſelues of Conſtantinople, ſaith *Nicetas*, as followeth. The Latins determined to throw downe the renowmed Statues called *Stæchiodes* (becauſe of the iuſt proportion and ſimmetrie of all their parts) being accounted the forts and fences of Conſtantinople, and inuented to ſerue for a rampier againſt the enemies that would enter into it by force, or ſurpriſe: I know not if with reaſon and truth, or no; aboue all they reſolued to throw downe thoſe that were contrarie to their Nation. They cauſed diligent ſearch to be made for them, and ſpared neither thoſe, nor the images of braſſe, but they were pluckt downe from their pillars and caſt into the fire; no, nor yet the left foot of the braſen horſe placed vpon a quadrangle of marble in the Bulls ſtreet, with all his trappings and furniture; hauing his eares prickt vp, and neying (as it were) at the ſound of the trumpet, carrying a man of a couragious and heroicall repreſentation: a worke moſt admirable, becauſe of the exquiſite workemanſhip of all his parts and members. Some ſay this horſe is the Pegaſus, and the knight *Bellerephon:* others affirme, That the man is *Ioſuah*, as his furniture ſheweth, becauſe ſtretching his right hand towards the chariot of the Sunne and of the Moone, he ſeemeth to ſtay it, and holdeth in his left hand a globe of braſſe. Hauing broken off this foot of the horſe, they found within the ſame a mans image, reſembling welneere a Bulgarian, which image was tranſpierced and tied faſt with a naile ſouldred with molten lead that enuirond it of all parts. The Latins made this image to be molten; not for that they feared the Bulgarians (as any man that would miſtake them, might imagin) but becauſe they ſought all meanes to ſettle themſelues in the poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, hauing an eie to all occurrents they would let nothing ſtand that they thought might preiudice and hinder them. The ſame *Nicetas* reporteth, That the Emperour *Emanuel* lead away with the ſame ſuperſtition (being vpon the point of going to make war in Hungarie) cauſed a image, ominous to the

At the end of the Annals.

Lib. 5. of his Annals.

Hungarians

Hungarians to bee throwne downe, and a tombe called the Romane, to be repayred, thinking by ſuch exploits to bring an alteration to the affaires of the two States, by extenuating that of Hungarie, and eſtabliſhing that of the Empire.

Theophylus Emperour of Greece is taxed likewiſe for hauing giuen credit to the magicall impoſtures of the Patriarch *Iohn*. It hapned one day that a certaine nation ſubiect to the Empire mutined, and roſe in armes vnder the leading of three Captaines, who aſſaulted *Theophylus* in three ſeuerall places, which put him to a ſhrewd after-deale: The Patriarch came and exhorted the Emperour to take courage and to hope well, prouided alwayes that he would bee ruled by him. His counſell was, to haue three great brazen hammers made, which ſhould bee put into the hands of three ſtrong men, who at a certaine houre of the night ſhould meet in the Euripus of the Cirque, where among other ſtatues of braſſe, there ſtood one that had three heads: and when the Patriarch ſhould bid ſtrike, theſe men were to ſtrike at thoſe heads with all their force, till they made them fall to the ground, as if it had beene at one ſtroake. The Emperour liked this counſell well; after mid-night, the Patriarch hauing on a ſecular habit becauſe he would not be knowne, came with the three men to the ſtatue, and hauing vttered a charme which tooke away all vertue from the Statue, enioyned the men to ſtrike vpon the heads by turnes one after another. Two of them laid on ſo ſtoutly, that they feld two heads to the ground: the third made that which remained to hang a tone-ſide, but it was not beaten downe. The like hapned to the Captaines of the Rebels: for when they came to handie-ſtroakes with the Lieutenants of *Theophylus*, two of the captaines were ſlaine in the place: the third was wounded, but not to death, yet in ſuch ſort, that not being able to goe any more to the war, and his troups growne weake, they returned home to their houſes. The ſame *Zonara* writeth of *Alexander* brother to *Leo*, That hauing asked the Soothſayers if he ſhould liue any long time, they anſwered him, He ſhould; ſo as he would cauſe tuskes and ſtones to be faſtened to the Boare of braſſe that ſtood in the Theatre: and that this was the ſigne that he ſhould hold out againſt his brother *Leo*. They gheſſed well in the compariſon that they made of this man (giuen ouer to gourmandize, and all that belongeth thereto) with a hogge: and he (more beaſt than the verie beaſts) giuing credit to theſe Soothſayers, did what they had counſelled him. The ſame Author, in the life of the Roman Emperor ſurnamed *Lacapenus*, ſaith, That there ſtood vpon the top of the Arch of the Xerolophe, towards the weſt, a ſtatue repreſenting *Simeon* Duke of Bulgaria, and that the Emperour was counſelled by ſome to breake downe the head of this ſtatue, promiſing that thereupon the Duke ſhould preſently die: As ſoone ſaid, ſo ſoone done; and at the ſame inſtant *Simeon* died of a paine in the ſtomacke, of which within a little while after newes was brought to the Emperour. *Euphroſyne* wife to the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* (caried away with the like ſuperſtition, and deſiring to know what was to come) cauſed the ſnowt of the Calydonian Boare to bee cut off, who with briſteled haire and open throat ſet vpon a Lion in a great place of Conſtantinople. Moreouer, ſhe made other ſtatues to be mangled, and ſome to haue their heads paſht and battered with ſtroakes of hammers, ſaith *Nicetas* in his Annals: where he writeth, that afterwards, the Emperour *Iſaacius Angelus* cauſed this Boare to bee remooued into the great palace, meaning thereby to repreſſe the rage of the people, vnruly and like to a Boare. In the ſame place he deſcribeth at large a certaine ſtatue of *Minerua* ſtanding vpon a pillar in

Zonara in the third Tome of his Annals.

Lib. 3.

the great place of Constantinople, which was broken in pieces by the people, saying, That this Image had beene made and set vp to draw the Westerlings to the conquest of Constantinople.

Of this kind of superstitious or magicall statues, was that which the Annals of Turkie, printed not long ago, make mention in these tearmes: As *Mahomet* the Turkish Souldan, after the taking of Constantinople, rid vp and down the citie, rauished with the sight of so many stately buildings, comming into the Atmindan, he cast his eye towards a pillar which had three Serpents of brasse winding about it from the head to the foot of the same pillar, seeming to bee but one though they had their three heads. He asked what it signified, and after hurled a battle-axe which he caried in his hands, against the pillar, and therewith strucke one of the heads, and broke off the nether lip; presently there were seene in Constantinople a great number of serpents. Whereupon some counselled him not to touch that serpent any more, for as much as it was long of that statue that there had not been any serpents in the citie till that time. Hence it is, that at this day the same pillar is yet standing: and though (after the nether lip of the brazen serpent thus broken) there entred serpents into Constantinople, yet they neuer hurt any body. There was besides a horse of brasse standing there, and vpon the same a knight, which *Mahomet* made to bee beaten downe: and it was said that this statue kept the plague out of the citie. Vpon this storie, *Iohn Leonclauius*, addeth for exposition this that followeth: *Atmindan* signifieth in the Turkish language that place of Constantinople which the Greeks called *Hippodromos*, that is, the place where they ride and run horses. This pillar of serpents interlaced from the bottome to the top (where their three heads appeare placed in a triangle) is yet standing. I haue heard that *Constantine* in times past placed vpon the same the three-footed-stoole of *Apollos* Oracle in Delphos: whereas it is said, that this image was the cause that no serpents came into Constantinople, such was the opinion of the Greekes, as *Mahomet* vnderstood it. I haue a booke a Manuscript of the buildings of Constantinople, wherin are to be seene many and sundrie such like significations of statues, taught and reuealed by *Apollonius Tyaneus* a famous Magician, as the moderne Greekes affirme at this day. That which the Annals adde of the breaking of the horse of brasse, might breed some scruple in superstitious mindes, and make them thinke that these Idoles should haue some vertue: considering, that now euery yeare in the moneths of Iuly and August, the plague doth ransacke and sweepe away the people of Constantinople. That Summer when I was there, it was thought that in the space of foure moneths there died an hundred and fiftie thousand persons of the plague. The yeare following there died not much fewer.

In his anotar. vpon the Annals of Turkie, *num.* 130.

Heere we may not forget that which *Gregorie* of Tours writeth in a certaine place: The report went (saith he) that the citie of Paris had in old time beene (as it were) consecrated, so that it could not receiue any harme by fire: and there was neuer seene within it any Serpent or Batt. Not long agoe, as they were scowring the vaults of the bridge, to carrie away the filth, whereof they were almost full, they found there a Bat and a Serpent of Brasse, which being caried away from thence, euer since there haue been seene an infinite number of Bats and Serpents in the citie.

Lib. 8 *cap.* 33. hist. Franc.

Experience hath verified, that they who giue light credit to statues, predictions and other such superstitions, though other-whiles they escape vntoucht, or perhaps receiue some aduauntage by it; yet in the end they finde no good by medling with such things, which may easily bee prooued by an infinite number

number of Hiſtories. Among other Examples, that which fell out in the laſt ſiege, and lamentable taking of Conſtantinople, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred fiftie and three is verie memorable. The mindes of the Grecians were bewitched with many fooliſh opinions both old and new, by the helpe of which they hoped to repell the violence of the Turkiſh armie: beſides, they wholly relied (in a manner) vpon an Oracle or ancient Prediction, which was, That a mightie enemie ſhould once be poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of Conſtantinople: but when hee ſhould come into the Market place, ſurnamed of the brazen Bull, hee ſhould be beaten backe and driuen out of the citie by the citizens and Inhabitants, that ſhould meet in the ſame place to make head againſt him. When the Turkes (after many a poynt made) had in the end woon the breach, and beaten backe thoſe that defended it, the moſt part of the Conſtantinopolitans making a ſword and buckler of the ſaid Prediction, ranne in the Market place: whither they drewe the reſt vnto them, hoping from thence to giue their enemies the chaſe, and to ſaue their countrey in that fatall place of the citie. But it fell out quite otherwiſe: for the Greekes grewe ſo faint-hearted, and the enemies purſued their victorie with ſuch furie, that in ſtead of valorous reſiſtance, they met with none but miſerable run-awayes, flying away in crowds by the gate that goeth towards the ſea, and throwing themſelues by thouſands into the Frigats which they there found to ſaue their wretched liues. The guards that warded at that gate, had ſuch a confidence in this falſe Oracle, that ſeeing the people running thither-wards, they ſhut the gate; and becauſe they would not be compelled to open it, they threw the keyes ouer the walles: ſo that the coſinage of the ſpirit of errour was plainely ſeene in the cruell death of the Greekes, and in the ſacking of their head-citie. Wherefore many thinke that this Prediction was the cauſe why the citiſens and ſouldiors ſhewed themſelues ſo looſe and daſtardly, in giuing ouer the walles and breaches of the citie, and retyred vnhappily into that fatall place which they thought was their Sanctuarie; in a word, That they forſooke too ſoone, and before they were forced, the rampiers, which the enemies tooke (as it were) without any paine, hauing an open and free entrance into the citie.

To conclude this chapter, that which *Roderick de Toledo* writeth of a certaine fatal coffer, is no leſſe memorable. King *Roderick* caried away with couetouſnes, made this coffer be opened, a little before the Alarbes and the Saraſins at the inſtigation of the Count *Iulian* (of whom we haue ſaid ſomething in the ſeuenth chapter of the firſt Booke) entred into Spaine; where they defeated the kings armie, kild the king himſelfe, and ſubdued the countrey. There was at that time (ſaith he) a pallace at Toledo which had neuer beene opened in many kings times, and was kept ſhut with many gates; this pallace *Roderick*, againſt all mens opinions, cauſed to be opened, hoping to find great treaſures within it: But he found nothing there but a coffer, and within it a ſheet, about the ſides whereof were written in Latin caracters theſe words in ſubſtance; *When the locks ſhalbe taken off, and the pallace opened, and the coffer look't into to ſee what is in it; it ſhall come to paſſe, That certaine people of the likeneſſe of thoſe that are painted in the ſheet, ſhall inuade Spaine, and bring it vnder their ſubiection.* The king hearing this, was exceeding ſorie for the opening, and commanded that the coffer and the caſtle ſhould be ſhut againe. In this ſheet were ſeene the pictures of the Alarbes, on horſback, with turbans on their heads, hauing long coates of ſundrie collours, holding bowes and cimiters, with cornets diſplaied and lifted

Lib. 3. of the hiſtorie of Spaine. *cap.* 7.

ted high. This painted sight amated the king, and all the great lords of his Realme. Surely, Sathan is euermore like himselfe: for hauing before the comming of IESVS CHRIST, by his Oracles and doubtfull answers (which were destroied by the power of the Sonne of God) seduced most wretchedly the greatest part of the world; he hath since continued by superstitious meanes, and magicall deceits (being his crafts-master and full of cunning deuises) to set vp fatall Statues, Figures, Idols, Images, and pictures, for the deceiuing of curious consciences, so much as possibly in him lieth.

The end of the third Booke.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

What Royall ornaments the Diademe, and the Hat named Citaris were. Obſeruations vpon the gouernment of Conſtantin.

Laurentius Valla a gentleman of Rome, and Chanon of Saint *Iohns* of Lateran, hath written a diſcourſe touching the Donation falſely attributed to the Emperour *Conſtantin:* In the which, he makes himſelfe good ſport with the botcher that patcht vp that donation; ſhewing, that he was ignorant and doltiſh, and courſeth him almoſt from one end of his declamation to the other, by reaſon of his abſurdneſſe euerie way moſt ridiculous: Eſpecially in this, that he taketh the Diademe for a Royall crowne of pure gold, ſet with precious ſtones. This ignorant block (ſaith he) either hath forgotten or neuer knew that the Diademe is a wreathe of cloath or of ſilke; as the Apothegme of *Seleucus* witneſſeth, of whom it is reported, That when the Royall Diademe was brought vnto him, before he tied it about his head, he held it a long while in his hands, faſtning his eies vpon it, and then cried out; *Oh cloath more noble than happie! who ſo knew the great cares, dangers, and miſeries that thou hideſt within thee, hee would not take paines to lift thee once from the ground.* That the aſſertion of *Valla* is like to be true, it appeareth by many places of ancient Hiſtories, ſpecially by one, remarkable in *Iuſtin*, who ſaith, *That* Lyſimachus *alighting off his horſe was ſore hurt in the fore-head with the point of* Alexanders *Iauelin, and they could find no meanes to ſtanch the blood but by tying his fore-head with the Diadem which* Alexander *willingly tooke from his owne head to bind vp the wound withall: which was a preſage to* Lyſimachus *that one day he ſhould be king.* We read alſo, That a certaine flatterer hauing put vpon the head of one of *Cæſars* images a crowne of Lawrell woun'd about a white band, the Tribunes commanded this band to be taken off, and ſent the flatterer to priſon, feigning therein to gratifie *Cæſar*, who was wont to make as if he were angrie when any man ſpake of a king. Theſe Stories doe ſhew, That the ſame which we call a Diademe, was a band either white, or of diuers colours, which the kings tied about their heads, and queenes likewiſe, to the end all might know them by ſuch a marke; and it was firſt inuented by *Bacchus*; for before, kings, in ſteed of wearing Diademes about their heads, carried iauelins, or

Plutarch. in his Morralls.

Lib. 15.

Plutarch. in the life of *Cæſar.*

C. Rhodigin. lib. 24. *cap.* 6. of his Anti-lectures.

Plin. lib. 17. *cap.* 6 *Iuſtin. lib.* 143.

or long ſtaues which the Greekes call *Skeptra*, a word that is yet in vſe, and which we call Scepters. If this that we haue ſaid be not inough to ſatisfie, conſidering that Diademes haue beene particularly affected of the kings of Perſia, one may read that which *Arrianus* writeth of *Alexander*; Who ſome few daies before his death went into a boat to goe and ſee in the marſhes nor far from Babilon, many ſepulchers of the kings of Aſſiria: at which time a ſudden puffe of wind blew off the attire that was vpon his head, and the diademe that was tied about it. The tire that was of ſome weight, fell into the water; the Diademe being carried away with the wind ſtaied in certaine reeds hard by the monuments, where a mariner went to fetch it, and brought it againe to *Alexander*, who tooke it for a preſage of his death. *Plutarch* writeth of *Monima* the Mileſian, wife to *Mithridates*, That this king hauing wooed her verie earneſtly, in ſo much as he ſent her fifteene thouſand crownes, yet ſhe would neuer condeſcend to his deſire, till he had promiſed her marriage, ſent her the Diademe, and called her Queene. Afterwards, *Mithridates* hauing receiued an ouerthrow by *Lucullus*, and fearing leaſt his wiues and ſiſters ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies, as he fled, he diſpatched away a groome of his chamber called *Bachides*, to goe and tell them, That they were to free themſelues from thraldome by voluntarie death: *Bachides* bad them chuſe what death they thought would be leaſt grieuous to them. *Monima* taking the Diademe from her head, tied it about her neck to ſtrangle her ſelfe with it; but being not ſtrong inough, it brake: at which ſhe began to ſay, *O curſed and vnhappie cloath! wilt thou not ſerue me (at leaſt) in this wofull ſeruice?* and therewithall ſhe caſt it to the ground and ſpit vpon it, and ſo held out her throat to *Bachides* to be cut. One of thoſe Romans that were called by the name of *Metellus* was ſurnamed *Diadematus*, for that of a long time he vſed to goe and come through the ſtreets of Rome, hauing his fore-head bound about.

Lib.7. In the life of *Lucullus.* *Plut.* in the life of *Coriolanus.*

The kings of Perſia vſed to weare a high Hat, called Citaris, or Cidaris; with a blew band ſpotted with white, the crowne thereof ſtanding vp and pointed. Which *Plutarch* meaneth when he ſpeaketh of *Darius* the elder ſonne of *Artaxerxes*, whoſe father gaue him the priuiledge to weare the point of his hat ſtanding vp. Of this we may produce another notable teſtimonie out of *Arrianus*, who writeth, That *Baryaxes* the Mede, being taken and brought by the gouernour *Atrobates* to *Alexander*, woare on his head the hat with a high point, calling himſelfe king of the Perſians and Medes. *Quintus Curtius* alſo writeth, That *Alexander* hauing laid aſide the faſhions of the Grecians, bound his head with a Diademe of purple, mingled with white ſuch as *Darius* was wont to weare, and apparelled himſelfe after the Perſian manner. The kings of Armenia vſed this ornament of the head, ſaith *Plutarch* in theſe tearmes: *Tigranes* taking his Royall hat from his head would haue laid it at *Pompeius* feet, &c. This hat he calleth Citaris. All this that we haue alleaged ſheweth the wrong tale of this forger of the Donation, in that which he writeth of the Diademe. *Iuſtus Lipſius* ſheweth both learnedly and diſtinctly the difference betweene the Diadem, and the Perſian hat which had the ſharpe crowne. The vſe of the Diadem is now adaies very common among the Turks; they call it Tulipant, and we Turban: marrie, that which the Souldans weare, is ſet with ſundrie precious ſtones, and is made faſt on the hind-part of the head. *Iohn Leonclauius* writeth, That *Iohannes Saxonius* a Germane of the countrey of Holſatia and a Gold-ſmith, dwelling in a towne neere Conſtantinople called Pera, made a very ſumptuous one for the Souldanneſſe, wife to *Amurath* the third, when *Mahomet*, afterward Souldan was circumciſed.

In the life of *Artaxerxes.* *Lib.6.* of the Viages of *Alex.* *Lib.6.* of his Hiſtorie. In the life of *Pomp.* In his Annot. vpon the 6 booke of the Annals of *Tacitus.* *Cap.*199. of his Pandects of Turkie.

ciſed. As for the Turban, it is a long band of linnen which the Turkes wind about their head, wearing this attire for a badge of valour: and they ſay, that this linnen puts thoſe in mind that goe a war-fare, not to thinke of their returne, but rather to die in the bed of honour, ſeeing they carrie that with them which they may be buried in.

Now for as much as we are entred into ſpeech of this Donation of *Conſtantine* publiſhed heretofore, and in our time in ſo many parts of the the world; namely by *Bartholomew Picerna*, and *Auguſtine Steuchus*, who affirme, that the ſame is written in Greeke in the Popes Librarie at Rome, and that they haue turned it into Latin: we will put the Reader in mind, that the Ancients long after *Conſtantines* time knew not of any ſuch thing, neither is it ſet downe in the old Decrees, as is maintained by *Antoninus* Archbiſhop of Florence, who is ſince canoniz'd and put into the number of Saints. Now it is found inſerted into *Gratians* Decree, in the diſtinction *96. Can. Conſtantinus.* The inſcription calleth it Ancient: but *Nicholas Euerard*, a Ciuilian, maketh a ieaſt of it, and playing vpon the word *Palæa*, or *Palea* (the ſignification whereof the barbarous Canoniſts knew not, but thought it was a word ſignifying Straw) ſaith, That this ſtraw hath brought foorth great ſtore of graine to the Church, whereby her riches are infinitly increaſed; and after hee alleageth among other authorities, that of *Albert de Roſatis*, who writeth, that hee had heard from the mouthes of certaine great perſons, that when this inuention was firſt foyſted in, a voyce was heard crying; *This day a poiſon of aſpes is ſowen in the Church of God*: and that the ſame was found written in certaine old Regiſters; and that in the time of *Boniface* the eight, a learned Preacher had openly fore-told, That the church of Rome ſhould at laſt deſcend to ſuch pouertie as it was in the time of *Sylueſter*, by the ſame degrees that ſhee was gotten vp to the abundance of her temporall riches. *Pius* the ſecond hath ſaid more yet, by report of *Felinus*, in his life time Auditor of the Rota at Rome, to wit, That he wondred at the fooliſhneſſe of the miſerable Canoniſts, who diſputed (ſpeaking of the Donation of *Conſtantine*) of a thing that neuer was. Theſe be *Euerards* words. But beſides *Laurentius Valla*, & many others, as *Raphael Volaterranus*, *Nicholas Cuſanus*, Cardinall, *Æneas Syluius*, afterwards Pope; alſo *Andrew Alciat* a famous Lawyer, and *Huldericus de Hutten*, a Knight of Germanie, haue prooued by manifeſt and ſtrong argtuments, that this Donation was a meere inuention deuiſed for benefit and gaine. And *Iohn Auentine* hath theſe words: *That which is alleaged of Pope* Sylueſter, *and of the donation of* Conſtantine, *is a thing inuented for benefit, falſe, fooliſh, and repugnant to it ſelfe: and I wonder that there are any ſo fooliſh as to beleeue it, and ſo impudent as to maintaine it, ſeeing Pope* Pius *the ſecond, a man well skild in ſuch matters, doth ieaſt at ſuch inuentions, as fables and old wiues tales &c.* And indeed the authoritie of this donation, which did heretofore dazle wel-neere all the world, is now growne ſo weake, as it is ſcarce ſpoken of or mentioned; and there be none but ignorant aſſes, or flattering paraſites that now adayes make reckoning of it.

Now albeit a great Spaniſh Lawyer, named *Didacus Couarruuias*, after he hath rehearſed the opinions of thoſe men that haue ſpoken for and againſt this donation, concludeth at laſt, that the moſt receiued opinion is, That the ſame donation is good and effectuall; ſaying, That it was a thing might be, and it muſt not bee denied becauſe the ancient Authors ſpeake not of it; ſeeing the common opinion is, that *Conſtantine* made it: yet notwithſtanding, it appeareth that he finds himſelfe much troubled about it; for he ſaith preſently after (not daring to ſpeak his mind in Spaine, no more than *Bartolus* durſt in Italie, where diſcourſing of this

In the 1. part of his Chron. towards the end.

In loco Legali à veriſimili.

In L. bene à Zenone in X. Col. c. de quadr. præſcript.

In dialogo. In C. ſolita de Maior. & Obedi.

Lib. 7. cap. 19. of the work entit. *Parergon iuris.* In his Annals *Lib. 2.*

Lib. 4. cap. 16. variar. reſolut.

this donation in the Vniuersitie of Bolonia, he said to his hearers, Take heed, we are vpon the lands of the Church; and therfore I say that this donation is available, though it be well knowne that he was of another opinion) that besides this donation of *Constantine*, the Popes haue a great many tales and ordinances whereby to maintaine well and sufficiently their Iurisdiction at Rome, and the reuenues they haue there and in the other cities, which the Church of Rome and the holy Apostolike See possesseth by the donation of Christian princes, of which *Alciat*, *Steuchus*, *Castaldus*, *Remundus* and others by him alleaged, doe make mention. Whereby it appeareth, that *Couarruuias* thought it was needfull to draw proofes from other places to maintaine the Popes Temporaltie, and Saint *Peters* patrimonie; and that this donation was not of any great force. And surely, whatsoeuer is counterfeit cannot long hold out, but the falsitie thereof will appeare either soone or late. Whereunto another moderne and learned Lawyer of Spaine, called *Ferdinandus Vasquius* seemeth to haue respect, who because he dares not denie or impugne this donation, goeth more cunningly to worke, calleth it in doubt, and at last yeeldeth to the opinion of *Laurentius Valla*. *It may bee* (saith he) *that the consent of people is come thereto: or that these princes being vnlawfull possessioners, haue transported the right thereof (such as they might haue) so as with time the same is conuerted to a lawfull possession.* Let vs adde that which hath been said of the creation of successions, or rather with *Laurentius Valla*, That it is a forged donation. *Iohannes Iouianus Pontanus*, a great personage, vseth this subtill dissimulation: For hauing reckoned vp in order the Seigniories which the Popes haue in Italie, so far is he from speaking of the donation of *Constantine*, that contrariwise he saith, *That it is not a difficultie easie to resolue, namely, to shew by what skilfull meanes the Popes haue gotten so great an Empire: That they may haue attained vnto it by armes, we must not thinke, but rather quite contrarie: for in times past they were peacefull men, and wholly compounded of deuotion.* But who (I pray you) dares maintaine that this excellent Historian (to omit the ancients, as *Eusebius*, who hath written in fiue Bookes the life of *Constantine*; *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, *Euagrius*, *Ruffinus*, *Eutropius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Osorius*, *Beda*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*) was ignorant of that which the Aduocates and defenders of this donation say of it? If hee had made any reckoning of the authoritie thereof, he would not haue left it out, and alleaged other reasons which he thought more auaileable for the establishing of the temporall domination of the Popes. This is plainely to be seene by the silent confession of *Onuphrius Panuinius* an Augustinian, who maketh no mention at all of this donation, which he would not haue forgot (he, that knew all the secrets of the Popes, and had searched into their Registers) if it had been a thing fit to be receiued. *Bodin* writeth, how he had read in the Table of the Vatican Librarie, That a certaine *Iohn*, surnamed of Fingars, wrote this donation long agoe in golden letters; and that in the bottome he added a verse halfe Latine, such as this, *Quem fabulam longi temporis mendacia finxit:* meaning, that this fabulous tale had been inuented of a long while. The more libertie the Church had in the time of *Constantine*, the more her ambition increased: and the Christians seeing the persecution ceased, began to desire diadems and triple-crownes, saith the Lord of *Plessis*. It is out of all question, that *Constantine* did by his Testament diuide the empire of the East, and of the West among his sonnes: and that the dominion not of Italie alone, but also of Rome, and of all the circuit thereof remained in the hands of his successors for the space of a hundred and fortie yeares, vntill the yeare of Christ 401. If the beginning of the temporall domination of the Popes within Rome, and in Italie were exactly collected out of Histories, it could

Lib. 1. *de quæst. illustrif. cap.* 5. *num.* 26.

Lib. 1. of the exploits of *Ferdinand.* 1.

In the life of *Syluester.* 1.

Lib. 1. of his Commonwealth. *cap.* 10.

In his treatise of the Church.

it could not be denied, but that the ſame began at what time the Exarcks were aboliſhed, in the yeare 800, and that by the liberalitie of *Charlemaine*; but enlarged afterwards by *Lewis* the Debonaire, and other Emperours that were Germans.

I haue heard a pleaſant ſtorie of credible perſons, touching this Donation, and I will not forget it: The Pope hauing brought vnder his power the Marquiſate of Ancona, ſent his Legate to the Venetians, to know of them by what right they attributed to their Seigniorie alone, the cuſtomes and other iuriſdictions in the Adriaticke ſea, ſeeing they could ſhew no priuileges or charters for the ſame? They anſwered him cunningly; *That they wondred why any man would require them to ſhew foorth their Priuiledges, ſeeing the Popes had the Originals thereof, and kept them in their cheſts as moſt precious relicks: that it was an eaſie matter to find them, if they would looke well vpon the donation of* Conſtantine, *on the backe ſide whereof theſe priuiledges were written in great letters.* There needs no commentarie vpon this right anſwere of the Venetians. *Sebaſtian Manticola*, a Ciuilian of Padua fathereth this anſwere vpon *Ierome Donat* Ambaſſadour of Venice. When Pope *Alexander* the ſixt (ſaith hee) asked him merily, Of whom the Venetians held theſe rights and cuſtomes of the ſea? he anſwered him preſently; *Let your Holineſſe ſhew me the Charter of Saint* Peters *patrimonie, and you ſhall find on the backe thereof the Graunt made to the Venetians of the Adriaticke ſea.* With the like policie of a forged Donation Pope *Iohn* the ſeauenth would haue ſeazed vpon the Abbay of Saint *Denys*, after the death of *Charlemaine*: but his ſonne *Lewis* the Debonaire hauing ſmelt the deceit, ſent the Pope home againe with a flea in his eare, as *Aimonius* writeth.

In his Treatiſe *De Patria poteſtate pag.* 54.

Lib. 5. *cap.* 37.

CHAP. II.

A memorable diſcourſe of certaine famous Lakes.

THe Lake *Di Garda*, called in times paſt *Benacus*, is the pleaſanteſt Lake in all Italie, when it is calme: if it bee ſtirred with windes, there is much danger in ſailing vpon it. Of this we haue experience daily, and *Virgil* hath deſcribed it long agoe thus;

Tuq́, fluctibus & fremitu aſſurgens Benace marino.

Georg. lib. 2.

Swelling with waues, and roaring like the Sea,

Now although many Authors (namely *Strabo* among the ancient, *Iulius de Iulio à Cœnobio* Ciuilian, among the moderne; *Gregorius Ioſſa* of Bergomo, and *Albert Leander*) haue plentifully ſung the praiſes, and ſet foorth the benefits of this Lake; yet *Sabellicus* in a few words hath comprehended many things. Let vs heare him ſpeake: This lake is the moſt delightfull of all that be in Italie; of more length than largeneſſe. The length thereof from the Weſt of Winter to the North is about thirtie miles: look how much the riuer Mincius taketh from it in the South, ſo much doe the Sarque, & the Ponal giue it againe in the North. The water of this lake is ſo cleare, that a man may ſee to the bottome, except in the very midſt, where it is ſo deepe that one cannot pierce the depth thereof. Looke how pleaſant it is in calme weather, ſo fearefull is it being mooued with the wind, and is no leſſe terrible and ſtirring than the Ocean, ſaith *Virgil* in the place before mentioned. It breedeth many good fiſhes, namely Carps, the fiſhing whereof laſteth from the end of Autumne, to the Spring-time; as dangerous to fiſhers (becauſe they muſt caſt their nets very low) as profitable. The ſhore of each

» each side is set thicke with Oliue-trees, and beautified with gardens full of Ly-
» mon-trees, Orenge-trees, Pomgranat-trees, and Apple-trees of Paradise. That
» part which butteth vpon the territorie of Verona, is embelished on the right
» hand with the cities of Pescara, Lagisa, Bardolina, Garda, (of which this Lake
» hath taken the name) the Towers, and Masec. On the other side ouer against it,
» one may see a little further in the water, Sirmion, where the Poet *Catullus* was
» borne. Then on the other shoare are, Riuoltella, Minerba, Feliciana, Portuesa,
» and Saloda the head citie of the countrey. From thence the high mountaines
» reach towards the North, so far as Riua and Penetra, belonging in old time to the
» territorie of Trent. Aboue the castle of Penetra, there is a village called Naco,
» whereof many coniecture that this Lake was in times past called Benaco, or Pe-
» naco, that is to say neere to Naco. Thus writeth *Sabellicus*. Now this I haue ob-
serued, That this Lake, and the other memorable Lakes which I haue seene, doe almost ordinarily grow great, or are made and compounded of riuers and brookes that fall downe from the high mountaines, and run violently thorow the streight valleis vntill they haue gotten the plaine field, where they roll faire and softly as if they had lost their breath, and so by certaine chanels (where they take their force againe) goe and yeeld themselues into the Lakes which receiue them. Witnesse hereof the Lake of Como, called of the Ancient Latinists *Larius*; a word that signifieth a prince in the old language of the Hetruscians, who called a prince, Arens and Larum: as who would say, that the Lake Larius is the prince of Lakes. It is formed or infinitely greatned by the faire riuer Abdua which comming out of the mountaines of the countrey of the Grisons, tumbleth by the Vale of Teline into this Lake, of which *Strabo*, *Plinie* and *Virgil* among the ancient writers make mention. In our time, *Paulus Iouius* bishop of Nocera, hath set it out verie exactly, and described all the singularities thereof. This same riuer commeth out of this Lake neere to a citie called Leuc, or Lecco, and is called commonly Abda or Adda; one may see it run crosse the Lake without mingling it selfe therewith, so that one would say it runneth in the smooth field hauing its waters differing from those of the Lake, which it compasseth halfe about. There is another Lake called Verbanus, or the greater Lake, into which the Tesin, a famous riuer in Italy dischargeth it selfe.

Lib. 4.
Lib. 2. & 3.
Lib. 3. Georg.

We haue in Germanie the pleasant Lake of Constance, called in times past Acronius; which hauing receiued some number of streames and riuers, though it be not so long, broad, and deepe as the Lakes aboue mentioned, yet doth it second them, being crossed by the Rhine, king of the riuers in Germanie, which passeth thorow the Lake with a cleane course, holding within it selfe his blew waters, and neere to Constance goes out of the lake and keepes on his course of a hundred and fortie German leagues, vntill he disgorgeth himselfe into the Ocean of Holland. This Lake is called of *Ammian Marcellinus*, *Lacus Brigantia*, or *Brigantius*, which some translate, the Lake of Brægentz, and is described at large by him. It is called also Podamicus, and Brigantinus, because of some ancient people thereabout named Brigantini, of whom *Bodin* thinkes the name of Brigands is deriued, as the Assassins come of those people of Persia mentioned in the ancient Historie, that would venter to kill most traiterously the great lords that went from these parts to make war beyond the seas, as *Paulus Æmilius* in his Historie of France, and others doe make mention.

Lib. 15. of his Historie.

In his Meth. of histories.

Lib. 7.

The renowmed Lake Lemanus, reaching from Geneua vnto the parts about the countrey of Valay, being seuenteene leagues in length or thereabouts, and foure or fiue broad in some places, verie deepe, exceeding faire, hauing store of

good

good fiſh, encompaſſed with a number of townes, is briefely deſcribed by *Solinus* and *Ammian Marcellinus*. The Rhoſne, a verie ſwift riuer, but faire, falling from the Apennine mountaines, and making many windings and turning by the countrey of Valay, paſſeth thorow this Lake in length, out of which it goeth foorth at the hauen of Geneua where the Lake ends on the Weſt; and running with a crinkeling courſe ſo far as Lions, holdeth on his race (to the great commoditie of the countrey) till he haue paſſed thorow Daulphiney, and ſo yeelds himſelfe beneath Arles in Prouance into the Mediterranean or Mid-land ſea. This is worth the noting in the Leman Lake (ſurnamed the Lake of Geneua, or of Lauſanna) that he ſwels greatly in the moneth of Iuly (and the Rhoſne likewiſe) as well at his entring in, as at his going foorth: and (contrariwiſe) is low in winter: which yeeldeth matter of much diuers diſpute. *Cap.* 8. *Lib.* 15.

By this that we haue ſaid it appeareth, That many Lakes ſeeme to be (as it were) the receptacles and the bridles of impetuous and violent riuers which are there aſſwaged, till hauing gathered new force, and entring againe into their owne beds and chanels, they continue their courſe to the laſt. But of this there is one ſtrange exception in the Lake of Palæſtina, called of ſome Aſphaltites, but moſt commonly, the dead Sea: For it doth not onely take in, but alſo holdeth ſtill the famous riuer Iordan; as *Cornelius Tacitus* obſerueth, and ſetteth downe in theſe tearmes; *In Palæſtina is Libanus, a high mountaine the which (a verie ſtrange thing) in the extreame heates of that countrey affoordeth woods for ſhadow, and ſhelter for ſnowes. The ſame breedeth and ſendeth foorth the riuer Iordan, which goeth not out into the ſea; but hauing run thorow two Lakes, is arreſted by a third, verie ſpatious like a ſea; the water whereof is ſtinking, and the ſtinke peſtiferous to the neighbouring inhabitants: it is not ſtirred with the windes, nor endures any fiſh or fowle. What is caſt vpon the water flotes, and ſinkes not: ſo that he which cannot ſwim is borne vp, as well as he that can. At a certaine time of the yeare it foameth vp a kinde of thicke matter called Bitume, which experience hath taught to gather and put in vſe, as other things.* To this teſtimonie of *Tacitus*, let vs annex that of *Iuſtin* the Hiſtorian. *In this countrey* (ſaith he) *there is a Lake, the which for his greatneſſe, and becauſe it neuer fleets, is called the dead Sea; for it is no whit ſtirred with windes, the bitume (wherewith the water is couered) withſtanding their force. It carrieth no boats, all things without life ſinking downe ſo ſoone as they are laid vpon it, and beareth nothing if it be not ouerlaid and pitcht with allum.* But whereas *Tacitus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others ſay, That this Lake beareth vp that which is caſt into it, it is otherwiſe, as I haue vnderſtood by ſome: and *Theuet* (among the moderne Authors) writeth, That he ſaw ſome Arabians throw an aſſe into this dead Sea, and the aſſe with his pannell ſunke to the bottome, and was neuer ſeene after. *Lib* 5. of his Hiſtories. *Lib.* 36. *Lib.* 19. In his Coſmographie.

But to come again to our Meditation: Either that which is diſgorged into this dead ſea muſt needs be ſwallowed vp by the ſands of Arabia the deſert which is hard by, or the ſaid ſea muſt haue certaine caues and conduits, into which the water of Iordan and of the other riuers is gathered, to run vnder the ground, and to come foorth againe ſome other where, as they write of the Mare Caſpium or Hircanian ſea, called of ſome The great Lake of the world: Into which an infinite number of riuers doe run, and therein make (as it were) their *Randez-vous*; but non can tell (for truth) where all theſe waters goe and diſcharge themſelues, for there is not any iſſue to be ſeene. For this cauſe the Spaniards haue giuen the name of the Caſpian ſea, to a marueilous great Lake in the Iſland Hiſpagnola, becauſe a great number of huge riuers run into it, of which none are ſeene to goe foorth againe: The Indians call it Haneygaban. *Paulus Iouius* writeth

Lib.14. teth of the Caſpian ſea theſe words; *It hath no iſſue or vent that one can perceiue, but in all likelihood is ſwallowed vp of ſome gulfes vnder-ground: a wonderfull thing! That ſo many riuers as run in thither cannot make it ouerflow, nor grow nor wax ſweet. Stretching it ſelfe from the South towards the North ouall-wiſe, it ſheweth as great as the Euxine ſea, if the fen Maotis now called Zabacca were taken from it.* That which *Strabo* writeth of the Lake Fucinus is worthie to be remembred: to wit, That by times it ſwels vp to the verie mountaines, and then at other times it ſo decreaſeth, that the places of the countrey which it had ouerflowne are all drie, in ſo much as men plow there, and till and ſow the ground, and reape the fruits thereof. This commeth by the euacuating of the water through certaine conduits vnder-ground: and afterwards, the ſprings meet againe, and returne, and driue one another forward, as we read it hapneth to the riuer Amenan, paſſing by Catana in Sicilia, which being vaniſhed away for ſome yeares, appeareth againe, and runs and flowes as before.

Lib.5.

No leſſe wonderfull is that which is reported of a Lake in Carniola, which in old times was called Lugeum, but now the Lake of Gyrcknitz, of a little citie hard by ſo called. *Ortelius* hath drawne it moſt finely, and deſcribed it as well, after *Lazius* and *Vuernerus*, as followeth: *This Place (for ſo I tearme it, not knowing well whether I ſhould call it a Lake, Mere, or Field) yeeldeth euerie yeare to the inhabitants of the countrey corne, fiſh, and veniſon. It is enuironed of euerie ſide with mountaines, and for a league and halfe is more long than broad. In moſt places it is eighteene cubits deepe; where it is leaſt, it is of a mans height. Out of the mountaines that incloſe it, run certaine riuers euerie one in his chanel: out of the Eaſt three, and foure out of the South. The farther that any of them run the leſſe water they haue, which ſinkes into the ground; vntill at the laſt theſe waters are ſwallowed into certaine ſtone ditches, ſo made by nature, that one would thinke they were hewen by mans hand. Theſe ditches when they are ſo full that they can receiue no more, beat back both thoſe waters that come, and thoſe alreadie receiued, with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that a horſe-man though neuer ſo nimble, hath much adoe to ſaue himſelfe from this back-water when it once begins to run. Then theſe waters ſpread themſelues ouer all that ſpace of a league and halfe, and ſo make a Lake. But within a while after, they depart againe, as ſwiftly as they came, and that not onely by thoſe ditches of ſtone, but by falling into the ground, thorow which they paſſe as if they were powred thorow a ſiue. Which the inhabitants ſeeing, who watch when the waters begin to goe away, they run and ſtop (ſo well as they can) the greater paſſages and conduits, and then in troupes fall to fiſhing which they find not onely pleaſant, but alſo verie rich, for they ſalt the fiſh, and make good returnes of it in the neighbouring places. The Lake being dried, they till the ground, and ſow ſuch places as were not ſowne before. In the places alreadie ſowne the corne ripens, and they fall to harueſt, the land being ſo good, that within three weekes after the water is gone, they cut their corne. Who will not reuerence the wonderfull power of God in his workes?*

In his Theater.

CHAP. III.

Notable Obſeruations touching Treaſures.

I Once knew a gentleman, who in the war of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth againſt the proteſtant princes, to ſaue his wealth from the hands of pilferers, turned the courſe of a riuer that was hard by his caſtle, and in the channell thereof made a deepe pit, wherein he hid his wealth and ſubſtance of worth, thinking it the ſafeſt and ſecreteſt place that was in the world. Which hauing done, he retired into a place of ſtrength, taking with him all thoſe that he thought

thought were priuie to the hiding of his treaſure. But the Spaniards had ſo good noſes, that either by coniuration, or ſome other deuiſe, they diſcouered the caſh, and hauing turned the riuer, drew foorth of the pit all that was lockt vp within it. With the like hap were other Spaniards accompanied in the diſcouerie of the treaſures hid in Comagra, an Iſle of the Weſt Indies: for when one of the Caciks of that Ile, named *Comaco*, had hid in a place that was full of canes and reeds great ſtore of hangings and couerings, certaine veſſels of earth and of wood, more than two thouſand and fiue hundred pounds of wrought gold, thinking to ſaue it from the hooking hands of the Spaniards, they conſtrained the Indians that they had taken priſoners to diſcouer all, by meanes of cruell tortures they put them to. The like hapned to the Turkes after the taking of Conſtantinople: where they found ſo much treaſure old and new, that the value thereof was ineſtimable: whereupon *Leonard de Scio* crieth out (and with good cauſe) *Poore, miſerable, and vnhappie Grecians that counterfeit pouertie! The treaſures that you would not employ to ſaue the citie, are now apparant and in open view to your confuſion.* *Temir*, or *Tamerlan* the Scythian, commonly called the Whip or Wrath of God, deuiſed a notable tricke to hooke and hedge in the treaſures and wealth of the people of Aſia. When all the world was in alarme, becauſe of the terrible power and good ſucceſſe of this great warriour, who knew it well ynough, and therefore was afraid that the terrour of his armies would make all men hide in as ſecret places as they could, their precious ſtones, iewels, gold, ſiluer, and ſuch curious moueables as might eaſily be ſhut vp and conueyed away; he diſpatched certaine ſouldiers of his in the habit of Marchants, to goe to the remoteſt and richeſt cities, with camels laden with rich boot that could not ſo fitly bee hidden, enioyning them to ſell all at a low rate, to the end that the cheapneſſe might prouoke the Aſians to buy, and ſo to part from their ſiluer before they hid it in the earth, or elſe to draw it out againe, if they had hidden any, ſeeing ſo great gaine in the buying of that boot. Which done, he came vpon thoſe cities with ſuch celeritie, that they could haue no leaſure to hide that which had been ſold them a little before: by which ſecret ſleight, without any great adoe, he pilfered the Aſians of all that they had both open and in ſecret. Although too much greedineſſe and rapine caried him to ſuch violent courſes, yet on the other ſide there is great commendation of his temperance and iuſtice. One day as he was in Syria, a Plow-man made his appearance before him, who, as he was holding the plough, had found a great pot full of peeces of gold: as they that ſtood about *Tamerlan* maintained that this treaſure belonged to him, he commaunded ſome of his people to looke vpon the peeces; and then asking them If the coyne were of his fathers ſtampe or no, and they anſwering him that it was Roman money; Why then (quoth he) ſeeing it is not the coyne of my predeceſſors, let the plow-man haue it, to whom God hath giuen the ſame.

Benzo li. 1. c. 20.

In his diſcourſe of the taking of Conſtantinople.

That wee may not digreſſe too farre; in times paſt ſuch caſhes vnder riuers haue been found out by thoſe who haue curiouſly ſought for them. To compare great things with ſmall, the Emperour *Traian* found the treaſures which *Decebalus* king of Dacia had hid not farre from his palace, vnder the current of a riuer called Sargetia. The king with the helpe of ſome priſoners had turned the courſe of this riuer, and then cauſing a hole to be made in the chanell, hid therein a very great ſumme of gold and ſiluer coynd, with many other precious things, and certaine liquors of great worth, that they might be preſerued there. When euery thing was ſet in order, he put them to death that knew ought of the ſame, to the end that none might bewray it: but a certaine priſoner named *Biculis*, that had

Dion in the life of *Traian*.

had some inkling of it, reuealed all to the Emperour. Thus writeth *Dio*. Therefore wee reade in the old Inscriptions in Marble, this that followeth touching such a discouerie:

IOVI INVENTORI DITI PATRI TERRÆ MATRI DETECTIS DACIÆ THESAVRIS CÆSAR NERVA TRAIANVS AVG. SAC. P.

Iornandes in his history of the Goths.

The Goths after the decease of their king *Alaric*, who died at Consensa in Calabria, made some such secret hidings, and to prouide that the Italians might not find out his place of buriall, and least they should (in reuenge of the wrongs hee had done them) spoyle and ouerthrow all, they bethought them of a bold enterprise: For with great labour of men they turned the riuer called Busens, which passeth through the citie, and in the midst of the channell digged a graue, where they laid the bodie with many rich iewels, and after let the riuer returne againe to his former bed, and for feare least the place should bee reuealed and made knowne, they kild all the prisoners that might haue any notion thereof. *Pandolphus Collenuchio* reporteth the same storie. *Nero* suffering himselfe to bee caried away by the report of a base fellow, dreamed of great treasures in Lybia, but he found them not: contrariwise, becaus of his vaine seeking for them, he was alwayes after accounted a man of small iudgement, and altogether miserable. *Suetonius* saith something of it, but it is more grauely set downe by *Cornelius Tacitus* in these tearmes: *After this, fortune began to delude* Nero, *through his owne vanitie, taking hold of a promise made by* Cesellius Bassus, *who being an African borne, and busie-headed, built an assured hope vpon the shadow of a dreame which hee had in the night. And being come to Rome, and hauing bought accesse to the prince, he telleth That there was a caue found in a field of his of a huge depth, wherein was contained a great quantitie of gold, not coyned, but in masse, both rude and old: for there lay very heauie brickes on the one side, and on the other, pillars standing vpright: all which had layne hid so many yeares to encrease the wealth of the present time: And as coniecture doth shew,* Dido *the Phenitian fleeing from Tyrus after shee had built Carthage, hid that treasure there, least the new people with ouer great wealth should become wanton and riotous, or the kings of the Numidians being otherwise their enemies, for greedinesse of their golde, should be incensed to make warre against them. Whereupon* Nero, *neither well assured of the credit of the Authour, nor certaintie of the businesse, nor yet hauing sent any to view and learne whether a truth was reported; of himselfe increaseth the rumour, and sendeth some to bring it away as a prey alreadie gotten. Galleyes and choise vessels were appointed to hasten the matter: the people (for all that time) through the credulousnesse of the discouerer, talked of no other thing but of that treasure, though not reporting of it all alike. Withall it so fell out, that the Quinquennall pastime being represented euery fift yeare, was then the second time celebrated: wherein this treasure ministred to the Orators their chiefest subiect to commend the prince; saying, That the earth was not content to bring foorth her vsuall fruits onely, nor gold mingled with other mettals, but a new store, and that the gods presented wealth in all abundance; and many other things with great eloquence, and no lesse seruile and base flatterie they fained, being assured of easie beleefe in the hearer. In the meane time riotousnesse grew greater by vaine hope, and the old wealth was consumed, as though new were offered that might serue to wast prodigally many yeares: yea, and largesses were alreadie giuen out of it; and the expectation of riches was in part a cause of the publike pouertie. For* Bassus *hauing digged his owne ground, and other large fields round about, auouching boldly this or that to be the place of the promised caue: and not onely followed with souldiers, but the countrey people, being also taken vp to further the worke, leauing at length his giddie humour, and marueiling that his dreames neuer prooued false before, he was then so foulely deceiued, to be rid of shame and feare, hee killed himselfe. Some*

Lib. 2. of the hist. of Naples.

Lib. 16. of his Annals.

haue

haue reported, that he was imprisoned, and presently againe enlarged, his goods first seazed to the princes treasure. Thus writeth *Tacitus.*

Richard King of England (surnamed *Cordelion*, because of his valour) was yet more vnhappie, in that he offered to take away by force from a gentleman certaine treasure found vpon his land. This gentleman hauing retired himselfe with his treasure into a citie of Limosin called Caulac, or Chalon, was there besieged and assaulted by *Richard*, who was shot by one from within the towne into the right arme with a poysoned arrow, of which, hauing not sought remedie betimes, he died soone after. The Annals of France say, That in this treasure were the statues of an Emperour, his wife, his sonnes and daughters, of such heigth and bignesse as they were of when they liued, being made as if they were sitting at the table, all of pure massie gold, their names, and the yeare when all was cast, being therein mentioned. *Tiberius* an Emperour of Greece had good hap to find treasures: Hee seeing that many as they passed by a Crosse, would euer go of the vpper side thereof, led with deuotion, commanded that this crosse should be taken away and set in some other place: They that were taking it vp, found vnderneath (beyond all hope or expectation) very rich treasure: he found besides, the huge wealth of *Narses*, which he had hid in his house a little before he died, hauing kild all those that knew any thing thereof, saue a young child whom he made to giue his promise with many oathes and execrations, that hee should neuer speake word of it to any bodie. But when this child was growne old, and long after the decease of *Narses*, he reuealed the matter to *Tiberius*, who found in the place an incredible masse of gold and siluer. That also is very strange which *Aimonius* reporteth (being also obserued by *Paradin* in his heroicall deuises (of *Gontran* king of Burgundie, who dreaming vpon a time that hee found treasure hid in a caue within a certaine mountaine; being awaked, sent some to dig in the same place, and there found it. *Wierus* maketh mention thereof, and discourseth learnedly how it could be: and also thinketh, that some such thing befell *Henrie* Archbishop of Rheims, by report of the Frier *Helinandus*. No lesse memorable is that which hapned in Apulia about the yeare one thousand and sixtie, in the time of *Robert Guiscard*, Prince of Calabria, Apulia, and the Isles adiacent, by report of a Historian, namely *Pandolphus Collenuchio*: There was found at that time a statue of Marble, hauing about the head a circle of brasse, with this inscription; CALENDIS MAII, ORIENTE SOLE, AVREVM CAPVT HABEBO, That is to say, *The first day of May, at Sunne-rising, I shall haue a golden head.* There was not any found that could declare this riddle: at last a Sarasin then prisoner, put himselfe forwards, and offered to expound the Inscription, so as they would promise he should be set at full libertie. The prince assuring him of it, and the first day of May being come, at the rising of the Sunne, the Sarasin obserued the shadow of the circle that was about the head of this image, and in the same place where the shadow was, made them to dig: which they did, and when they were come very deepe, found innumerable treasure; which came in good season to the prince, for it serued to defray great charges in the warres which he made at the same time: and the Sarasin, besides the grant of his libertie (which he preferred before all other things) was bountifully rewarded of the prince with many rich gifts.

Du Haillan lib. 9. of the life of Philip Augustus

Paul. Diacon. Lib. 3. cap. 6.

Lib. 3. of the historie of France.

In Apologet.

Lib. 3. of the historie of Naples.

Neither may we forget that which chanced in our time at Nicaragna in the West Indies, by the report of *Benzo*: Some eight leagues and halfe off a village (or row of cabins) which the Spaniards haue named Leon, there is a certaine mountaine, and on the top thereof a marueilous great hole, at the which there

In his historie of the new world. li. 2. c. 16.

come foorth ſuch flames of fire, that the brightneſſe of it is ſeene in the night more than fiue and twentie leagues off. There were that thought it was ſome veine of molten gold that cauſed and kept in this fire, whereupon a Iacobin frier would needs make proofe of it. He therefore cauſed a chaine to be forged, and at the end thereof tied a bucket of iron, and ſo got him to the place accompanied with foure other Spaniards; being come thither, they let down the bucket into the hole by the chaine, but the bucket and ſome of the rings of the chaine were molten off and ſtaied behinde. The frier being in a great chafe returnes to Leon with his companie, and blames the ſmith for that he had made the chaine too ſmall; the ſmith preſently falls to worke againe, and makes another chaine much greater than the former, wherewith the frier and his fellowes goe againe to the mountaine, and let downe the chaine furniſhed with another bucket, as they had done afore. But they ſped as ill, or worſe than at the other time: for vpon the caſting in of the bucket there came foorth of the hole ſuch a great flake of fire, that the frier and the reſt had like to haue laine by it, and they might well account it the greateſt good hap they euer had to eſcape with their liues. But they were ſo ſore affrighted as they had no deſire to ſtir the coales any more, but got them home with ſhame inough, and would neuer ſay any thing either of chaine, bucket, or treaſure. *Gomara* calleth this mountaine Maſaia, and the Iacobin *Blaiſe de Ynneſta*, and then addeth, That this new *Empedocles* and two Spaniards with him couetous to know what it was, made themſelues to be let downe in three baskets ſome fadomes within this furnace of *Vulcan*, carrying the bucket tied to an iron chaine, which they let downe to the bottome the length of ſeauen ſcore fadome: but ſo ſoone as it felt the fire, it melted off, with ſome rings of the chaine, wherewith the frier and his fellowes afraid made themſelues quickly be drawne vp, hauing loſt their labour, their time, and their charges.

There haue beene many in times paſt (and ſo there are ſtill at this day) who blinded with couetouſneſſe and hope of gaine, helpe themſelues with magick and other deteſtable meanes, to diſcouer and draw either to themſelues or to ſome others, the treaſures that are hid in the earth: a thing that hath ſeldome had ſucceſſe, ſometimes wretched ends: whereof we haue a memorable example recited by *Wierus* after ſome others. In the yeare 1530. the wicked ſpirit ſhewed to a prieſt within a Cryſtall, certaine treaſures hid in a place neere to the citie of Noremberg. This prieſt accompanied with a friend of his hauing digged in the place that was ſhewed him, found in the bottome of a caue, a coffer kept by a black dog that was lying by it. As he would haue gone into this caue, he was there kild, and the earth falling downe dam'd vp all the hole as it was before. A ſtrange and pitifull thing to ſee the great folly and blindneſſe of men, who, to heape vp riches that ſuddenly paſſe away, precipitate and caſt themſelues headlong into ſo many miſeries, and euident ruines both of their bodies and of their ſoules. This wicked ſpirit (to whom the magicians attribute the keeping of treaſures, and whom they know and obſerue by his proper name) is worſhipped of them like a mightie king, and hath vnder his leading (by their account) threeſcore and twelue legions of other wicked ſpirits. When he charmeth the eies of the magicians, he appeareth vnto them in a terrible ſhape which may not here be deſcribed, nor yet the exorciſmes, circles, caracters, images and figures, which the execrable curioſitie of magicians doth vſe to diſcouer hidden treaſures with apparant danger, and yet moſt commonly in vaine. This that we haue touched, plainely ſheweth the efficacie of error that is permitted

Lib. 2. cap. 4. of the Deceit of deuils.

mitted to Sathan and his Angels, the louers of lying and deceit, delighting in nothing but horrible villanies and murthers, deteined in darkeneſſe and bound with terrible chaines of obſcuritie, to ſurpriſe and deceiue moſt wretchedly curious, profane, and wicked ſoules. But Ieſus Chriſt, the Sonne of God, came into the world to defeate and bring to nought the workes of theſe wicked ſpirits.

For the reſt, *Bodin* makes a long diſcourſe vpon this point; to wit, Whither magicians by their skill (or rather illuſions) can purchaſe to men the good will and loue of others, beautie, pleaſures, honours, riches, skill abundance of wordly wealth? and after all ſaith thus: *Touching riches, it is well knowne that there are great treaſures hidden, and that Sathan is not ignarant of the places where the ſame lie. Neuertheleſſe there was neuer any Sorcerer that got the worth of a crowne by his occupation, as they themſelues confeſſe. We ſee commonly, that the rich, who make themſelues ſorcerers thereby to grow more rich, fall into pouertie; and they that are poore, liue beggars all their life. Alſo it is certaine, that riches are called in the Scripture Bleſſings; becauſe it is God that giueth them. So* Iacob *ſaid to his brother* Eſau, *Take off the bleſſing that God hath giuen me, when he preſented him with the droues of beaſts which he had honeſtly gotten by the fauour of God. But why doth not Sathan impart ſome of his treaſures hid in the earth, among his ſlaues; but lets them ſtarue with hunger, and beg their liuing miſerably? We muſt needs ſay, that God will haue it ſo, and that the deuill hath not the power to doe it, for by ſuch meanes he might (peraduenture) draw many men to his bent.* Let vs adde hereto that which Saint *Luke* writeth, ſpeaking of Saint *Paul* and *Barnabas* who confuted the idolatrie of their time. They (to diuert the Gentiles from the ſeruice of Idols, and of men, whom they worſhipped as gods, and relied vpon their fauour for wealth and abundance of all good things; and to perſuade them that they ſhould worſhip the onely true God creator and giuer of all good things) ſpake to the Iconians as followeth: *O men, why doe ye theſe things? we are euen men ſubiect to the like paſſions that ye be, and preach vnto you that ye ſhould turne from theſe vaine idols vnto the liuing God, which made heauen and earth, and the ſea, and all things that in them are: who in times paſt ſuffred all the Gentiles to walke in their owne waies. Neuertheleſſe he left not himſelfe without witneſſe, in that he did good, and gaue vs raine from heauen, and fruitfull ſeaſons, filling our hearts with food and gladneſſe.* We muſt therefore giue thankes to this ſo bountifull a God, for ſo many good things that he giueth, and not aske them of any other, nor procure them by vnlawfull meanes. To the ſame purpoſe another writer ſaith, That although wicked ſpirits promiſe riches and honours to men, yet of themſelues they cannot giue the value of a ruſh. They haue not any thing at their commandement: but make ſhew of illuſions to their ſeruants, who thinke the ſame to be ſound and diuine. But we haue ſhewed by many examples and reaſons, that gold and ſiluer and other ſuch riches are in the hands of God, who beſtoweth them where, and to whom, and when he thinketh good. The Prophet *Haggai* bringeth in the Lord to ſay, *The ſiluer is mine, and the gold is mine ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* And God ſaith by *Eſay* to king *Cyrus*, *I will giue thee the hidden treaſures, and the riches that are kept moſt ſecrety.* Briefely, the holy Scriptures confirme this point vnto vs in ſo many places, as we need not doubt thereof.

Lib. 3. cap. 3. of his Dæmonomania.

Geneſ. 33.

Act. 14, 15, 16, &c.

Pſellus in his Tract of deuills.

CHAP. IV.

Notable and ſtrange Robberies. Of the Treaſure of Venice.

*Lib.*1.*cap.*15. THere is a certaine French booke ſet foorth in our time (entituled *An Introduction to the treatiſe of the conformitie of ancient wonders, with moderne,&c.*) in the which many notable pilferings are related, and ſome of them (to my ſeeming) almoſt incredible, as well for the bold parts, as the cunning tricks of the theeues. I will here ſet downe ſome of them, as they are found there. In the time of king *Francis* the firſt of that name, a certaine theefe apparelled like a gentleman, as he was diuing into a great pouch which *Iohn* Cardinall of Lorraine had hanging by his ſide, was eſpied of the king, being at maſſe, and ſtanding right ouer againſt the Cardinall; the theefe perceiuing himſelfe ſpied, held vp his finger to the king, making a ſigne that he ſhould ſay nothing and he ſhould ſee good ſport. The king glad of ſuch meriment towards, and that he ſhould haue cauſe to laugh, let him alone: and within a while after comming to the Cardinall, tooke occaſion in talking with him, to make the Cardinall goe to his pouch: who miſſing what he had put therein, begins to wonder, but the king who had ſeene the play, was as merrie on the otherſide. But after the king had well laught, he would gladly that the Cardinall ſhould haue had againe what was taken from him, as indeed he made account that the meaning of the taker was: but whereas the king thought that he was an honeſt gentleman, and of ſome account, in that he ſhewed himſelfe ſo reſolute, and held his countenance ſo well; experience ſhewed that he was a moſt cunning thiefe, gentleman-like, that meant not to ieſt, but making as if he ieſted was in good earneſt. Then the Cardinall turned all the laughter againſt the king who vſing his wonted oth, ſwore by the faith of a gentleman, That it was the firſt time that euer a theefe had made him his companion: the other theeuiſh trick was plaid in the preſence of the Emperour *Charles* the fift. He vpon a day commanding a remooue, while euerie man was buſied in putting vp his ſtuffe, there entred a good fellow into the hall where the Emperour then was, being meanely accompanied and readie to take horſe: this theefe hauing made a great reuerence, preſently went about the taking downe of the hangings, making great haſt as if he had much buſineſſe to doe; and though it was not his profeſſion to ſet vp and take downe hangings, yet he went about it ſo nimbly, that he whoſe charge it was to take them downe, comming to doe it found that ſome bodie had alreadie eaſed him of that labour, and (which was worſe) of carrying them away. But the boldneſſe of an Italian theefe was as great, who plaied this part at Rome in the time of Pope *Paul* the third. A certaine Cardinall hauing made a great feaſt in his houſe, and the ſiluer veſſels being lockt vp in a trunke that ſtood in a chamber next to the hall where the feaſt had beene, whilſt many were ſitting and walking in this chamber wayting for their maſters, there came a man in with a torch carried before him, bearing the countenance of the ſteward and hauing a iacket on, who praied thoſe that ſate on the trunke to riſe vp from it becauſe he was to vſe the ſame; which they hauing done, he made it be taken vp by certaine porters that followed him in, and went cleane away with it. And this was done, while the ſteward and all the ſeruants of the houſe were at ſupper.

In the ſame chapter there be other ſtrange and notable tales of diuers theeueries: but it ſufficeth to haue pickt out theſe three which I take for the moſt memo-

memorable among them: I will here adde a fourth, which ſeemeth incredible, and excelleth all the reſt for valour and boldneſſe. *Sabellicus* ſetteth it downe with all the circumſtances, and it is thus: A certaine Candiot called *Stamat*, being at Venice when the treaſure was ſhewed in kindneſſe to the duke of Ferrara, entred into the chappell ſo boldly, that hee was taken for one of the dukes domeſticall ſeruants: and wondering at ſo much wealth, in ſtead of contenting himſelfe with the ſight, he reſolued from thence-forward to commit ſome notable peece of theeuerie. Saint *Marks* Church guilded with pure gold very neere all ouer, is built at the bottom round about within and without with peeces or tables of marble. This Grecian theefe marueilous cunning and nimble, deuiſed to take out finely by night one of the tables or ſtones of marble againſt that place of the Church where the Altar ſtands, called The childrens Altar, thereby to make himſelfe an entrance to the treaſure: and hauing laboured a night, becauſe the wall could not in that time bee wrought through, he laid the ſtone handſomely into his place againe, and fitted it ſo well, as no man could perceiue any ſhew of opening it at all; as for the ſtones and rubbiſh that he tooke out of the wall, he caried it all away ſo nimbly and ſo cleanly, and all before day, that he was neuer diſcouered. Hauing wrought thus many nights, hee got at length to the treaſure, and began to carie away much riches of diuers kinds. I did once ſee this treaſure, and wondred at it, being admitted among the traine of the Ambaſſador of *Fredericke* the Emperor. For beſides an infinite number of precious ſtones ſet in worke, I ſaw there twelue crownes, and as many breſt-plates of gold, ſet with an innumerable ſort of jems, whoſe brightneſſe would haue dazled the eyes both of the bodie and of the mind: moreouer, pots of Aggat and other ſtones of price, the eares exceeding highly eſteemed becauſe of their value: alſo, ſhrines, candleſticks, and many other implements for Altars, which were not only of pure gold, but alſo garniſhed with ſo many ſtones of worth, that the gold was nothing in compariſon thereof. I ſpeake not of the Vnicornes horne, which is infinitely eſtimated, nor the dukes crowne, nor the other peeces of exquiſit worke, which this Greeke had caried away all by leaſure. But (as it is commonly ſaid) Adulterie and Theft was neuer long time hid; and becauſe this fault could not be ſo ſoone diſcouered, it ſo fell out that the Author thereof laid it open, and the theefe bewraied himſelfe. He had a compeere in the citie, a gentleman of the ſame Iſle of Candie, called *Zacharias Grio*, an honeſt man, and of a good conſcience. *Stamat* one day taking him aſide neere to the Altar, and drawing a promiſe from him, that hee ſhould keepe ſecret that which he would tell him, diſcouered from the beginning to the end all that he had done: and then carries him to his houſe, where he ſhewes him the ineſtimable riches he had ſtollen. The gentleman being vertuous and conſcionable, ſtood amazed at the ſight, and quaking at the horror of the offence, began to reele, and could no longer ſtand. Whereupon *Stamat* (as they ſay) like a deſperat villaine, was about to haue kild him in the place, and as his will of doing it increaſed, *Grio* miſtruſting him, ſtayed the blow, by ſaying, that the extreame ioy which hee conceiued in ſeeing ſo many precious things, of which he neuer thought to haue had any part, had made him (as it were) beſides himſelfe. *Stamat* content with that excuſe, let him alone: of the other ſide, *Grio* receiued in gift of him a precious ſtone, & of exceeding great value, and is the ſame that is now worne in the fore-part of the dukes crowne. So, making as if he had ſome weightie matter to diſpatch, forth he goes of the houſe, and hies him to the palace, where hauing obtained acceſſe to the duke, he reuealeth all the matter, ſaying withall, that there needed expedition, otherwiſe

In the third Decad, *lib.* 6. of the hiſtorie of Venice.

» otherwise *Stamat* might rouse himselfe, looke about him, disguise himselfe, shift
» lodging, or saue himselfe otherwayes with the best of his bootie. To giue the
» more credit to his words, he drew forth of his bosome the precious stone that
» had been giuen him: which seene, some were sent away with all speed to the
» house, who laid hold of *Stamat*, and all that he had stollen, amounting to the va-
» lue of two millions of gold, nothing thereof being (as yet) remoued. So he was
» hanged betweene two pillars; and the Informer (besides a rich recompence
» which he at that time receiued) had an yearely pension out of the publike trea-
» surie, for so long time as he liued.

Lib. 8. of his hist. of Venice, & 14.

Petrus Iustinianus reciteth the same storie after *Sabellicus*, and withall setteth downe another of our time that fell out in the same citie of Venice. A Neapolitan found meanes with counterfeit keyes, to vnlocke the common Treasurers chamber, and the yron chests that were therein, full of the common treasure, and caried away eight thousand crownes. But within few dayes hee was taken, and by sentence of the Tenne, after hee had his right hand cut off, was hanged at an high gibbet set vp of purpose in the place called the Realte, neere to which the robberie had beene done. To the aforesaid description of the treasure of Venice set downe by *Sabellicus*, I thinke not amisse to annex that which *Philip de Commines* a witnesse worthie to be credited, reporteth to haue himselfe seene.

Lib. 2. of the war of Naples.

There is at Venice, saith he, *Saint* Markes *Church, one of the faireſt, and beſt furniſht that a man ſhall ſee; in it lies the Treaſure ſo much ſpoken of all the world ouer: the ſame conſiſteth of certaine very rich Ornaments of that Church, of Pearles in number foure-teene, not poliſhed; twelue golden Crownes, with which in times paſt they vſed to decke and ſet foorth twelue women. But on a day as they were ſolemnizing that pompe, it happened that certaine Theeues tooke and caried away thoſe women with their crownes, who being afterwards reſcued and recouered, their husbands gaue and dedicated theſe crownes to Saint* Marke, *and built a Chappell, into which the Lords of the Councell enter once euerie yeare, namely, the day of the recouerie of the women.* In a little Italian booke setting out the memorable things of Venice, wee read that among the riches of this Treasure there is also the Dukes Cap, made not long ago, which is estimated at aboue two hundred thousand crownes. This treasure hath been made vp into such a heape, partly by the spoile of Constantinople, at such time as the French and the Venetians ouercame it, and of other cities conquered: and partly by presents giuen to that Common-wealth by diuers princes. There be some that tell an old fable, That this treasure was brought to Venice by foure rich Marchants, two of which thinking it vnfit the treasure should haue so many owners, resolued to poison the other two: which two (not knowing the determination of their companions) purposed the same likewise of their part; so that they were poisoned all foure, and died without heires: whereupon the Seigniorie of Venice seazed on all the wealth which they had left; and this (they say) is signified by the foure Images of Porphirie that stand by the great gate of the common palace, embracing one another. This the Author of that little booke saith. This treasure they vse to set out at shew euery yeare at certaine solemne feasts, vpon the great Altar in S. *Markes* Church: and I doe not thinke that in all those countries which we call Christendome, there is any so rich; although that of S. *Denys* in France be very faire, marueilous rare, and of great value.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the ſtone called Phengites. Alſo, of the ſtrange agilitie and nimbleneſſe of ſome.

WHen the Emperour makes his entrance into the Imperiall cities, the cuſtome is, that the Deputies of the ſame cities in kindneſſe, and for congratulation of his comming, preſent him with certaine gifts; as in old time the prouinces offered to the Conſuls, or Proconſuls, a certaine preſent called *Honorarium*, which was not required as a thing due, but accepted as a matter of kindneſſe. Theſe gifts are moſt commonly great cups of gold, or other veſſels curiouſly wrought, and of great value, filled ſometimes with peeces of gold, ſtamped with the marke of the cities that haue the priuiledge to coyne money. It hath been told me by a great and worthie man, that in one of the chiefe cities of Germanie, ſuch honourable preſents being giuen to the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt in the preſence of ſome of his greateſt fauourites, they were left in his chamber, and ſet vpon the cup-boord euen as they were preſented vnto him: at which time in the ſtreets ſome pleaſant paſtimes and ſhewes were made to delight the emperor with, and to honour him the more; which all the Courtiers were earneſtly ſet to looke vpon, hauing taken vp all the windowes of the Emperours chamber, that they might ſee with the better eaſe. One of the Emperors greateſt familiars, thinking his lord and maſter would be as buſie in beholding the ſports as the reſt, (making as though hee left his place in kindneſſe to a greater man that ſtood by him) withdrawes himſelfe backe into the chamber by the cup-boord, and ſeeing all was cleere, puts his hand into the cup that was giuen, and takes out a handfull of gold, and puts it vp into his pouch, aſſuring himſelfe that no bodie ſaw him. But the Emperour who ſeemed as if hee thought of nothing but of the ſhewes, tooke heed to ſome t[illegible]ng elſe; for hee wore on his finger a ring ſet with a certaine ſtone, which would ſhew all that was done behind him: wherefore caſting his eye vpon it, hee looked where one would not thinke he did. The paſtimes ended, as the Courtiers were ſtanding in the chamber, waiting what the Emperour would ſay, he called him that had fingred part of the preſent, bidding him to put his hand into the cup, and to take out as much as he could of that was in it. The theefe not knowing whereto ſuch largeſſe tended, and confounded with the ſting of a guiltie conſcience, tooke but a very few of the peeces; which hauing done, the Emperour willed him to tell them: while all the reſt waited very attentiuely, not knowing what this ceremonie tended to, and thinking theſe peeces ſhould bee diſtributed among them all: the Emperour ſmiling ſaid to the theefe, Draw mee out the other peeces that thou didſt put vp into thy pouch ere while, that I may ſee whether thou didſt gripe more then, or now. The poore ſoule confounded with that word, and taken in the pit-fall, begins to mumble, and to frame ſome excuſes and praiers, and in the end empties his bag vpon the table, and tels before them all the peeces of gold hee had put vp. The number of which being farre greater than thoſe he tooke the ſecond time; the Emperor ſaid vnto him, Take all theſe peeces to thee, to defray the charges of thy iourney, and be gone, and take heed thou neuer come any more in my ſight. Thus the Courtier was baniſhed the court with ſhame ynough. But no man need maruell that there are rings made with ſuch art, that by helpe of them a man may ſee that which is done behind him; for in times paſt walles were built wherein ſuch mirrours were ſet. *Suetonius* ſaith,

ſaith, That *Domitian* alwaies fearefull of ſome treaſon, cauſed the walles of the galleries where hee vſed to walke, to be garniſhed with the ſtone called Phengites, to the end that by the light thereof he might ſee all that was done behind him. At Venice, there are rings ſold at this day, which doe not onely ſerue for looking-glaſſes; but alſo by meanes of them a man may ſee all that is done behind his backe.

But to returne to the other part of our Meditation; I haue ſeene oft-times, with wondering, in the prince of Bamberg his court, a certain peiſant of Germanie, nouriſhed and brought vp (as himſelfe auouched) in the mountaines thereby among beaſts: who was ſo actiue and nimble of his bodie, that all that ſaw him in his motions and tumbling tricks were amaſed, and thought he vſed enchantments, which yet I doe not thinke he did. That which was moſt admirable in him, was, that he ſhewed his agilitie not ſtanding, but walking vpon his feet and hands, like a dog or a cat. In the ſame court there was a dwarfe who would get vp vpon this peiſant, as vpon a horſe, making him turne and winde all manner of waies, as a rider would doe a Spaniſh jenet; but when the peiſant liſted, he would eaſily throw his dwarfe, for all that euer he could doe to ſit faſt. Sometimes he was baited with verie mightie maſtiues, and with Engliſh dogs that the prince had: and by a certaine barking which he counterfeited naturally, and a furious ſnarling like a dog, would giue them the chaſe, and make them run apace out of the hall. That done, he would ſet himſelfe to leape vpon his feet and hands, forwards and backwards with a nimbleneſſe incredible, and would ſcramble vp by the coines, towards the roofe of the hall faſter than an ape could doe: albeit otherwiſe he was a ruſticall fellow, heauie and of a groſſe making. I ſaw him twice as I was at the princes table (after he had thrown his dwarfe, and driuen away all the dogs that were in the roome) leape vpon the ſhoulders of one of the gueſts, and from thence vpon the table, without ouer-turning diſh or cup, and then caſt himſelfe with ſuch a ſpring vpon the floore, that one would haue ſaid it had beene a ſquirrell or ſome wild cat. He did vſe to skip as faſt from place to place vpon the tops of towres and of houſes built point-wiſe, as our houſe-cats would doe: And ſo many other parts of a cat and an ape he plaied, that men would talke of his tricks in many places, as of a thing extraordinarily ſtrange, and neuer heard of. I would not haue made any mention of him in this booke, if I had not ſeene with mine eies his tricks of actiuitie, and that there were not many perſons yet aliue, worthie to be credited, that haue ſeene him. When I wrote this chapter the man was aliue in his owne houſe with his wife.

Lib. 44. We read the like of *Habides* ſonne to *Gargoris* king of the Curetes. *Iuſtin* the Hiſtorian writeth of him thus. The Curetes dwelt in the forreſts of the Carthefians, in the which it is reportrd the *Titans* made war againſt the gods. One of their moſt ancient kings called *Gargoris* was the firſt that taught the meanes to gather honney. His daughter hauing ſuffred her ſelfe to be defiled, and being brought a bed of a ſonne, he gaue order that whatſoeuer it ſhould coſt him, the little baſtard that was ſuch a diſhonor to him, ſhould be made away. But the child was ſtill preſerued by ſtrange meanes, and at laſt (as it were in recompenſe of ſo many perills it had eſcaped) became king. Firſt of all, *Gargoris* hauing commanded that it might be laid foorth in ſome ſolitarie place to be deuoured of wild beaſts, the beaſts ſuckled it. When it was brought back againe to the kings pallace, he made it be caſt into a narrow way by which the great beaſts vſed to returne from the fields, the cruell king chuſing rather that his grand-child

ſhould

ſhould be trodden to death, than ſimply kild. The beaſtes not hauing touched him (but contrariwiſe he being there nouriſhed abundantly with the milk of certaine goats and cowes) the king commaundeth him to bee throwne to hungrie dogs that kept a barking and baying for hunger; they not touching him neither, he is laid before ſwine, which doe alſo ſpare him, yea and the ſowes ſuckle him. At the laſt, he ſends him to bee caſt into the ſea, where the waues begin to beare him vp as in a cradle, and lay him ſoftly vpon the ſhore oppoſite a farre off, where a Hynd finds him, and feeds him, preſerues and brings him vp very tenderly, ſo that being growne ſomewhat great, he would runne ſwiftly like the Stags, with which he leaped and skipped in the mountaines. Finally, he was taken by a trap, and preſented to *Gargoris*, who knew him to be his graund-child by the features of his face, and by markes that had been ſet vpon him when he was new borne: and wondering at his ſo many excellent deliuerances, he proclaimed him heire apparant to his crowne. Here we may infer that which *Solinus* reporteth of *Ladas*, who was ſo nimble-footed, and ran ſo ſpeedily vpon the ſand, that there appeared not any print of his feet: and of *Polymneſtor*, a young Mileſian lad, who being a ſhepheard, did for a wager ouertake a Hare in courſing. To theſe pleaſant ſtories gathered out of profane Authors, we may adde ſerious ones and moſt certain. The Scriptures ſay, That *Haſael* the brother of *Ioab*, lieutenant of king *Dauids* armie, ran as faſt as a wild Roe. And in the hiſtoricall Recuels of *Suidas*, there be ſtrange things written of a Greeke, the words bee theſe: Vnder the Emperour *Leo* who ſucceeded *Marcian*, a certaine perſon named *Indacus* was very famous, a valiant man, of a good footmanſhip, ſtrong of his left hand, and that would run faſter than any other; one might ſee him at parting, but he vaniſhed preſently like lightning, ſeeming as if he flew ouer mountaines and ſteepe places, rather than ranne. It was affirmed, That hee could rid more way in one day (without being a whit wearie) than the beſt Poſt could haue done with ſo many horſes of releaſe as he could take, without ſtaying in any place. When he had made in a day, much more way than a poſt could make with all his ſpeed, the next day he returned to the place from whence he departed the day before, and went againe from thence the next day for ſome other place, and neuer left running, nor could ſtay in a place. The moderne Voiagers witneſſe, That in the Iſlands newly diſcouered in the Weſt, many Americans are exceeding ſwift, in ſo much as they run after Stags, and ouertake them with fine running. Among others, *Peter Martyr*, Milanois, ſpeaketh thereof as followeth: They ſay that in a part of a country called Zauana, in the prouince of Guaccaiarima, at the fartheſt end of the Weſt, there are men that liue by the fruits which they gather in the forreſts, being lodged in caues and grots of the mountaines, who were neuer tamed, and haue no conuerſation with other men; they dwell ſometimes heere, ſometimes there, without tilling, ſowing, or reaping, and haue no language that one can bring into art: they are ſeene ſometimes, but no man can come neere them, for if they chance to ſhew themſelues, and eſpie any man that is not of their ſort comming towards them, they flie away faſter than Stags; and ſuch as haue ſeene of them, ſay, That the Hariers of France are but Tortoiſes in compariſon of them.

Cap. 6.

2. *Sam.* 2. *v.* 18.

In his 3. Decad. *lib.* 8.

To end this chapter, if that which we read in the additions to the hiſtorie of *Lambert* of Schafnabourg, touching the doings of the ancient Almaines, be true, there is ſomewhat which we may wonder at. In the yeare 1543, there was in the parts of Heſſe, a lad taken, who (as hee reported afterwards, and ſo it was found true) when he was but three yeares old was taken away, and afterwards nouriſhed

nouriſhed and brought vp by wolues. Theſe wolues when they got any prey, would alwaies bring the beſt of it to a tree, and giue it to the child, which did eat it: in winter and time of cold, they would dig a pit, and ſtrew it with graſſe and leaues of trees, and there-vpon lay the child, and lying round about it, preſerue him from the iniurie of the weather: after, they would make him goe vpon all foure, and run with them, till by vſe and length of time, he could skip and run like a wolfe; being taken, he was compelled by little and little to goe onely vpon his feet. He would often ſay, That if it had beene in his power, he could haue taken more delight to haue conuerſed among wolues, than among men: he was carried to the court of *Henrie* Lantgraue of Heſſe, to be ſeene. In that yeare the like caſe hapned in the Grange of Echtzell: for a boy of twelue yeares old following wolues in the next forreſt, was taken in the winter ſeaſon by ſome gentlemen that were hunting the wolfe. Who will not wonder at ſuch conuerſing betwixt creatures ſo differing? Neuertheleſſe cuſtome made it ſo agreeable and pleaſing, that this boy had rather be a companion to wolues than to men whom humanitie and inſtinct of nature ſhould aſſemble in troupes and companies. Theſe ſtories verifie this common ſaying, *That Cuſtome is a ſecond Nature, and ſometimes goeth beyond it*: the efficacie thereof being ſuch, that it maketh vs many times loue things naturally, harſh and vnpleaſant, ſo far foorth, that we take ſingular contentment in ſeeing and handling of the ſame.

CHAP. VI.

Subiects doe commonly follow the manners of their Princes.

I Haue obſerued in the court of the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond (a verie good prince) That many great lords did not onely apparell themſelues with his collours, but alſo had the like veſſell and furniture that he vſed. The great ladies followed the Empreſſe, ſo that fur'd garments and other common weeds in former time deſpiſed, were then had in great requeſt, becauſe the Emperour and Empreſſe diſdained not to weare them. In which caſe there falleth out no new or ſtrange matter: for pearles and precious ſtones are mounted to that value we ſee them at, becauſe the rich haue enhaunſt their price, not the poore. To ſet out this with ſome example; *Sabina Poppæa* (who wanted nothing but honeſtie, and whom *Nero* ragingly loued) had a haire yellow like amber, whereof *Nero* made ſuch reckoning, that he ſung verſes of it vpon the harpe: and thereupon all the daughters of Rome and of Italy deſired verie much to weare that collour in their perri-wigs, dreſſings, bracelets, and attires: and amber, which before was not reckoned of, grew verie deere, becauſe *Nero* eſteemed greatly of it. Hence it is that *Plinie* writeth (ſpeaking of the preparation of a paſtime of fencers) That there was brought thither ſuch a great quantitie of amber, that the knots of the netting which was hang'd all about the place of exerciſe, to keepe that the wild beaſts went not out, were garniſht with graines of amber: which ſheweth, that the examples of great men are of much efficacie in matters of importance, as well as in thoſe that be of ſmall conſequence. *For* (as *Velleius Paterculus* ſaid of the Emperour *Auguſtus*) *a good Prince when he doth well, teacheth his ſubiects to doe well: and as he is the greateſt in the State, ſo is he the greateſt in example.* When the people caſt their eies vpon their Prince, who is placed aloft and in view of all, they conſider diligently all that he ſaith and doth, and prie into all the ſecrets of his actions, as it were thorow narrow chinkes

Lib.37.cap.3.

chinkes and holes. We haue hereof an example in the ſtatues of *Paſquin* and *Marforius* at Rome, whoſe priuie inuectiues in certaine libels there ſet vp, bewray and bring to light the leaſt things that are done by the Pope, the Cardinalls and other courtiers in their priuie chambers. So as one may ſay, that if the liuing haue not the libertie at Rome to ſpeake and to reprooue the wickednes of the great, yet the mouthes of ſtonie ſtatues cannot be ſtopped, but they will blab out all that is moſt hidden. *Gyraldus* writeth, That the ancient Roman Poets had the ſame priuiledge, and that they vſed to ſet vp their compoſitions in a certaine chappell neere to the gardens of the knight *Mecenas*. *Suidas* witneſſeth, That in Alexandria vpon certaine daies, ſome (to whom that charge belonged) went throughout the citie drawne vpon chariots, and when they came into a place, or before a houſe that they thought fit, they would there ſtay, and pronounce the truth allowd, freely, and without any iniurie or harme done to them. For they ſtudied how they might find out the bad dealings of the citiſens, and lay them open in plaine tearmes, and thereby bring to paſſe that all might liue in their dutie and calling. Dialog. 4. of the Hiſt. of Poets.

But not to goe from our purpoſe, it ſhould ſeeme (as a certaine writer ſaith) That the verie walls doe blunder out the ſayings, doings, and deportments of Princes, yea euen that which is moſt ſecret and hidden: in ſo much as they cannot ſpeake a word, nor tread a ſtep, but is preſently carried abroad: and (that which is moſt of all to be weied) their leaſt faults are pried into, and diligently marked by all their ſubiects. Beſides, both great and ſmall doe ſo frame themſelues to imitate their manners, that by their example they will ſoone change their owne cuſtoms & opinions though neuer ſo old and inueterat. Therefore *Iohn du Tillet* is of opinion, that before all other things the king ſhould haue ſpeciall care to ſee that his court be maintained in all godlineſſe and vertue. For if the court be reformed, the countrey wilbe conformed accordingly. Contrariwiſe, if the Prince and his houſhold be viciouſly giuen, his ſubiects abandon themſelues to the like vices. An ancient Poet, though an ill maſter in many other things, confeſſeth this, when he ſaith *Ant. Viperan.* in his Treatiſe of the king, and of the Realme, *c.*13. In the ſecond booke of his Remembrances.

Such is the Court, that no man brings his faſhions there to ſee,
But all men frame their manners, as they find the kings to be. In the ninth booke of his Epigrams.

The Poet *Claudian* thought alſo the ſame, when he wrote that

The ſubiects frame themſelues in euerie thing,
According to the pattern of their king.
And nothing ſwaies with man (inconſtant) more
Than doth his Princes carriage and his lore. In the Panegyr. of the fourth Conſulſhip of *Honorius*.

And in his poeme of the praiſes of *Stilico*: *Panegyr.* 1.

As doe the gouernors, ſo people frame their grace:
And ſouldiers alwaies march after their captaines pace.

This is verified by a notable example mentioned in the Hiſtorie of Scotland. After that the king called *Ioſina* tooke delight in conferring oftentimes with Phyſitions & Chirurgions, his lords and gentlemen did ſo quickly frame themſelues to this humour of their prince, that for many ages after there was not one noble family in Scotland, but it was verie expert and cunning in dreſſing and healing of any wounds of the bodie. The ſame Hiſtorie commendeth king *Iames* the fourth, for that he following the cuſtome of his predeceſſors was a verie deft Chirurgian. In the 16 chapter of the booke afore going, we haue made mention of the duke of Burgundie *Philip* the Good, ſaying, That after his example, all the lords (almoſt) and gentlemen of his countrey had their haire cut. *Buchanan. lib.*4. *Lib.*13.

The ancient Prouerbe ſaid, *That the little dogs doe that which liketh their Miſtreſſes:* ſo fareth it with the ſubiects of any State: which *Plato* noteth eſpecially, and the ſame hath beene obſerued by one *Montanarius* of Padua, an excellent Poet in his time, and much eſteemed of *Barnardin Scardeon*, who hath collected ſome Monoſtickes or ſingle verſes of his in Latin, comprehending certaine memorable ſentences. The firſt agreeth with this our Meditation, which ſaith; *Qualis conuict us, talis formatio morum:* meaning, that a man doth frame his manners after theirs with whom he conuerſeth.

Lib. 8. of his Commonwealth. *Lib.* 2. *Claſſ.* 10.

Gregorius Nazianzenus in one of his Orations diſputeth at large of the dangerous imitation of the vices that are ſeene in princes, ſaying among other things: That there is not any cloth ſo apt to take die, nor peſtilent ſauour ſo readie to diſperſe it ſelfe in the aire for the infecting of creatures, as the minds of the people are diſpoſed to repleniſh themſelues with the diſſolution and vices of great men rather than with their vertues. For (as *Sebaſtian Foxius* a Spaniard ſaith) Examples doe ſo greatly mooue the minds of men, that they thinke themſelues bound to doe that which they ſee others doe, and therefore they conforme themſelues to others vices and villanies. We are apes to counterfeit other mens ſayings and doings, as we ſee apes will imitate what they ſee vs doe. So the life of one wicked man inuadeth (like a contagious ſickneſſe) and corrupteth the maners of a great many. Thus wicked fathers are the cauſe and example of wickedneſſe to their children. The ſtorie of king *Lewis* the eleuenth is a ſufficient proofe hereof. For he would neuer endure that *Charles* his ſonne (reſpecting belike, his indiſpoſition, as *Vincentius de la Loupe* ſaith) ſhould learne any more Latin than theſe fiue words; *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*; that is to ſay, *Who ſo cannot diſſemble cannot reigne:* and ſo tooke foorth his ſonne a leſſon taught by a wicked maſter: For the Emperour *Tiberius* loued nothing that he thought louely in himſelfe, but diſſimulation, as *Cornelius Tacitus* ſaith. This Counſell of *Lewis* the eleauenth was receiued by the Frenchmen with ſuch ill eares, as there was not any kind of learning but they turned their backs to it. But the ſame Author writeth, that *William du Bellay* lord of Langey, hauing ioyned the glorie of Learning with the honour Armes, was the firſt that ſhewed at that time to the French, That to be Learned & Noble are gifts that may well agree together. Contrariwiſe, when king *Francis* the firſt (lead with a commendable zeale) maintained the ſciences and learned men, many following his example, did the like. The gentlemen of France (ſaith the ſaid Author) in all ages haue had Learning in ſuch deteſtation, that liberall arts, and handie-crafts were all one thing with them. When their children were come to ſuch yeares that they were able to rule, and endure trauell, they were placed in great lords houſes, where they exerciſed riding, and hunting, till they came out of their pageſhip, and then they were arranged into companies and bare armes. But now, by the goodneſſe of God, and through the liberalitie of king *Francis* towards the profeſſors of arts and ſciences, and ſtudents in good letters, that is turned to praiſe that was before reputed blame. Therefore *du Tillet* ſaid verie well, That Learning confirmed Nobilitie, and defended it from baſeneſſe. *Bodin* obſerued the ſame, when he ſaid (to explane this ſentence of *Plato, That the ſubiects are like the Magiſtrats*) that we need not ſeeke examples thereof elſewhere but in king *Francis* the firſt, who hauing once begun to loue learning, abhorred of his next predeceſſors, was preſently ſeconded by all the nobilitie of France, and then by the other eſtates, with ſuch diligence, that there were neuer ſo many learned men in France as in his time.

In the Inſtit. of a hiſtorie.

In the firſt booke of the Offices of the crowne of France.

Lib. 1. where he ſpeeketh of the great Counſell.

In his Method of Hiſtories.

It

It is ſtrange that the Frenchmen did ſo degenerat from their anceſtors, and become ſo great enemies to learning before their kings reclaimed them by their example; when as *Strabo* doth much commend them for that they were well affected to the ſtudie of the liberall ſciences: The good order that was eſtabliſhed in the citie of Marſeilles, did ſo mooue (ſaith he) and entice the moſt noble men among the Romans, that in ſteed of trauailing to Athens, whither in times paſt they vſed to goe to ſtudie, now they goe to Marſeilles. After their example, the French enioying peace and quietneſſe, haue left the exerciſe of armes, to apply themſelues to learning, and that not one or two, but almoſt all they that dwell in the cities, where they haue certaine maſters (which they call Sophiſters) rewarded out of the common treaſurie, and liberally recompenſed of the priuat men, as alſo the Phyſitions are. *Bodin* addeth, that the Germans did the like, of whom he ſaith; Whereas in times paſt they had (as it were of an inueterat hatred) renounced all good learning, now they are ſo happily affected that way, that they ſeeme to ſurpaſſe the Aſians in gentle manners, the Romans in militarie diſcipline, the Hebrewes in Religion, the Grecians in Philoſophie, the Ægyptians in Geometrie, the Phenitians in Arithmetike, the Chaldeans in Aſtrologie, all people in diuerſitie of handie-workes. *Philip de Commines* ſaith wiſely to this purpoſe, That knowledge maketh men either better or worſe, according to the nature and inclination of euerie of them: but more likely, better. For the more a man vnderſtands that which becommeth him, the more is he aſhamed of the neglect of his dutie: and although he abſtaine not altogither from doing of it; yet he will take heed how he exceedeth. I haue tried this to be moſt true by many, that were held back from wicked diſſignes onely by their learning, and knowledge. To this we muſt ioyne the feare of God: For the learned know better than the ignorant, what the hainouſneſſe of ſinnes is, and how highly God is offended with the faults of wicked men. Therefore ill inſtructed Princes doe not comprehend the weight of the charge they haue receiued from God; and they that lead and carrie them neuer ſpeake of it, for feare leaſt they ſhould incur their diſpleaſure: or if there be any one that giueth good and faithfull aduiſe, he hath no bodie to ſecond him, and he is held but for a Pedante.

*Lib.*4. cc *Lib.*10.

To end this chapter with ſome ancient examples, and to ſhew that the faults of princes want no followers, we haue thereof a proofe in *Nero*: for *Suetonius* and *Cornelius Tacitus* report in his life, That this prince gadded vp and downe the ſtreets to infamous houſes, and leaud places in ſlaues attire, that hee might not be knowne, accompanied with ſuch as ſnatched away wares from mens ſtals, wounded ſuch as met them, caring ſo little whom they quarelled with, that *Nero* himſelfe receiued blowes, and caried away the marks in his face. And when it was knowne at the laſt that it was *Ceſar* which plaied thoſe pranks, it grew to an occupation, ſo that neither men nor women of any account were ſpared, but a great many abuſing with all licenciouſneſſe *Ceſars* name, practiſed the ſame inſolencies as they were together, and ſuch rule was ſpent all night long, euen as if they had been in ſome citie taken by aſſault and were leading away priſoners into captiuitie. That which *Athenæus* reporteth (after *Theopompus*) of *Philip* the laſt king of Macedonia, is worth the rehearſing. This king hauing much treaſure and wealth, inſtead of beſtowing it well, made hauocke thereof, and ſent it packing, being growne a very ſpend-thrift, and followed with a crue like himſelfe that gaue their minds to nothing elſe but to ſpend exceſſiuely. The cauſe of all which inſolencie and exceſſe was the king himſelfe, who, of one ſide, ſpending beyond

*Lib.*4.*cap.*20.

all measure, and of the other side so couetous as possibly might be, heaped vp, gaue away, did all things without any iudgment, or proportion whatsoeuer: Hauing vsed to be at the warre, hee neuer had the leasure to looke into the state of his receits or disbursements. Besides, his friends and familiars flocked to him from diuers parts; some from Macedonia it selfe, others from Thessalia, and others from other places, a rabblement gotten together of Barbarians and Grecians, not commended for their valour, wisedome, and vertue; but insolent, villanous, and bold. Such were this kings fauourites. And no maruell if he were accompanied with fellowes of his owne humour, seeing the same *Athenæus* alleageth another place of *Theopompus* touching this king, where he saith, That he reiected vertuous men, such as were well affectioned to the good of his estate, and contrariwise enterteined ding-thrifts, drunkards, and gamesters, vsing them with great respect and reuerence. Therefore this counsell of *Euagrius* is wholesome, That a prince ought to be regarded, not because he commandeth others, but for that he knoweth how to gouerne and conteine himselfe in such sort, that he giueth his mind no entrance to any filthy pleasure, but keepeth himselfe so far from the reach of dissolution and disorder, that his life may serue for a patterne and example of vertue to his subiects to follow, that thereby they may grow the more wise and warie. Finally, this sentence drawne out of good Authors by an excellent man, and which hath beene approoued by the change of times, and by diuers euents, standeth, and shall euer stand for most true, *That the affections, intents, studies, and actions of priuat men agree, accord, and sute with the manners and deportments of Princes.* For we see commonly, that the subiects casting their eyes vpon the life of their princes, as vpon a bright looking-glasse, behold with regardfull heed their sayings and doings: From thence a desire of following them proceedeth; whereof consequently are bred either vertues or vices.

Lib. 6. cap. 6.

Lib. 3. cap. 3. of his Eccles. historie.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Owle, an vnluckie bird: and of Pope Iohn *the* 24.

Haith. Armen. in the hist. of the Tartarians cap. 16.

ALthough the Tartarians of Asia haue the Owle in great reuerence, because he preserued (in some sort) their first Emperour *Changius Cam*, who lay hid in a thicket ouer which an Owle sat, when he fled from his enemies, they following him, and not thinking that any man would haue hid himselfe in the place where an Owle was: and albeit they thinke those men of warre luckie that weare vpon their head-peeces, and in their hats some feathers of an Owle; yet *Plinie* placeth him among the birds that are accounted vnluckie. *The Owle* (saith he) *is a bird that boadeth a funerall, one of those that are most abhorred, chiefly of the publike Sooth-sayers and Bird-gazers, inhabiting places vnhabitable, fearefull, vnapprochable, monster of the night, that sings not, but groanes and complaines. Therefore he is taken for a bringer of ill lucke, if he be seene in cities, or flying by day.* Hence it came (as witnesseth the same *Plinie*) that Rome was oftentimes clensed after the meeting or seeing of an Owle: and it was verily beleeued, that in the 619 yeare of the foundation therof, and the yeare following, the seeing of this bird had presaged the ouerthrow of the Roman armie before Numantia. Among the strange sights that preceded the death of the Emperour *Commodus Antoninus*, it is said, That an Owle was spied sitting ouer his chamber, both at Rome and Lanuuium. And among those that were seene before the decease of the Emperour *Valentinian*,

Lib. 10. cap. 12.

Ælius Lampríd. in his life.

Ammian

Ammian Marcellinus ſaith, That an Owle was pearched vpon the ridg of the imperiall Stoue, where he ſat hooting and crying; and for all that they could do with ſtones and arrowes, it was not poſſible to fell him or to driue him away. To ſay ſomewhat of our own time, In the yeare 1542, about the 11 of December, there was an Owle that with his monſtrous and extraordinarie crying, did put the inhabitants of the citie of Wirtzbourg in Franckland into a terrible fright: after which there followed peſtilence, cruell warres, and other calamities deſcribed at large in their Annals. As I was reading and conſidering theſe things, I remembred that which *Nicholas de Clemangis*, an excellent Doctour and Archdeacon of Bayeux, reporteth in his diſputation of the Oecumenicall Councell of *Balthaſar Coſſa*, who being made Pope called himſelfe *Iohn* * XXIIII. Thus he writeth: This perfidious *Balthaſar*, who was lately throwne out of S. *Peters* ſeat, foulely by him ſtained, at the inſtance of ſome had foure yeares before ſommoned a Councell at Rome, where ſome ſtrangers met, but in a ſmall number, with a few Italians and Courtiers: He held ſome Seſſions, which were ſpent in handling of trifles no whit concerning the good of the Church. And when before the firſt Seſſion they had (after the vſuall manner) ſung a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, the Fathers of the Councell being ſet in their places, and *Balthaſar* aboue all the reſt in his pontificall chaire, behold, a horrible Owle (the continuall meſſenger of death, or ſome other diſaſter as they ſay) comes out of his hole, begins to make a fearefull crie, and taking his flight, ſets himſelfe vpon a high beame in the midſt of the Church, ouer againſt *Balthaſar*, whom he ſtared in the face. They began all to wonder, that a bird (not vſing to flie but by night and hating the light) ſhould come in the open day among ſo many people: wherefore they concluded (as there was cauſe) that it was ſome ill preſage; *See*, ſaid they one to another, *what ſpirit doth gouerne heere in the likeneſſe of this Owle!* After, looking one vpon another, and caſting their eies vpon *Balthaſar*, they could not forbeare laughing. As for *Balthaſar*, (whom the Owle neuer left ſtaring vpon) he begins to bluſh, to ſweat, to bee troubled and marueilouſly perplexed in his mind; and not knowing how otherwiſe to remedie this confuſion, diſmiſſeth the Aſſembly, & departeth to his palace. The ſecond Seſſion followed, in the which this Owle made his appearance (without being called, as I think) and ſetled himſelfe in his accuſtomed place, ſtill turning towards *Balthaſar*; who ſeeing his bird come againe, was more troubled and confounded than before, and not able any longer to abide the ſight of him, commaunded that hee ſhould be beaten away with ſhowtings and with clubs. But the bird, not mooued with any noiſe they could make or any thing they threw at him, was no whit afraid, till beaten downe with bats and clubs, hee fell ſtone-dead to the ground before them all. This ſtorie was told me by a faithfull friend of mine, who at that time came directly from Rome. The ſtrangeneſſe of the matter hauing made me perplexed, I adiured him with great vehemencie, that he ſhould not hide the truth of theſe things from me: whereupon he ſware vnto me that he had told me nothing but what was true indeed: And ſaid further, That all they who were preſent at the ſight, began to contemne and mocke the Councell, which by little and little vaniſhed, and did nothing of any worth. Theſe be the words of the Archdeacon of Bayeux, who liued in the time of the Emperour *Sigiſmund*, when the Councell was held at Conſtance, in the yeare 1417, in which time hee publiſhed his diſputation containing this ſtorie, and ſome other treatiſes beſides. This *Iohn* the foure and twentieth, being degraded by the Councell of Conſtance for many enormities he committed, fled away in diſguiſed attire, and in the way was met

Lib. 30.

* Some call him *Iohn* 23. but ſuch will not allow of Pope *Ioan*, but raze her out of the reckoning.

with by the Count Palatine, who kept him a long while prisoner in his castle of Mansheim, where they vse yet to shew the chamber in which hee was imprisoned, and where (they say) he made some Latine verses, being a man learned, and of great iudgement, as *Platina* and others affirme. The verses wee offer to the Reader, hereafter following: because it is a rare thing to see a Pope learned, and a Latin Poet:

Qui modò summus eram, gaudens & nomine, Præsul,
Tristis & abiectus nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaq; gens pedibus oscula prona dabat.
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo deuoluor in imo;
Vultum deformem quemq; videre piget.
Omnibus è terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant,
Sed nec gaza iuuat, nec quis amicus adest.
Sic varians fortuna vices, aduersa secundis
Subdit, & ambiguo nomine ludit atrox.

PAPA FECIT.

To this effect in English.

I that of late enioy'd the highest Prelats place,
Now sad and all forlorne doe waile my wretched case.
I sat aloft erewhile, deckt with the triple Crowne,
And all men kist my feet with humble falling downe:
Now I am head-long throwne into the pit of woe,
I shame to shew my face, all men abhorre it so.
From all parts (with good will) they brought me gold and fee,
But now no gold I get, no friend will visit me.
Thus Fortunes rolling wheele doth wretched things adioyne
To happie; thus are we deceiu'd with her false coyne.

By the Pope.

Afterwards *Balthasar* was released, hauing acknowledged *Martin* the fift for his lawfull successor, and kissed his pantofle, to the great wonder of all men. This humilitie of his did so moue Pope *Martin*, that presently after he receiued *Balthasar* among the number of the Cardinals, and made him Bishop of Tusculum. But within some few moneths, being worne out with sorrow (as it was thought) hee died at Florence in the yeare 1419, and was buried in sumptuous sort, and with great solemnities in Saint *Iohn Baptists* Church, at the instant suit of *Cosmo de Medicis* his heire. There was an Epitaph made for him (saith *Iohn Bale* in the sixt booke of the life of the Popes) the conclusion whereof is, That the example of *Balthasar* should teach the Popes his successours to bee no sellers of Benefices.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Fighting and tugging of Birds. Also, speciall obseruations touching Serpents, or Dragons.

PLinie writeth, That euerie yeare there is an armie of Birds, that flieth out of Æthiopia towards great Troy, where they giue themselues battel at *Memnons* tombe, for which cause these birds are called Memnonides. *Cremutius*, an ancient writer saith, he knoweth for certaine that these birds doe euerie fifth yeare renew this fight in Ægypt, about the territories of *Memnons* pallace. In like manner the Guinney hens fight in Bœotia: but leauing the old tales of *Plinie*, let vs heare what *Iouianus Pontanus* a famous Historian writeth of the fighting of birds. A little before the end of the yeare 1461. in the plaine betweene Beneuent and Apicium, there began a cruell conflict betweene the Rauens and the Kites, which was a miracle, and prognostication of the battell that was fought a while after in those parts; or else, a naturall quarrell among these rauening birds, because of the prey of grashoppers bred in those spacious fields some weekes before. There were two conflicts, in the first whereof the Kites had the better, because they were armed with sharper and more crooked clawes, flying more firmely, and with a longer continuance: therefore the Rauens left the field, and were put to flight; but after a few daies, hauing re-enforced their troupes (as if they had obtained succours of their allies) they returned with more strength than they were of before; the like did the Kites. The skirmish begins againe in the aire, crueller than at the former time; then the Rauens (as it were vpon deliberation, and for some speciall stratagem) began to giue back, and set themselues among the vines vpon the strongest and highest branches, settling themselues so fast, that when the Kites would stoope to swap at them, they were pierst thorow the bodie with the Rauens bills as it had beene with poyniards. They were thereupon seene to fall downe in all places with their guts hanging out, and the rauens at euerie assault were heard to crie (as it were) Victorie, and to keepe a croaking for joy, still heartning their fellowes to fight, who after they had held out a long while, the Kites perceiuing they were falne into an ambuscado (whereby the most of them staied by it) left the place, and sauing themselues by force of wing confessed they were ouercome, and the Rauens keeping the field, triumphed brauely ouer their enemies. This victorie did so whet their courages, that they began to fall vpon the Kites laide on the ground, and with a strange furie to kill out-right with the blowes of their bills, those that were yet panting and breathing, making their braines come foorth, plucking out their guts with pecks and clawes, renting their bodies, tearing them in peeces, in a word displaying vpon them their rauenlike rage. And for a greater shew of this successe, these Rauens (for many daies after) neuer left houering and soaring ouer that plaine in troupes, with croaking and crying, as if they would haue said; *Behold, we are here, readie to fight as earst we were.* Many men ran to see this skirmish, and to obserue the blowes, and after the retreate of the Kites, went among the vineyards and fields to see the ouerthrow: some wondering at the furie of the fighters, and pollicie of the Rauens; others, at the great number of Kites that lay kild: some stood amased at the terrible wounds they noted in those little bodies; others could not tell what to say, seeing what heapes of slaine were cast one vpon another. All coniectured, that this conflict did presage some bloodie battell that would be giuen soone after betweene two armies of enemie-princes, one of which should there receiue

Lib. 10. *cap.* 26.

Towards the end of the second booke of *Ferdinand* the first, sonne of *Alfonsus*.

receiue a ſhrewd foile. Thus writeth *Pontanus*. Now, although it may be, that theſe birds might follow the prey of the graſhoppers, ſpread all ouer that plaine, of which they are verie greedie, and for that cauſe this fight might thus grow betweene them (the rather for that *Plinie* writeth that the birds called Seleucides are the cauſe that the graſhoppers eat not vp the fruits of the inhabitants about the mountaine Caſius:) yet for all that, the iſſue of the bloodie battell giuen within a while after in the ſame place, betweene two armies of ſouldiers, ſheweth that the ſaid skirmiſh of birds had beene (as it were) the preſaging thereof.

Nicetas Acominates maketh mention of a fight between Crowes and Rauens, before the cruell hauock that the Scythians, lead by *Iohn Myſus*, made in the coaſts of Conſtantinople. The Crowes comming out of the South ranked themſelues in a certaine place: the Rauens, out of the North, made choice alſo of a fit place: who preſently after came to the charge, with ſuch furie, that they put in rout the armie of the Crowes. Within few moneths, the Scythians in a battell ouerthrew the Italians, and ſlue a verie great number of their men. *Subellicus* alſo writeth, That the day before the Venetians had the ſhamefull ouerthrow in an Iſle called Sapience, an innumerable flight of Rauens gathered together in the aire ouer their fleet, and gaue themſelues battell, in which, the blood and the feathers of the Rauens wounded and kild fell downe into the galleys of the Venetians. We may adde vnto this, that which *Richard Dinoth* writeth, how about the time of the Emperour *Albert*, the Rauens and the Hawks fought a battell neere to the citie of Liege, with ſuch furie, that the blood and the feathers fell to the ground in great abundance: and that after a long skirmiſh the Hawks remained the ſtronger. He ſaith further, That in Italie two thicke battalions of piſmires were ſeene to diſlodge out of a peare-tree, which entred into a verie furious fight, many being ſlaine of both ſides; and that many men beheld the skirmiſh of theſe black bands, and this ciuile warre. Not long after which, there fell warre betweene the Lombards and Venetians: Of the other part, the Burgundians and the Liegians gaue themſelues ſo cruell a battell, that thirtie thouſand men were ſlaine in the field. He ſaith further, That in the raigne of *Charles* the eight there aſſembled out of diuers parts of France, certaine troups of Pies and of Iayes in the plaine of S. *Aubin* in Brittanie, which fought together very fiercely, the victorie falling at laſt to the Iayes. In the yeare following the French-men and the Britons had a battell in the ſame place; wherin after a long fight the Britons were diſcomfited, and their Commanders caried away priſoners by the French, who had a great victorie. In the end of the yeare 1587, vpon the frontiers of Croatia neere to a caſtle called Wihiz, belonging to *Charles* Archduke of Auſtria, there flocked certaine thouſands of Duckes and Geeſe together into one pond: The night after their meeting, a great noiſe was heard in all the villages about of theſe fowle that kild one another in that pond; the next morning the ſouldiers that were in gariſon in the caſtle, and the countrey men ranne thither, and gathered ſuch number of this fowle, yet warme and bleeding, that they made ſtore of it for a long time, drying them in the ayre and in the ſmoke: one had for his part a hundred; another, two hundred, and ſome, more. They that eſcaped aliue out of the fight, re-uniting themſelues, and meeting in a great meadow, tooke their flight together, and retired to other places. Thus reporteth *Iohannes Leonclauius*, who addeth further, That within a while after, certaine thouſands of Turks making a road into Croatia, were there hewen in peeces with their leader, brother to the Baſhaw of Boſna, by a ſmall troupe

Decad. 2. lib. 3.

In his remembrances of wonders.

In the Supplement of the Annals of Turkie.

troupe of Christians. The yeare after, in the moneth of Februarie, the Christians surprized the castle of Copan, seated neere to the lake Balaton, which at that time was frozen, within which castle were three captaines, and about a thousand Turkes. The eight of August following, *George* Earle of Serin, followed with the garisons on this side the Danubius, pursued the Turkes, and ouertaking them within a league of Camisia, charged them so bravely, that he slew and took prisoners almost fiue thousand men, recouered all the boot which they had caried away, and got besides all that which was theirs. In the memorie of our fathers, there was a battell giuen (as Historians write) in Caramania, between the land serpents, and those of the water, which lasted three daies: and a while after the Turks mutined and went together by the eares most horribly about the establishing of a Souldan. It was obserued, that the victorie fell to their side that were in the place where the serpents had beene the stronger. In the yeare 1059, Snakes were gathered together in the parts about Turnay, which neuer left tearing and renting one another, vntill the people made fires, which kild a great many of them. *Christ. Masseus Lib.*16.

It is not onely written in the sacred Historie, That *Adam* and *Eue* being placed by God in the garden of Paradise, were deceiued (especially *Eue*) by the craftie persuasion of the Serpent; but many Authors affirme, that Serpents haue been noted to desire the companie of women. Who seeth not therein (but more in the action of *Eue*, than in all other) a strange efficacie and deceit in Sathan? All the Rabbins are of this mind, that the deuils (through Gods sufferance) haue great power ouer ones concupiscence and priuie members, saying, That by an Allegorie Satan is meant by the Serpent. *Philo* and the Hebrewes say, That the Serpent signifieth allegorically, Lecherie. *Alexander* the Great held for certaine, That his mother *Olympias* was gotten with child of him by a Serpent, which the superstitious Pagans called *Iupiters* Genius. Wherefore hauing vpon a time written to his mother thus; King *Alexander* the sonne of *Iupiter Ammon*, saluteth his mother *Olympias*: Shee made him this pleasant answere, Hold thy peace (I pray thee) and take heed how thou appeach mee to *Iuno*: for shee will plague me miserably if thou giue out in thy letters that I am her husbands concubine. The like is reported of *Scipio Africanus*; *C. Oppius* that hath written his life, *Titus Liuius*, *Gellius*, and *Iulius Higinus* doe say, That a great Serpent lay with *Scipios* mother, and was seene often in her chamber, and when any bodie came in, he would vanish away. *Valerius Maximus* also speaketh of it. The like doth *Suetonius* report of *Accia*, the mother of *Augustus*, for hee writeth, That as shee came once at mid-night to a certaine solemnitie, shee made her litter be set into the Chappell; and while the other Ladies were at rest, shee fell asleepe. Then a great Serpent crept into the litter, and a while after came out againe: After which *Accia* awaking, purified her selfe as if her husband had laine with her: presently there was seene vpon her skin the marke of a Dragon, which could neuer bee taken off, so that euer after shee refrained from going into the common Baths: and *Augustus* being borne at the end of ten moneths, was by reason thereof reckoned *Apollos* sonne. *Galerius* the Emperor, borne of clownish parents, and surnamed *Armentarius*, because he had kept cattell, bragged and tooke vpon him proudly, That a great Serpent begat him, hauing accompanied his mother, as one had done with *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother. *Gen. cap.*3. *Bodin lib.*2. of his *Demonomania, c.*1. *Lib.*27. *Lib.*7. *cap.*1. *Lib.*1. *cap.*3. *Sext. Aurel.* in the Abridg. of the Rom. hist.

Albeit Historians affirme and hold these things for certaine, and that it cannot be denied but there is a diuelish working in such actions: yet it is held also, that

that a ſerpent ſeene in ones ſleepe ſignifieth ſometimes good hap. Whereof we haue a remarkable example in the mother of *George Caſtriot*, called of the Turkes *Iſchenderbeg*, and of the common ſort *Scanderbeg*, of whom we will ſpeake more in the ſecond chapter of the fifth booke. It is ſaid (by the report of *Marinus Barlet* his Hiſtorian) that his mother, when ſhe was conceiued of him, dreamed ſhe was brought a bed of a great ſerpent, which couered almoſt all Albania, ſtretched his head to the frontiers of Turkie, and deuoured a great many Turkes, hauing his taile in the ſea within the limits of the Seigniorie of Venice. His father *Iohn*, Prince of Albania, hearing this dreame, would not ſeeke for the expoſition thereof in the intrails of beaſts, nor at *Apollos* Oracle, but with ioy begins to cheere vp his wife, telling her, That he foreſaw ſhe ſhould be deliuered of a ſonne, that ſhould be an excellent warrior, a fell enemie to the Turkes, a moſt happie Generall of an armie, a defender of the Chriſtian Faith, and alwaies well affected to the State of Venice. This good father was not deceiued of the hope he had conceiued, but that which he foretold was confirmed moreouer in the birth of the child, who brought with him from his mothers wombe another much fairer and notabler marke of warlike glorie; for he had vpon his right arme a ſword ſo well ſet on, as if it had beene drawne with the pencill of the skilfulleſt painter in the world. Thus reporteth *Barlet*. But not to goe further from our purpoſe, Hiſtorians write, That ſerpents haue beene obſerued to loue yong maides, and haue ſhewed ſignes of loue, anger, and iealouſie towards them. Of which there is a famous example in *Plutarch*, of a ſerpent that being in loue with a yong maid of Ætolia, would come to ſee her in the night when ſhe was a bed, and would lay himſelfe faire and ſoftly all along by her, and then wreathe himſelfe about her, without doing her any hurt or grieuance either willingly, or otherwiſe, and after about breake of day would ſoftly goe away from her. And as he thus continued comming to her duly euerie night, at the laſt the maides friends ſent her from home: the ſerpent kept away from the houſe three or foure daies, ſeeking here and there for her (as it is to be thought) and hauing at laſt met with her, he laid her hands againſt her bodie, with the knots of his bodie, and with the reſt of his taile clapt her about the legs, as if he would ſhew a louing anger, wherein yet there was more affection to pardon, than deſire to puniſh. This tale I deliuer for ſuch credit as *Plutarch* hath left it, referring my ſelfe for the truth thereof. Howſoeuer, by this and other ſuch like reports, the Ancients ſeeme to haue had reaſon to note ſerpents for an Embleme of wantonneſſe, and deſire of women. To the ſame end we read a world full of tales of a witch, who being tranſported with rage, longed to drinke the blood of a faire yong man called *Menippus*: whereof came a prouerbe among the Pagans, remembred by *Philoſtratus*, *Thou deſireſt a ſerpent, and a ſerpent deſireth thee*: becauſe *Menippus* hunted after women, and women after him. We will ſpeake more of this *Menippus* hereafter.

Lib. 1.

In his Treatiſe *what beaſts are moſt diſcreet.*

In the life of *Apollonius Thyaneus.*

But *Fl. Ioſephus* differing in opinion from this aforegoing, thinketh, that after *Adam* and *Eue* had tranſgreſſed Gods commandement by eating the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden, the ſerpent for the fault committed againſt man had his voice taken from him, the poiſon was diſperſt into his tongue, and God declared him an enemie to mankinde, willing the man and the woman to fall vpon him to breake his head: both becauſe the death of man is included there, and alſo becauſe the ſerpent is eaſily put to death, if he be ſtricken in the head. Moreouer, he was depriued of feet, that he might creepe and traile vpon the earth. And when that was done, God thruſt *Adam* and *Eue* out of the

Lib. 2. Antiquit. cap. 2.

Garden

Garden, and ſent them to dwell in another countrey. Now they ſay, That though ſerpents doe hate men, yet they perſecute women more cruelly than men, and doe oft-times kill them with their ſtinging: Whereof *Bodin* giueth this reaſon: *It may be* (ſaith he) *that ſerpents being wonderfull craftie, know that the femal-kinde are weaker than the male, and therefore may be eaſilier hurt and cannot ſo well reſiſt. It may be alſo that the fauourable goodneſſe of the Creator would that things of leſſe value ſhould be taken firſt, that thereby the moſt excellent might be the longer preſerued. Beſides, there is a deadly hatred betweene the woman and the ſerpent: which is plainely perceiued hereby, that in a great aſſembly of people, if there be but one woman, the ſerpent will aſſay to hurt her firſt.* This is *Bodins* opinion. So then, ſeeing there is ſuch an inueterat and ſetled enmitie betweene man and the ſerpent, I could neuer wonder inough why a beaſt ſo venimous and odious to all, hath yet beene ſo much worſhipped of the ancient Pagans, that they haue not onely eſteemed it a high honour that their Anceſtors were ſaid to be conuerted into ſerpents: but they haue moreouer attributed ſome Diuinitie vnto them, and erected a worſhip and ſeruice in their behalfe. Sathan, the prince of ſubtiltie, error, and lying, hath carefully powred oyle vpon the flames of this inſolent impietie, that ſillie idolaters might be the more groſſely abuſed. *Alexander* the great (as before is touched) was not aſhamed to brag that his mother *Olympias* was gotten with child by a Dragon in the likeneſſe of *Iupiter Hammon*, and that thereupon ſhe brought him foorth. But when, after his death, ſhe heard that his bodie lay vnburied for a long time, ſighing and weeping tenderly ſhe cried out; *O my ſonne, that wouldeſt needs march in the ranke of the gods, and endeuoredſt with all thy power to compaſſe that point, thou canſt not now haue thy ſhare of that right which is equall to all earthly men, namely, to be buried vnder ground.* Thus did ſhe lament her miſerie, condemning the vaine and fooliſh ouerweening of her ſonne. And ſurely the inſolencie of this prince, and his ingratitude towards his owne father *Philip*, whoſe ſonne he ſcorned to acknowledge himſelfe, by affecting the title of *Iupiters* ſonne, mooued the Philoſopher *Seneca* to courſe him in diuers places of his workes, and namely in one, where he ſaith; *The Corinthians ſent their Ambaſſadors to* Alexander *of Macedonie, at ſuch time as being Conqueror of the Eaſt he tooke himſelfe for a god, to congratulate with him in his conqueſts, and made him burgeſſe of their citie; whereat* Alexander *beginning to laugh, one of the Ambaſſadors ſaid vnto him, Yet know thus much, that we neuer did this honour to any, ſaue onely to thee, and to* Hercules. Alexander *thereupon accepted of the honour, and hauing made great offers and kind entertainment to the Ambaſſadors, thought not vpon the Corinthians who honoured him, but vpon himſelfe, making account that he did them great honour in accepting them. This man couetous of glorie, whereof (neuertheleſſe) he neither knew the nature nor the faſhion, following the ſteps of* Hercules *and of* Bacchus, *and willing to paſſe further than they had done, had his eie ſet vpon the companion in honour whom the Corinthians propounded vnto him, as if he had alreadie the ſphere in his hand, which his fooliſh ambition embraced; becauſe theſe Ambaſſadors made him equall with* Hercules. *But wherein could this giddie yauth (who for vertue had nothing elſe but a happie kind of raſhneſſe) be like vnto* Hercules; *a man that neuer conquered any thing for himſelfe, but trauailed all the world ouer, not with a deſire to be lord thereof, but to enfranchiſe and ſet it free? Was there any thing that could ouercome the enemie of the wicked, the protector of the good, and one who carried peace both by ſea and by land?* But Alexander *was from his infancie a theefe and a ſpoiler of people, the ruin of his friends as well as of his enemies, and one that held it the ſoueraigne good to be the terror of the world: forgetting in the meane time, that not only the wildeſt beaſts, but alſo the weakeſt, are feared becauſe of the venom and noyſomneſſe they carrie about them.*

In Theatro, *Lib.* 3.

Aelian. de Var. Hiſtor. lib. 3. *cap.* 30.

Lib. 1. *de Benef. cap.* 13.

But

But ſo great was the error of thoſe times, that they ranked their princes in the number of the gods, or demi-gods, or held them for the baſtards of the gods. As we read that *Galba* deriued his pedegree by the fathers ſide from *Iupiter*, and by his mother-ſide from *Paſiphaë* wife to *Minos* king of Crete. So thick was the blindneſſe then, as that he thought himſelfe the moſt noble that was deſcended (by report) from that filthie polluter of all beds, and from that moſt vnchaſt woman that euer liued. The Greeks (among other fables) haue not been aſhamed to broach, that all their Nation came out of ſuch infamous creatures: as they ſay that *Iupiter* transformed himſelfe into a Piſmire to accompanie *Eurymediſte* the daughter of *Archelaus*, who bare *Myrmidon*, of whom came the Myrmidons. A ridiculous blindneſſe. Who can chuſe but laugh, or elſe weepe rather, that ſhall read the fooliſh, or (to ſpeake better) the furious inſolencie of the Emperour *C. Caligula*, a monſter diſteined with moſt foule faults? He (forſooth) would be eſteemed a god, called himſelfe *Iupiter*, vaunted that he had had carnall dealing with the Moone, and that the goddeſſe *Victoria* had crowned him: By which meanes he bragged that he had abuſed many Roman ladies, yea euen his owne ſiſters. Oftentimes, he would diſguiſe himſelfe like a goddeſſe, and would take the name of *Iuno*, of *Diana*, and of *Venus*: Then he would ſhew himſelfe dreſt like a woman, bearing the cup and the thyrſe of thoſe that executed the Bacchanals: Otherwhiles, he was ſeene apparelled like *Hercules*, carrying a club, and couered with a lions skin: And then againe, he would be ſeene with a beard, and within a while without beard; hauing ſometimes the trident in his hand, or readie to dart lightning; ſometimes counterfeiting *Bellona*, and then againe transformed into a woman. In a word, he did nothing elſe but change apparell and dreſſing, deſirous to be thought all that is poſſible to be imagined, ſaue a man. Theſe ſtrange tricks require not any cenſure, but craue ſome *Heraclitus* to lament the madneſſe of ſuch monſters, or rather ſome *Democritus* to laugh at their beaſtlineſſe and villany.

But to returne to the worſhipping of Dragons and ſerpents. There is a pleaſant tale in *Lucian* of a certaine coſiner, who carried a Dragon about to be ſeene, and perſuaded the people that it was *Æſculapius*, ſaying that his Dragon gaue anſwers to all that was demanded of him. This is memorable aboue the reſt, that he could neither endure mockers that would be flouting of him, nor the Chriſtians that would ſigh and tremble at his horrible coſining tricks; and would ſay, that the countrey about the Euxin ſea was full of mockers and Chriſtians, who were ſo bold as they would not ſtick to ſpeake ill of him, and therefore he commanded that they ſhould be ſtoned. Therefore, whenſoeuer he would open the ſhop of his Oracles, there was an *Oyes* made (after the manner of Athens) in theſe tearmes; If any mocker, flouter, or Chriſtian be entred here to ſee what is done in this place, let him goe foorth. Preſently at the hearing of the ſound of theſe words, Let the Chriſtians be driuen away; then they were thruſt out a doores by the head and ſhoulders. As touching the hatred that this coſiner bare to the mockers that laught at his jugling tricks, the cauſes thereof are euident: And for the Chriſtians (if any were ſo curious as would behold the ridiculous impietie of this jugler) it is no wonder that Sathan did ſerue his turne of this inſtrument ſo fit to chaſe them away, and that he could not play his tricks of liegerdemaine to fetch ouer the poore idolators, in the preſence of his members who hath broken the ſerpents head, and ouercome the old dragon. The Romans were once abuſed with this toy, in the citie of Lanuuium, where they worſhipped a certaine Dragon, that vſed to come out of a hole, and would feed

of

of meat that a young maiden brought in a basket, and which ſhee offered to him with her hands: as appeareth by an Elegie in *Propertius*, which may ſerue for the vnderſtanding of a place in *Cicero*, where he ſpeaketh of *Roſcius* borne at Lanuuium, How that he being a ſucking child, and ſleeping in his cradle, his nourſe waking in the night (a lampe burning in the chamber) eſpied a Serpent wreathed about the child; whereat ſhe ſcreeching out in terrible ſort, *Roſcius* his father told it to the Soothſayers, asking their opinion of the matter; they anſwered, That the child ſhould one day be the moſt excellent man in his time. *Seruius* maketh this diſtinction, That Snakes are found in waters, Serpents vpon land, and Dragons in Churches.

*Lib.*1. *de Diuinat.*

To come to latter ſtories, many of Lithuania and Samogitia obſeruing ſtill the Heatheniſh ceremonies that were practiſed by their Anceſtors, keepe Serpents in their houſes, either vnder the furnace, or in ſome corner of the ſtoaue, and at a certaine time of the yeare the prieſts come, and with praiers made of purpoſe inuite theſe Serpents (reuerenced of their hoſts like gods) to come to the table: then theſe Serpents come foorth, and by a cleane table-cloth clamber vp, and ſet themſelues vpon the table, where hauing taſted of euery meſſe, they goe downe againe and hide themſelues in their holes. After the Serpents be gone, the men fall to it merily, and eat vp all the meat that the Serpents touched, which they take for a certaine ſigne that they ſhall haue good ſucceſſe in all things that yeare. If the Serpents come not foorth when the prieſt is mumbling of his *Oremus*, or being come foorth, taſte not of the meat ſet vpon the table, theſe people beleeue that that yeare they ſhall be oppreſſed with miſeries: all which I haue gathered out of the letter of *Iohn Melet* to *George Sabin*. Whereunto I will adde a memorable ſtorie that happened in times paſt betweene the Engliſh and French, as a friend of mine told me he read in certaine Annals. The two kings of theſe two nations hauing aſſembled their mightie armies in Normandie, and prefixed a day of battell, as they were readie to giue the on-ſet, ſome Commanders of the French hoaſt, fearing the valour and fortune of the Engliſh (of which they had made triall to their coſt many times before) and of the other ſide remembring that the iſſue of ſuch attempts is hazardous, handled the matter ſo, that the two kings agreed to parley: firſt, in preſence of ſome of their familiar friends in ſome ſmall number, to the end they might treat (if it were poſſible) of ſome agreement, and forbeare ioyning of battell: hoping that the war ſhould end without teares (as the Oracle of *Dodona* once anſwered the Spartans that were readie to bid battell to the Arcadians.) So it was agreed, that a place ſhould bee choſen fit and free from danger of ambuſcadoes, in the ſame field where the two armies ſtood in battell aray, and there the two kings ſhould meet. All things being conſidered, both parties accepted of a chappell that ſtood deſolate and was almoſt fallen downe; in which the kings being armed, talked together peaceably, aſſiſted with an equall number of armed men, which were placed for a guard at the chappell doore. This Enteruiew hauing much calmed them, they agreed betweene themſelues that both the armies ſhould retire, that there ſhould bee a truce, and that the next day they would treat of conditions of a peace in a greater aſſembly. While the two kings were vpon theſe and ſuch other ſpeeches, and of enemies growne friends, euen as they were readie to goe foorth of the chappell, behold a great and furious Serpent, wakened either by the noiſe of ſo many men in a place before deſolate, or by ſome deuilliſh art (God ſuffering the ſame) commeth out of his hole, like a furie out of hell, beyond all expectation, hiſſing in horrible manner, and offering to

Of the Religiõ and ſacrifices of the old inhabitants of Pruſſia.

rush vpon the kings. They seeing this cruell and venemous beast making hast towards them, brake off their talke, & to defend themselues draw their swords; and after, mistrusting one another, and mooued with the sudden accident, run out of the chappell. The men that guarded at the doore not knowing what had hapned, and amazed at such an vnexpected sight, thinking their masters (hauing been enemies so long time) had fallen out within the chappell, betake them also to their armes, and in all haste make themselues readie to fight. The armies set in battell aray within sight, seeing so many swords out, neuer asking who, or what (as if the token of battell had been giuen) run furiously one at another, and so begin a cruell skirmish: and for all that the kings cried, and made signes to keep them from fighting, they held on furiously, and could by no meanes be made to leaue, till the night separated them, many thousands of men of both sides being left dead vpon the place.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Iesuits, and of their first Originall and Institution.

IN the chapter next afore-going, mention is made of the Sect of the Iesuits: and therfore I hold it not amisse to set downe here their first beginning and institution, which, in respect of other Orders is very recent and fresh, as I find it written in one of the Epistles of *Steuen Pasquier*, somtimes Counsellor and Atturney for the French king in his chamber of Accounts at Paris. There was (saith he) a gentleman of Nauarre called *Ignatius*, who all his life time had followed armes, and being wounded in the citie of Pampeluna, while he was a curing, he thought good to read the liues of the Fathers, and by their patterne to frame all the tenor of his life. He fell into familiaritie with some, and among others with Master *Pasquier Brouës*, from whose mouth I learned the beginning of this storie. These did vow and sweare a Societie together, and when *Ignatius* was healed, they made certaine voiages to Paris, Rome, and Hierusalem. At last they retired to Venice, where they remained for some yeares, and seeing many to follow them, they went to Rome where they began to make publike profession of their Order. They promised among other articles, two things: one, that their principall aime was to preach the Gospel to the Pagans, for the conuerting of them to our faith: the other, to instruct Christians in good letters *gratis*. And to accommodat their name to their deuotion, they called themselues *Religious men of the Societie of the name of* Iesus. After this, they present themselues before Pope *Paul* the third, of the house of *Farnese*, about the yeare 1540, at which time Germanie began to put it selfe in armes, about the stirring of the Catholike Religion. And because one of the principall questions of the Germans, was concerning the authoritie of the Pope, which *Martin Luther* went about to ouerthrow; these Iesuits out of a quite contrarie profession declared, that the first vow which they would make, should be to acknowledge the Pope to be aboue all earthly powers, yea and aboue the generall and vniuersall Councell of the Church. The Pope (who at first had made some scruple to allow of them, and had afterwards permitted them to be called Religious, yet so as they might not bee aboue sixtie in number) began, vpon this promise of theirs, to pricke vp his eares, and to open them a wide gate to their deuotion: and so likewise after him, *Iulius* the third, vntill Pope *Paul* the fourth (called the *Theatin*) who was one of the first aduancers of this Order, did giue them full authoritie,

and

and that with all manner of priuiledges. Now, their affaires going thus, it happned that the Bishop of Clermount, the naturall son of the Chancellor *Du Prat*, tooke an affection to them, and desired to plant this Order within Paris, whither hee brought *Pasquier Brouës* with three or foure others: *Pasquier Brouës* (I say) who was the first Superiour of the Iesuites in our citie. They vpon their first comming were lodged meanly, and without great adoe in a chamber of the colledge of the Lombards, and afterwards were appointed their dwelling in the house of Clermont in the Harpe-street, by his sufferance who had first brought them in among vs, celebrating their Masses and praiers Sundaies and Holy-daies in a chappell which stands at the entring into the Charter-house: and seeing their businesse to haue so good successe, they presented themselues many times to the Court of Parlement, that their Order might be authorised thereby. But *Brulart* the late Atturney generall opposed himselfe against all their requests: not but that he fauoured the Catholicke Religion as well as any man, but because aboue all things he doubted and feared innouations, as the nourses of many errours, yea euen in Religion. Wherefore hee declared vnto them, that if they caried a mind wholly estranged from the world, they might, without bringing in any new Order, confine themselues vnder the ancient Religions of S. *Benet*, *Cluny*, *Cisteaux*, *Gramont*, *Premonstrey*, and others allowed by many Councels, or else vnder the foure begging Orders. The Court not satisfied with these Declarations, would not rest wholly thereupon, but had recourse to the facultie of the Diuines, who by their decree censured them; partly because some of their Propositions derogated from the priuiledges of the French Church, and partly, for that qualifying themselues Religious, they neither wore the habit, nor confined themselues within Cloisters, as others did. Which censure did set them somewhat besides their proiect. Some few yeres after died the Bishop of Clermont, who by his Testament bequeathed to them many great things. These legacies being by them recouered, the troubles arise, in the beginning of which the French Church was assembled at Poissie. Then began they to break off their long silence, and presented a fresh request to the court of Parlement, That they might be receiued and allowed, if not in forme of a Religion, at the least of a simple Colledge. The Parlement thought that this concerned the Heads of the Church: whereupon the Parlement sent them to the Assembly of Poissy, where the Cardinall of Tournon was chiefe as the most ancient Prelate, who within the citie of Tournon had alreadie founded a companie of their name. By his intercession they obtained to be receiued in forme of a Societie and Colledge onely: vpon condition, that they should be bound to take another title than the title of Iesuits, and to conforme themselues in euery thing according to the Canonicall disposition, without enterprising any thing vpon the Ordinaries, either in the temporall or spirituall; and that before all things they should expressely renounce the priuiledges imported by their Bulles. Otherwise, and for default of so doing, and that if hereafter they procured not other priuiledges, this Approbation to be void. This Decree is published vnto them by the Court word by word, and according to the forme and tenor thereof. Within a while after they buy a house scituat in this citie of Paris, in S. *Iames* street, called the Court of Langres, which they diuided into two lodgings; the one for the Religious, the other for the Schollers. After this, when they saw the wind blew merrily in their poope, they put vp a Request to the Rector of Paris, to be vnited and incorporated into the bodie of the Vniuersitie. Whereupon there was a solemne meeting at the Mathurins, where it was con-

cluded, that before they proceeded further they ſhould declare themſelues, whether they tooke the qualitie of Regulars or Seculars. Which brought them into a puzzle: for, to denie that they were Regulars, was to belie their vow; and, to ſay that they were, would haue croſt that which had beene enioyned them at Poiſſie. For which cauſe, vndertaking no preciſe qualitie, the Vniuerſitie daſht their requeſt. Yet they yeeld not for all that, but flie to the Parlement, to get that by conſtraint vpon the Vniuerſitie, which they could not obtaine by good will. But there, after pleading both by the Ieſuits, and by the Vniuerſitie, It was ordained that they ſhould remaine as they were. This was a falſe blow; for they were not incorporated into the bodie of the Vniuerſitie as they required, and being in poſſeſſion of reading publike Lectures, they were continued therein.

Now, although this companie carrie the title of Religious, yet doth it not weare the hood, but goeth in the habit of ſecular men; neither doth it put it ſelfe for euer within Cloiſters, as others doe. It is compoſed of two manner of people, whereof ſome tearme themſelues, as ye would ſay, of the great Obſeruance, others, of the leſſe. The firſt are tied to foure vowes; for, beſides three ordinarie of Chaſtitie, Pouertie, and Obedience, they inſert the fourth which is a particular obedience to the Pope, as I haue ſaid before. The ſecond are bound onely to two vowes: One reſpecteth the fidelitie which they promiſe to the Pope; and the other, the obedience to the Generall of their order. Theſe vow not Pouertie, but it is lawfull for them to hold benefices, offices, to ſucceed their parents and kinsfolkes, to purchaſe lands and poſſeſſions, as if they were not bound to any vow of Religion: ſo that a Ieſuit may be ſpred ouer a whole citie without ſcandall. And the exerciſe of their profeſſion conſiſteth in two points; in the adminiſtration of the Word of God and of the Sacraments, and ſecondly, in teaching of the liberall arts. They haue double dwellings that touch one another: the one appointed for their Prieſts, the other for their Schollers. It were hard to ſay how much they increaſe daily, and how greatly the troubles haue aduanced their increaſe. For, the Catholiks ſeeing that out of their ſhop came both Religion and inſtruction, and that they made expreſſe profeſſion to maintaine the authoritie of the holy See againſt the Caluiniſts, haue giuen them great gifts, yea many houſes to inſtruct youth in, which they now call Seminaries, vnderſtanding by that word the ſeed-plots of the Catholike religion. By this meanes they grow euerie day, partly by their merits, but more by the hatred that men beare to the Huguonots. For my part I thinke that the Huguonots haue no meane enemies of them: for as much as among all religions, the Chriſtian Religion ought to be woon by praiers, examples, good manners, and holy exhortations, and not by the edge of the ſword. Thus for *Paſquier*.

It ſhould ſeeme the name of Ieſuits or Ieſuats was hatched long afore this aforeſaid inſtitution was engendred by *Ignatius*; and that it was inſtituted by a Sienonis called *Columbinus*: witneſſe the inſcription of an Arch erected at the mariage of *Francis* duke of Florence and *Ioane* of Auſtria, of which a booke hath beene publiſhed in Italian by *Dominicus Mellim*. For there vnder the image of Pouertie and Patience theſe words were to be read: ORIGO COLLEGII PAVPERVM, QVI AB IESV COGNOMEN ACCEPERVNT: CVIVS ORDINIS PRINCEPS FVIT IOHANNES COLVMBINVS SENENSIS, ANNO CIↃ. CCC. LI. Betweene theſe two Inſtitutions is almoſt two hundred yeares. It may be coniectured that the Authors of the firſt Inſtitution tied themſelues

to

to such an austeritie of profession, as few followed them, so that the societie held not long. For *Bernardin Scardeon* describeth them to be men of no Ecclesiasticall order, but those that men call Ideots or that neuer studied; liuing austerely, & in great abiection, begging at mens doores: vsing to carrie torches at burialls of the dead, and to sell waters distilled and extracted out of all sorts of medicinall hearbs, for sick persons. Now these latter sort tooke an order for such base & penurious courses: For though they intitle themselues by the holy Name of IESVS as those other did, and make profession of pouertie, as they likewise professed pouertie and patience; yet they soare higher, and flie a pitch equall with the lords of the earth: Nay it is knowne by experience, that in the kingdomes where they are tollerated, they take vpon them like States-men to enter into matter of pollicie and gouernment, hauing secret intelligence with those that are neerest about princes, thereby to suck out all the secrets they can to acquaint the Pope therewith, whom they professe to maintaine and susteine in all his authoritie and power, by which meanes there is nothing done in any princes court almost of Europe, but the Pope knoweth it. They are also growne exceeding rich by cheating vpon sillie soules, drawing from them (vnder the collour of pietie, zeale, and religion) their lands, and liuelihoods, or persuading them to turne the same into money, and deliuer it into their hands; and they so wiped of their liuings, are clapt into a Seminarie there to remaine till they be commanded (perhaps) to doe some seruice for the Church, that is, to commit treason, or murther. They are so insolent and proud that they ride like Earles in coaches, haue gentlewomen to pull off their bootes, ride from house to house, from good cheere to good cheere, Finally, (for it is impossible to paint them out in lesse compasse than a whole volume) there is no treason plotted in any state, but a Iesuit hath his finger if not his whole hand in it, either in the beginning, middle, or end thereof.

De Relig. Patauin. in templ. condend. lib. 11. *cl.* 5.

CHAP. X.

How they vsed in old time to purge themselues of Crimes imputed, and to verifie their Innocencie.

IN old time, and not long agoe, our Ancestors inuented and practised diuers sorts of proofes, in such things as were doubtfull and obscure, and committed in secret without witnesses: which proofes at this day either are expressely abrogated and abolished as vnlawfull, or else buried and altogether out of vse. These proofes were made especially three waies: by the Duell or Combat, by the burning Iron, and by boyling Water or Oyle. We will first speake of the Combat, whereof many Ciuilians as well ancient as moderne haue written at large, and it was much vsed in times past betweene the Pagans and the Christians, yea among all nations, as it is still at this present among the Christians against the Turkes vpon the frontiers of Hungarie and Dalmatia, to make triall of their valour. But we will speake of it as it was vsed to trie out a thing secret and vnknowne, which was so common a proofe, that *Fronto* king of Denmark made an ordinance, That all differences whatsoeuer should be cleered by the combat. *Bodin* saith, That in Moscouia they doe so still, and he setteth downe many notable particularities touching the combat. But because it was obserued by wise-men, That these single fights or combats deuised to discouer the truth, were deceiueable, vncertaine, and often-times the innocent partie

was oppreſſed by the guiltie; this vulgar proofe brought in by witleſſe people void of any reaſonable ground, was forbidden by the Ciuile and Canon law, as appeareth by many ancient conſtitutions inſerted in the Decretalls. Therefore in the Canon, *Significantibus de purgatione Vulgari*, a caſe is deſcribed of two, whereof the one accuſed the other of theft; and for proofe they vnderwent the combat, wherein the innocent partie had the worſe; for the thing ſtolne was found about the conqueror. Now the combat was practiſed in old time not onely in ſerious affaires, but alſo as an ordinarie paſtime: whereupon the name of Fencers was famous among the Romans; and the Emperour *Commodus* loued more to be in a hall of fencing at the ſharpe, than in the Senat-houſe. Contrariwiſe, many Chriſtian Emperours haue condemned ſuch bloodie fights, and *Theodoſius*, when the people in a full Theatre required of him to haue ſome fencers, anſwered, That it behooued a good prince not onely to reigne, but alſo to looke with a mercifull eie. Hence is it that *Panormitan* ſaith, That all plaies or paſtimes wherein mans life is indangered, or the ſaluation of a ſoule hazarded, ſhould be vtterly aboliſhed, becauſe they are repugnant to the Word of God. Let vs returne to Hiſtories. *Plutarch* reporteth, That *Alexander* the Great gathered by a combat made vpon pleaſure, that he ſhould win the victorie and diſcomfit *Darius* who was comming againſt him with ten hundred thouſand men. The ſeruants and followers of his armie deuided themſelues in two bands, each of which bands had his captaine, the one called *Darius*, the other *Alexander*. Their fight began at firſt with clods of earth, then they came to fiſts, after that, being more heated, ſtones and ſtaues were furiouſly ſet a worke. *Alexander* hearing of it, ſent for the two captaines, and would needs haue them fight in ſingle combat one againſt another. Himſelfe armed the captaine that was called *Alexander*, and *Philotas* made readie *Darius*. All the armie ſtood and beheld the duell, drawing from the iſſue thereof, a preſage of what would follow. The conflict was ſharpe: but at laſt *Alexander* remained conqueror, and had for his reward twelue villages, and leaue to apparell himſelfe after the Perſian faſhion. *Procopius* writeth, That *Narſes* in his wars for the Emperour againſt the Gothes, vſed the ſame coniectures. And *Cornelius Tacitus* ſaith, That the Germans inclined much to ſuch preſages. Theſe are his words: *If they can take any priſoner of that nation which they intend to aſſaile, they make him enter combat againſt ſome one whom they cull out of their owne: and by the victorie preſage of the euent of the war.*

I will here (by the Readers leaue) ſet downe one memorable Duell performed at Paris in the time of *Charles* the ſixt, betweene two gentlemen of the familie of *Peter* duke of Alençon, the one called *Iaquet le Gris*, the other *Iohn de Caronge*. The cauſe thereof is deſcribed by *R. Gaguin* as followeth. *Iohn* was a knight deſirous to ſee and learne many things, and therefore had a mind to trauell into farre countreys: ſo leauing his wife in the caſtle of Argenteil in Normandie, he tooke his iourney. *Iaquet le Gris* enamoured of this ladie who was very faire, or willing to put a tricke vpon *Caronge*, ariſing betimes one morning, and mounted vpon a very ſwift courſer, poſted to this caſtle of Argenteil, where being courteouſly enterteined, he ſaid, that the chiefeſt cauſe of his comming thither was to ſee the tower, which he had heard was very faire. The Ladie taking the keyes, and no whit miſtruſting him, whom ſhe knew to be her husbands very good friend and familiar acquaintance, opened the doore, and went alone with him into the tower. He ſtrengthening himſelfe in his diſhoneſt reſolution by ſeeing them two there alone, throwes her to the ground, and forceth her; which

De purgat. Vulg. Ibid. de Cleric. duello certantib. & 2. q. 5. C. Conſulum iſtis. & C. Monomachia.

Lib. de morib. German.

Lib. 9. Hiſt. Franc.

which done, he presently gets him gone; yet not so soone, but that the ladie had time to say vnto him thus much, Villanous adulterer, thou shalt one day be punished for this offence. Shee neuer made complaint to any person of this outrage, but waited her husbands returne; to whom shee reuealed with many grieuous tearmes this villanous part of *Iaquet:* whereat her husband extreamely wroth, and set on as well by his owne friends and kinsfolke as his wiues, to reuenge it, informed the duke of Allençon of all the matter, requiring that the adulterer might be punished, or else, that the difference might bee decided betweene them two by Duell: But the duke making no account of his complaint, *Caronge* had recourse to the Parliament of Paris, who appointed a day for the combat, whereof king *Charles* was a spectator. *Caronges* wife was there in a chariot couered with blacke: Her husband then comming to her, said thus; Ladie, and wife, there is none but your selfe onely that can witnesse of the outrage for which I hazard my life in this combat: tell mee boldly, if I haue right on my side to encounter my enemie. My lord (quoth she) you haue; fight with all confidence, the cause is good. Thereupon kissing his wife, he makes him readie to the fight. They were both on horse-backe; and at the first charge, *Caronge* was hurt in the thigh: but fainting not for all that, he alights, chargeth his enemie againe, ouercomes him, and kils him. The king gaue him a thousand francs at once, and two hundred liuers for yearely pension. Such was the end of the villanous adulterer. *Froissard* reporteth this storie at large, and addeth (as it is read in some copies) *This was not blind fortune, who other-whiles ruleth in such affaires, but equitie and vertue which then displaied her forces: for the husband who preferred his wiues honour before his owne life, and feared not to hazard himselfe to the death for maintenance thereof, hauing cut his aduersaries throat declared to all the world, That there is a reuenging God, who suffereth not hainous crimes to goe vnpunished.* Now, if *Le Gris* had woon the victorie, the Parliament had ordeined that the ladie should haue been burnt, vpon the opinion that men would haue had that her accusation was false; and that *Caronges* bodie should haue been hangd on the gybbet, as that of *Iaquet le Gris* was.

100. li. sterl. 20. li. sterl. *Lib.*3. *cap.*45.

To speake now of the other proofes by the burning yron, and the boiling water or oyle. *Iohn Auentin* saith, that these proofes or iustifications were inuented, for that our predecessors, men that had a very tender and sincere conscience, trusted more in God than in themselues, depended more of the iustice of the Almightie and of his promises, than of their owne directions and wisedom: to be briefe, grounded not so much vpon their owne opinions, as vpon the instructions and commandements of the heauenly truth. *They would* (saith he) *that God should gouerne in all their words and deeds, which they then esteemed firme when hee had approoued them euidently: being resolued, that they would execute nothing but in the presence of God all good and almightie, inuironed with his Angels, and his Saints that doe behold him: for which cause, in ambiguous matters, namely criminall, that could not be cleared by humane testimonie, they would haue recourse to the declarations from heauen, and to the diuine Maiestie, which no man can deceiue, as to the honourable Arbitrator and Iudge of all.* In the same booke *Auentin* propoundeth the consecration of the hoat water, and of the yron, as he saith he had found it written in certaine old books of Ceremonies, and it is thus:

*Lib.*4. of the Annals of Bauaria.

Consecration of the hoat water.

O God, the iust Iudge, strong and patient; the Author and louer of Iustice, that iudgest rightly; iudge (ô Lord) that which is iust: for thy iudgements are right. Thou who beholdest the earth, and maketh it to tremble, thou (ô Lord Almightie) who hast saued the world by the comming of thy Sonne our Lord Iesus

» Iesus Christ, and hast redeemed mankind by his sufferings, sanctifie this water
» by a burning fire, thou, who preseruedst within the fierie furnace the three yong
» men, *Sidrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego*, which were cast into it by the kings comman-
» dement: Graunt of thy mercie that the innocent person that shall plunge his
» hand within this boyling water, may bring it out againe sound, whole, and no
» whit hurt, by thy power (ô Lord) as thou didst bring out the three young men
» aboue named out of the fierie furnace, and deliueredst *Susanna* from the false
» accusation. But if any guiltie person, or one whose hardned heart the deuill
» hath thickned, presume to thrust his hand into this water, let thy most righteous
» goodnesse vouchsafe to discouer the fact, that the same may appeare by thy ver-
» tue vpon his bodie, and that his soule may be saued by repentance.

Consecration of the yron.

» O God, the iust Iudge, which art the Author of peace, and iudgest vprightly,
» we humbly beseech thee to vouchsafe to blesse and sanctifie this yron, ordeined
» to make iust search and inquirie of euery obscure doubt: so that the person
» that shall take it burning hoat in his hands, may not feele any burning, or appeare
» any whit hurt by the same. If he be guiltie, let thy power appeare to be iust in
» reuealing the crime by such a triall, so that iniquitie may not haue the vpper
» hand of Iustice, and lying may bee made subiect to the Truth, through our
» Lord, &c.

For the rest, albeit *Auentin* saith, that these ceremonies which hee findeth haue bin recommended and put in practise by Popes, Christian Princes, Monks and Nunnes, are not irreligious or profane, but that the obseruation of them discouereth some knowledge, faith, and hope in God: neuertheless, as it is lawfull (and pietie requires it) that that which we ought to do in vsing of any thing, is first of all to thanke God who giueth vs the vse thereof; and then to magnifie and praise him with all our heart, beseeching him that such vse may be religious and holy: it followeth that the things rightly grounded in the holy Scripture, are rightly and properly emploied to discouer the truth not apparant: and that (contrariwise) those things which may bee thought superstitious, and meerely inuented of too much curiositie, ought to be reiected, and that worthily: For, the condition of men, their power, and their authoritie, cannot beare them out to establish any sacred signes at their pleasure. For, seeing God is perfectly wise, he hath no need that our thoughts or directions should frame him such meanes without his commaundement. There is no Crafts-man in the world though neuer so contemptible, that would be so handled, but himself wil make choice of the tooles to worke with: so is their boldnesse intollerable, who will take vpon them to prescribe to God what instruments hee must vse in the work of our saluation. As for examples, they haue neither sound nor weight that may surmount the value of truth, nor the force of his voice. Therefore *Salomon* propoundeth these things as supernaturall, vnder a pretie similitude referred to an impossible thing; *Can a man take fire in his bosome, and his garments not bee burnt with it? Can a man walke vpon quicke coales, and not haue his feet burnt?*

Prou. 6, 27, 28.

I know verie well, that prooving of innocencie by the burning fire was vsed ordinarily in old time: whereof we haue a notable storie in *Chunegonda*, wife to the Emperour *Henrie* of Bauaria, buried by her husband in the Cathedrall Church of Pabeberg. It is held for certaine that this *Chunegonda*, princesse of Franconia, though she were married to the Emperour, liued a virgin during all that marriage. The custome was then (saith the Historian) that persons accused of any crime whereof they could not be conuicted by sufficient proofe, and which yet was accompanied with strong coniectures; to iustifie themselues fully

Nicephorus in his Chronol.

fully, and to be held for innocent, carried in their hands a bar of iron all red and burning hot, or walked vpon it bare-footed: or elſe, thruſt their hand into burning oyle or water: beleeuing that they ſhould obtaine of God, called vpon by certain ſolemne praiers to be no whit hurt by ſuch proofs. *Chunegonda* a yong and faire princeſſe, not ruſticall, or vnciuile, could not auoid the imputation of being vnchaſt, wherewith her ill-willers charged her, who bruited abroad, that a yong lord of the court entertained her. And the hiſtorie addeth, That there was ſeen many times a ſpirit formed by Sathan, like vnto this young lord, comming forth of the Empreſſes chamber. This bruit being noiſed, the Emperour began firſt to eſtrange himſelfe from his wife; ſecondly, to reproch vnto her openly, that ſhee was guiltie of adulterie. *Chunegonda* fled to the cuſtome, ſaying that ſhee would walke bare-footed vpon the plow-ſhares, burning hoat and ſparkling with fire, to make proofe of her innocencie. Hauing gone vpon eleuen of them one after another, ſhe ſtood ſtill vpon the twelfth, proteſting with a loud voice, That neuer any man had giuen attempt to her virginitie. The Emperour ſeeing that this would be a blot to him, and that hee ſhould be condemned for a cruell iealous husband, came and laid his hand vpon her mouth, to ſtop her words; and he did it ſo rudely and ſo haſtily, that the blood came running out at her lips. Afterwards, acknowledging the wrong, and ſuing for her fauour which he obtained, he liued with her the reſidue of his daies in great loue and amitie. There is yet to be ſeene neere the great Church of Pabeberg a chappell, where be certaine pillars laid in a round compaſſe: they ſay that *Chunegonda* performed her proofe in that place.

There be many ſuch ſtories found in ancient Authors, and quarrels determined where the facts are doubtfull, by ſuch proofes and trials, euen among the Pagans. *Lilius Giraldus* in his Hiſtorie of the gods reporteth, that in *Dianas* chappell at Caſtabala a citie of Perſia, the Virgins conſecrated to that goddeſſe, walked on their bare feet vpon burning coales without receiuing any hurt: which alſo *Plinie*, *Solinus*, *Seruius*, affirme was likewiſe practiſed in the mount Soracte in Italie, by all thoſe of the familie ſurnamed *Hirpina*, with the helpe of the illuſions of Sathan, within the temple of the goddeſſe *Feronia*. *Pauſanius* ſaith, that he was a ſpectator of the wonder, and *Strabo* confirmeth the ſame, as doth alſo *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. We read that by the ſame Satanicall deceit, *Tucia* a Veſtall virgin being touched in her honour, to iuſtifie her ſelfe (after certaine coniurations) caried a ſiue full of water from the riuer Tiber to the chappell of *Veſta*, none of the water running out at the holes of the ſiue. Another of the ſame Virgins called *Claudia*, drew a ſhip out of the Bay where ſhe had long lien aground, onely with her girdle. And *Æmilia* another of the ſame Virgins hauing caſt her linnen ſurplis vpon the harth of *Veſtas* altar, made the fire to go out of it, for triall of her innocencie: which examples doe ſhew, that ſuch proofs of chaſtitie and innocencie haue been often vſed among the Pagans, and haue much confirmed them in their ſuperſtitions.

*Lib.*11.

*Lib.*5.

Val. Max. Lib. cap. 1.

Ibidem.

*Lib.*2. *Antiquit. Rom.*

It appeareth then, that it is a moſt dangerous thing to frame humane actions by examples, except the reaſons that fit all the actions doe ſquare alſo with euerie one of them. And therefore let thoſe take heed they be well reſolued, who diſpute, whether it be well done of them which without any commandement haue applied the holy name of the true God to their coniurations, tying it by humane curioſitie to oyle, fire, or water, and will haue the ſame receiueable, becauſe of the effects that follow therof. And whereas they obiect the law, or the ſacrifice of Iealoſie in Iſrael, it maketh nothing for the purpoſe: for that was a ceremoniall

*Num. cap.*5.

ceremoniall ordinance, peculiar to the Iewiſh nation, and but for a time, not vniuerſall and perpetuall, as the Morall lawes were. There the prieſt with certaine ceremonies and execrations declared by *Moſes*, diſcouered either the crime or innocencie of the ſuſpected wife, by drinking of the water conſecrated to that purpoſe, the operation whereof followed ſoone after. But the proofes that are made by hot water, or cold, by the burning iron, by the ſparkling coales, or by the combat, are called Vulgar in the Canon-law, becauſe the vulgar ſort was the inuenter and fautor thereof; and they are expreſſely forbidden, and aboliſhed by the Canons: which is allowed by *Thomas Aquinas* in the ſecond Section of the 95 Queſtion, and 8 Article, where this reaſon is added, That ſuch proofes are not grounded vpon any Canonicall ordinance, but it ſeemeth that God is tempted by them. *Francis Hotman* a learned Ciuilian, in the end of his diſpute of Fees, ſticketh not to call all ſuch proofes, Furious.

If *Bernardin Scardeon* had remembred this, I doe not thinke he would haue inſerted into his Hiſtorie, for a miracle, the report of that which befell a certaine Ieſuit, or Ieſuat, and it is this: It chanced one day (ſaith *Scardeon*) that the Generall of the Auguſtins hauing dined with the Ieſuits, the table being taken away, as they two were talking priuatly together, he enters into a long and loftie diſcourſe of the excellencie of the monaſticall profeſſion, charging the Ieſuits in couert tearmes that they made not profeſſion of the three vowes as other Monkes did, albeit publikely & openly men called them *Fratri*, Friers or Monks. Their ſuperior in that place (an vnlearned man, but yet wiſe, and of a holy life) anſwered preſently ſaying; Father, ſeeing we are falne into this matter, will you haue, that one of our friers offred ſimply to God, or elſe one of your traine, hauing made ſollemne profeſſion of the three vowes, doe ſhew here before vs, which of them will be the readier to obey his ſuperior? The Generall ſignified, that he ſhould like well ſuch a triall, not knowing whereto the Principall of the Ieſuits pretended. He then turning him towards the holy frier *Marke*, who then waited at the table, ſaith vnto him, Brother *Marke*, our companions are acold, I command you that in vertue of the holy obedience you bring hither preſently out of the kitchin within your hands quick and burning coales, that they may ſoone warme themſelues. He, readie to obey, without further deferring, and beleeuing that nothing could be impoſſible to him ſo as he were commanded, runs in haſte to the kitchin, and from thence brings in his hands ioyned the one to the other ſtore of burning coales, which he preſents vpon the table, without receiuing any hurt whatſoeuer: and hauing offred them to whom ſoeuer would warme himſelf, by the commandement of the Principall, and to the great wonderment of all, he beares them back againe in his hands, and throwes them into the harth whence he had taken them out. The Generall of the Auguſtins amaſed at this, beheld the Monke that was come with him, as if he commanded him the ſame. But the Monke vnderſtanding him well inough, and ſeeing it was no time to ſtand mute, ſaid vnto him theſe words; Reuerend father, forbeare, and command me not to tempt God: If you will, I will fetch you fire in a chafing diſh (as I haue vſed to doe) not in my bare hands. The others, aſtoniſhed at that which *Marke* had done, ſtood ſtone-ſtill, the reſt well pleaſed with the proper anſwer of the Monke, ſmiled one vpon another. This is *Scardeons* tale. *Lib.* 11. *cap.* 6.

I confeſſe that it hath come to paſſe ſometimes by miracle, that the fire could not hurt ſome certaine perſons, eſpecially then when there hath beene queſtion of the certaintie of the articles of our faith, or elſe of the true Religion againſt idolatrie, as *Daniels* companions were by the Angell of the Lord appearing in the

the midst of them, preserued from the violence of the burning fire in the presence of king *Nebuchadnezar*. And *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus* write that in the time of *Anastasius* the Emperour, two bishops, the one an Orthodoxan, the other an Arrian, disputed at first by words touching the matter that was in difference: but afterwards the Orthodoxan propounded this to his aduersarie, that omitting vaine disputations they would both enter into the midst of a burning fire, there to make triall, vnder Gods testimonie, of the truth of their beleefe. The Arrian refused the match; but the Orthodoxan without delay went into the fire, and from thence began to preach, and after a long speech came out againe without taking any hurt at all. *Lib. 5. cap. 23.*

For the rest, it cannot be denied but by cunning (as by some antidote) one may stay and diuert the force of burning that is in fire, and in other mettalls inflamed by fire: And sometimes there be tricks of liegerdemain vsed, especially by juglers and mountebankes. The lord of Busbech writeth, That being Ambassador for the Emperour in Turkie, there was a Turkish frier that came into his chamber after dinner, who with a great flint stone that he had taken vp in the court of that lodging, gaue such blowes vpon his bare breast as would haue felled an oxe. And that done, he takes an iron that had beene put into the fire of purpose, and was glowing hot, and with his bare hands thrusteth it into his mouth, and there turneth it now into the one side now into the other, his spittle hizzing and boyling as water doth in a smiths trough when burning iron is plunged into it: which hauing done a prettie while together, he at last tooke and laid the iron againe into the fire, and went his way. Which (saith the same Author) is not so strange a matter as one would take it at first dash: For (doubtlesse) this miracle-monger making as if he sought for a stone in the yard to beat his breast with, did then arme his mouth with some proper medicin against the violence of fire, as it is well knowne such things are to be found. The same writeth, That he had once seene at Venice a mountebanke that washt his hands with molten lead, without any hurt in the world. Epist. 4.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affections of Menippus, *and other memorable illusions.*

THe learned *Budæus* reporteth a storie, or poeticall fiction taken out of *Philostratus* in the life of *Apollonius*, as followeth. A yong man of Lycia, called *Menippus*, of some fiue and twentie yeares of age, hauing a reasonable good wit, a faire stature, a pleasant and youthfull face, was thought of all to haue won the fauour of a woman stranger, who seemed faire and verie gallant; besides she made her selfe verie rich: but all this was nothing, though all men thought it a great matter. As *Menippus* was one day walking all alone in the way to Cenchreæ, a spirit (it was the wicked spirit) comes to him in the habit of a woman, and taking him by the hand, said vnto him, That she had of a long time beene in loue with him: that she was a Phænician dwelling in one of the suburbs of Corinth, and named it. If thou wilt come thether *Menippus* (quoth she) thou wilt take singular delight to heare me sing; thou shalt haue wine the best that euer was tasted, thou shalt liue there in all securitie without feare of any fellow-riuall, I will passe all my time with thee, and we will liue faire and faire together. This yong man allured with the baite of such language (though he was otherwise a good resolute Philosopher, but loose and giuen to follow women) *Lib. 1. of the meanes to studie well.*

women) conueied himselfe in the euening to this womans house, and had the companie of her (as commonly such people vse to doe) not mistrusting but that she was indeed what she seemed to be. *Apollonius* being come to Corinth, and measuring *Menippus* by the eie, as an image-worker would an image; after he had looked vpon him a long time, he said vnto him, Alas faire lad, so much desired of faire ladies, know this, that thou nourishest a snake in thy bosome, and a snake nourisheth thee. *Menippus* amased at this word, *Apollonius* went on saying; but in truth, *Menippus*, this woman is none of thine, and dost thou thinke she loues thee? Yea marrie, answered *Menippus*, and with great affection. By this reckoning (replies *Apollonius*) thou shouldest marrie her, and it shalbe most honestly done (in mine opinion) to take her for thy wife, seeing she loues none but thee; but tell me (I pray thee) when shall the wedding be? Verie shortly, answers *Menippus*, and peraduenture to morow. Well, the day being set downe, *Apollonius* remembred it most carefully: So, the guests being all come and set at the table, *Apollonius* failed not to be there in time, and then turning about to the companie, Where is the faire bride (quoth he) for whom you make all this good cheere? There she is (answered *Menippus*;) who blushing begins to stand vp. *Apollonius* going on, But I pray thee *Menippus* (quoth he) this vessell of gold and of siluer, and all the stuffe this chamber is furnisht with, is it thine, or no? It is the brides, said *Menippus*: for I haue nothing in the world that I can call mine but this, shewing his Philosophers gowne which he had on. You will find in the end, replies *Apollonius*, that all these goodly shewes come from *Tantalus* gardens, that is to say, are meere illusions. All the company began to crie out, saying; We know that the Poet *Homer* speakes of those gardens, but we neuer went downe to hell to be able to tell more particular newes of them. Yet for all that, answers *Apollonius*, you should account the spouse and all her prouision a Tantalian garden: for there is not any thing here that is firme, all is but smoake and dreames. And that ye may know my words to be true, this faire bride is an Empuse, or Hag, one of those that take delight in nothing else but to wantonise and commit filthinesse, and after to glut themselues with the blood and flesh of those men they conuerse with, and so to deuoure them. Whereat the Empuse began to say thus, Soft and faire friend, be not so chollerick, and therewith set a good face on the matter, as if she defied him and all that he had said; flouting all Philosophers, and calling them poore doting fellowes. In the meane while the golden cups, and all the vessell of siluer (or that were taken for such) began to melt and vanish away at *Apollonius* protestation. The seruitors, the cookes, the pages, the caruers and other such officers were gone vpon a sudden: and the Empuse her selfe began to pray *Apollonius* that he would not force her to tell what she was. But *Apollonius* would not so leaue, but begins to vrge her so sore, that at last she confesseth her selfe a spirit, and no bride: and that her purpose was to make *Menippus* fat, that afterward she might eat him vp. This is *Philostratus* tale.

Lib. 6. cap. 21. of his Eccles. historie.

Enagrius writeth, That the mother to the Emperour *Mauritius*, would oftentimes tell how a certaine Empuse or Hag had taken *Mauritius* being a sucking child, and carried him from one place to another with full purpose to haue eaten him, but that she had not the power to doe him any hurt. And *Lilius Gyraldus* faith, that some to whom such women-spirits haue appeared in our time, haue told him, (and besides affirmeth he hath read it in Authors) that of such spirits as these the Prophet speaketh in the 91 Psalme, where he maketh mention of the euill spirit that killeth men at noone-day. We read in the Historicall

Lib. 12. of the Hist. of the gods.

collections

collections of *Suidas*, that the Empuse is a deuillish hagge sent from *Proserpina*, and appearing to poore distressed persons; and is called so, because it goeth but of one foot, the other being of brasse, or made like an asses foot. Many thought, saith hee, that these hagges vsed to appeare about noone, at such time as the funerall Obsequies for the dead were performed, and that they vsed to bring them bread, wine, light, and siluer. And at this day the Russians feare and reuerence the Noone-deuill, who vseth to watch like a widdow that weareth mourning, at such time as they are cutting downe of their hay, and their harueſt, breaking the Mowers and Reapers armes and legs, if they fall not downe to the ground vpon their faces so soone as euer they see him. *Philostratus*, and after him *Cœlius Rhodiginus* write, That the Ancients called these Empuses, *Lamiæ*, and *Mormolyciæ*, as who would say, Witches, and Wolfe-snowts. If we say, that these Menippian loues are but fictions, tending to with-draw men from infamous thoughts and actions, let vs adde thereto a true narration of that which hapned to *Alexander* of Alexandria, a witnesse worthie of credit, as himselfe setteth it downe thus: *Being once sicke at Rome* (saith he) *as I lay in my bed broad waking, a very faire woman (mee thought) appeared vnto mee: looking vpon her with mine eyes wide-open, I lay still a long time, much troubled, and not speaking a word, casting and discoursing with my selfe, whether I wakt or was in a dreame, and whether it was a phantasie, or a true sight that I saw. Feeling all my sences whole and perfit, and seeing the shape continue in the same being, I began to aske her who shee was: shee smiling, and repeating the same words that I had spoken, as if shee had mockt me, after shee had lookt vpon mee a long while, vanished away.* Lib. 2. cap. 9.

Thomas Erastus, a learned Physician witnesseth, That in the time of the Emperour *Maximilian* the first, in the yeare 1503, such a like apparition was seene at a place neere Ausbourg, resembling the Abbesse of Etesteten, called *Marguerite de Roth*, which suffered it selfe to bee seene and handled, yea and spake in plaine and significant tearmes to those that came neere vnto it. In his dispute of Witches.

I. Wier reporteth a memorable storie of *Magdalen de la Croix*, an Abbesse in Spaine, whose place a phantosme held in the Church and elsewhere, while shee lay with a wicked spirit that had maried her. Lib. 6. cap. 6. of the deceit, &c.

There be many Histories published in our time, touching the deceits of Sathan that vncleane spirit, who by his illusions and strange fantasies hath horribly abused some villaines that haue abandoned themselues to women, who appeared to them in woods and fields: which (indeed) were wicked and vncleane spirits disguised in human shape, and seruing for executioners of the diuine Iustice, to punish these wretches giuen ouer to their infamous lusts. We will not proceed any further to paint foorth the horrible trickes of this enemie to mankind. Such abominations are most execrable and detestable: For, if the law of God condemne those to bee burnt that haue any dealing with beasts; what punishment doe these wretched persons deserue, that by carnall copulation haue to doe with deuils? Therefore such men and women are most inexcusable and not to bee suffered, which wittingly and willingly giue themselues to such confusion with Sathan, seeking to him, and wooing him, as the hee witches and shee witches of these times vse to doe.

For the rest, it cannot be denied, but that wicked spirits take vpon them diuers bodies, and may present certaine shapes to mens eyes, although they haue not a perfect organicall bodie as a man hath. Therefore, it is no new or strange thing, if it fall out sometimes that profane persons, or such as be sick or troubled in their braine, haue their sences deceiued with diuers and sundrie illusions, as it hath oftentimes happened in our age, and not long agoe, wherof I will produce

ſome examples: and firſt of all, that which I find in the hiſtorie of Bohemia
Lib. 23. written by the Biſhop of Olmutz. *Wenceſlaus* ſonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, marying *Sophia* the duke of Bauarias daughter, when the mariage was to bee ſolemnized, the duke knowing that his ſonne in law delighted much in ſuch ridiculous ſhewes and coniuring trickes, ſent to Prague for a waggon-load of Coniurers. And as he that was thought the skilfulleſt in that ſcience ſtudied how he might worke ſome rare illuſions, ſuch as were not vſually ſeene, by charming the eyes of the ſpectators: *Wenceſlaus* Magician called *Zyto* (who had sneaked into the crowd, and looked on among the reſt) ſuddenly preſents himſelfe, hauing his mouth (as it ſeemed) clouen of both ſides, and all open to his very eares: and afterwards comming among them, he takes the Dukes chiefe Coniurer, and ſwallows him vp with all that he had about him, ſauing his ſhooes, becauſe they ſeemed all durtie, and therefore he ſpit them a great way from him: which when he had done, and being not able to diſgeſt ſuch a great morſell, he goes and empties himſelfe in a great fat that ſtood full of water, voids the man downeward, brings him in againe well wet, and ſhewes him to the companie, who laught their bellie full at the pleaſant ieaſt: but the other companions ſeeing this, would play no more. Hauing reckoned vp a many ſuch other illuſions, he addeth for concluſion, that this coſiner *Zyto*, in the preſence of a great many, was caried away aliue both bodie and ſoule by the deuill: which ſo mooued *Wenceſlaus*, that from thence forward he applied himſelfe to the meditation of
Athenæus Lib. 12. cap. 18. ſerious and ſacred things. Not to ſtand vpon ancient Enchanters, as *Sciammus* the Tarentine, *Philiſtides* the Syracuſan, *Heraclytus* the Mitylenian, and other famous Coniurers in the time of *Alexander* the Great; there was within the memory of our fathers as famous an Enchanter and Coniurer as any could bee, called *Iohn Fauſtus* of Cundligen, a German. There is none in all Germanie, little or great, but can tell ſome tale or other of this wretches illuſions and magicall tricks, who had learned the blacke Art at Cracaw in Polonia, where in thoſe daies it was taught in open Schooles. To be ſhort, hee was ſuch a maſter (for all the world) in deuilliſh trickes, as that *Zyto* we ſpake of before. And as they had bin copesmates together in that curſed craft all their life time, ſo were they recompenſed
Lib. 2. cap. 4. alike in their death. *I. Wier* ſaith, that this *Fauſtus* was found dead by a bed ſide in a certaine village within the duchie of Wirtenberg, hauing his necke broken, and the houſe wherein he was being beaten downe at midnight. Theſe are the rewards due to ſuch wicked and moſt intollerable curioſities.

To ſpeake more of *Fauſtus*, I haue heard many things reported by thoſe that knew him, which do ſhew that he was an arch-coſiner, and skilfull Negromancer, if the execrable trade of a moſt vaine and wretched man may be tearmed skill. Among other coſining tricks of his, I will ſpeake of one, ridiculous in ſhew, but moſt deuilliſh in deed: for it diſcouereth how cunningly and ſeriouſly (and that in ſuch things as to vs ſeeme pleaſant) the wilie enemie of mankind goeth about to deſtroy and ouerthrow vs. And therefore the vanitie (or rather impietie) of thoſe men is not to be ſuffered, who deſiring ſome ſport and paſtime that may offend no bodie (as they tearme it) conſider not in the meane while how they leaue the alliance of God to enter acquaintance with an vnreconcilable enemie, who walketh about like a roaring lyon that he may deuoure them, lying in wait vnceſſantly for his prey, like the cat when with cloſe pawes and without any noiſe ſhe watcheth for the mouſe to ſnap at it, and cruſh it in peeces;
Homil. 34. for which cauſe *Chryſoſtome* ſaid, *If wicked men ſay nothing to thee, yet thou haſt the prince of wicked men who perſecuteth man without any intermiſſion.* For what doe they

elſe

elſe but inſinuat themſelues into the deuils company, ſeeing they vſe exerciſes (as it were) with the furious enemie of their ſaluation, and leauing the ſtandard of Ieſus Chriſt, march vnder the banner of Sathan, as if there were truce proclaimed between them? But God, who hath created men to this end, that they ſhould be ſouldiers in this war, will, that they ſhould appeare in their ranks with their armes about them, and that they ſhould carie alwayes a readie eye vpon the ſecret ambuſhes, or open aſſaults of their ſworne enemie, who (after the maner of expert and politike captains) vſeth diuers and ſundrie ſleights, diſplaying his rage, as he knoweth the nature and inclination of thoſe to be whom he ſetteth vpon. Now *Fauſtus* iugling part which hee plaied was this: Meeting one day at a table with ſome who had heard much of his craftie conueyances and tricks of liegerdemaine, he was earneſtly intreated to ſhew them ſome ſport. And being ouercome in the end by the importunitie of his pot-companions that were well warm'd in the head, he promiſed to ſhew them whatſoeuer they would haue. They with one generall conſent require him to bring into the place a Vine loaden with ripe grapes, and readie to bee gathered: For they thought that becauſe it was in the moneth of December, *Fauſtus* could not ſhew them that which was not. He condiſcended to them, promiſing that foorthwith, before euer they ſtirred from the table, they ſhould ſee the Vine they deſired: but vpon this condition, That they ſhould not ſpeake a word, nor offer to riſe from their places, but ſhould all tarie till he bade them cut the grapes: and that whoſoeuer ſhould doe otherwiſe, was in danger to looſe his life. They hauing all promiſed to obey him, *Fauſtus* by his enchantments and magicall ſpels foorthwith ſo charmed the eyes and fantaſies of theſe drunken reuellers, that they ſaw (as it ſeemed to them) a marueilous goodly vine, and vpon the ſame ſo many bunches of grapes (extraordinarily great & long) as there were men ſitting then at the table. Enflamed with the daintineſſe of ſuch a rare thing, and being very drie with much drinking, euery man takes his knife in hand, looking when *Fauſtus* would giue the word, and bid them cut the cluſters. But hee hauing held them for a while in ſuſpence about this vaine peece of witcherie, behold, all the Vine and the bunches of grapes were in the turne of a hand vaniſhed quite away, and euery one of theſe drunken companions thinking he had had a cluſter of grapes in his hand readie to cut off, was ſeene to hold his owne noſe with one hand, and the ſharpe knife with the other, to cut that off: ſo that if any of them had forgotten the Enchanters leſſon, and beene too forward neuer ſo little, inſtead of cutting a bunch of grapes, he had whipt off his owne noſe. And ſuch a marke had ſuch profane fellowes been worthie of, (or rather of a worſe maime) who being caried away with an intollerable curioſitie, would needs make their paſtimes of ſuch deuilliſh illuſions, which a Chriſtian cannot be preſent at without extreame perill, and ſhould not come there (indeed) at any hand: for it is called a blaſpheming and a ſpiting of God.

For good reaſon therefore are they cenſured as the cauſe of their own ouerthrow, of whom *Bodin* writeth thus; *Fooliſh and curious fellowes will ſee a triall of that which is reported of Witches: as it came to paſſe not long ſince in the citie of Como in Italie, as* Sylueſter Prierius *reporteth: For the Officiall and Inquiſitor hauing a great number of Witches in priſon, and being hardly brought to beleeue the ſtrange things that they ſpake of, would needs ſee the proofe of it, and ſo truſting themſelues with one of the Witches, went with her; and ſtanding aloofe off, ſaw all their abominations, their homages to the deuill, their dancings, and copulations; and at laſt the deuill (who all this while made as if he ſaw them not) beat them ſo welfauouredly that ſome of them died within fifteene dayes:* In the Preface of his *Dæmonomania.*

the reſt renounced God, and vowed themſelues to the ſeruice of Sathan for making this triall: But it fares with them as with the beaſts that enter into the lions denne, but neuer come out againe. No more are their excuſes to paſſe for currant, who by the helpe of magicians haue deſired to ſee their predeceſſors, and I know not what giants of old time: but their curioſitie hath coſt them the ſetting on, and caſt them down into moſt dangerous ſickneſſes. For this prince of darkneſſe, this cunning deceiuer, who we know is a lier and a murtherer from the beginning, howſoeuer ſometimes he may counterfeit the meeke, humble, and loly one, yea and transforme himſelfe into an angell of light, yet he cannot ſo hide his taile and his hornes, but at laſt he gripes with his tallants, and by the miſchiefes and harmes he doth, bewraieth what he is. For the holy Scripture teacheth vs, That the reprobate angels are falne from the ſtate of Truth and Grace, and cannot turne themſelues to any good. Whereof *Bodin* in the preface of his *Dæmonomania* gathereth this certaine axiome, *That Sathan neuer doth any good, but to this end, that a greater euill may follow of it: ſo contrarie is he to the nature of God, who will not haue any euill done, though neuer ſo much good may proceed of it.* The fearefull examples before ſhewed of the magicians of *Bohemia* and of Germany, ſhould ſerue for a confirmation hereof. And *Iohn Francis Picus* Earle of Mirandola writeth (and it is repeated by *Iohn Wier*) how the deuill had carried away a magician who had promiſed a certaine curious and vndiſcreet prince to make him ſee (as it were in a tragedie vpon a ſtage) the ſiege of Troy, and *Achilles* fighting againſt *Hector*. It is written of *Zoroaſtres* the grand-child of *Cham* (as is affirmed in the booke entituled, *The Recognitions of* Clement *the Roman*) and the firſt that made profeſſion of reducing magick into an art and ſcience, That being much giuen to the contemplation of the Stars, and deſiring to be thought a God among men, he tooke vpon him to make the Stars twinkle, and thereout to faſten wonders in them that gaue eare vnto him: and then coueting to bring himſelfe into greater reputation, held on his occupation with ſuch furie, that in the end the deuill (whom he was ſo buſie with) threw him into the fire where he was conſumed to aſhes. It is reported by Hiſtorians, of *Lupoldus* duke of Auſtrich, brother to the Emperour *Frederick* the third, That hauing laboured ſore for the deliuerance of his brother (by the deuils working) out of the hands of *Lewis* of Bauaria, he was ſo terribly affrighted with the ſpirit that appeared vnto him, that within a while after he died of it. We read in the abridgement of Hiſtories made by a prieſt called *Siffridus*, of a yong mans death of Friburg, who by the helpe of a magician hoped to enioy a certaine maide which he loued. For the deuill hauing appeared vnto him in likeneſſe of the ſame maide, and the fellow putting foorth his hand without the enchanted circle to embrace her, was preſently graſped of the wicked ſpirit, who cruſht him againſt a wall, and made his peeces flie this way and that way, and afterwards caſt the remnant of the dead bodie (ſo torne in peeces) at the coniurer, who therewith lay ſtill in the place ſore bruſed, and was not able to ſtir thence: but ſome men hearing the crie and noiſe ran to him, tooke him vp, and carried him away halfe dead. Therefore Saint *Auguſtin* ſaid verie well, That the deuills are ſpirits that take no delight but in doing miſchiefe, vtterly void of juſtice, ſwolne with pride, cole-black with enuie, and compoſed of guile, deceit, and lying.

Lib. 4. cap. 9.
Lib. 2. cap 4.
Lib. 2.
Lib 8. cap. 22. de Ciuit. Dei.

This a certaine German found too true, who in our time being a warfaring in Italie, put himſelfe into the companie of a ſouldier much giuen to coniuring, by whom he ſuffred himſelfe to be ſo much gouerned, that one time this Coniurer made him ſtand within a circle, fortified with ſo many caracters, that they made

made account (as this poore foole thought, as well as his maſter) they were ſafe inough from the power of all the deuills in hell. Hereupon the coniurer wrought ſo by his horrible imprecations, coniurations, and inuocations, that a wicked ſpirit being called and threatned with many terrible words, appeared at laſt, as it were much againſt his will, and like a man ſore frighted, wearing a hat all torne, with a great toſpot-feather, hauing about him a ſheet torne and tattered almoſt to fitters, looking like a dead corps that had beene dried againſt the fire or in the ſunne, and afterwards eaten with wormes; with a gaſtly looke, his feet hauing other ſhape than that of a mans feet. As he thus ſtood, the coniurer would know of him (as it were by force) if the Gouletta were taken by the Turkes, or no. The ſpirit anſwered, That he could not tell for the preſent, but that the day before the beſieged had valiantly defended themſelues: he complained moreouer of the coniurer, who by his horrible enchantment did importune ſpirits too much; and hauing ſpoken of ſome other his hard courſes craued a time to thinke vpon that he was asked, and then vaniſhed, leauing behind him ſuch a terror and ſtinke, that theſe curious inquiſitors had like to haue died in the place with feare. Such a like deuill was that with whom *Euthymus* the maſter-wraſtler wreſtled (if the tale that *Pauſanias* reports be receaueable) and pluckt out of his pawes a yong maide appointed to be ſacrificed: for *Pauſanias* ſaith, That *Euthymus* affirmed this deuill was verie black, of a moſt horrible looke, and cloathed with a wolfes-skin. But to come againe to our German: He would ſweare many times, That ſo oft as the remembrance of this horrible ſpirit, together with his voice, which was ſmall, and hoarſe, and cut off and choaked (as it were) betweene euerie word, did but touch his memorie neuer ſo little, he was readie to ſwoone with feare. By this aforegoing we may gather, that although wicked ſpirits haue a marueilous quick motion, yet are they not alwaies priuie to things done in countries remote from the places where they make their apparition, and where they are required to giue anſwer at an inſtant: and yet I know that ſometimes they haue ſpoken readily of that which was done in another part of the world. Hereof *Plutarch* furniſheth vs with one example in the life of *Cimon* the Athenian, who hauing ſent Ambaſſadors from the Iſle of Cyprus to the far parts of Lybia towards Ægypt to *Iupiter Hamon*, to demand of the Oracle the reſolution of ſome ſecret affaires, he bad him returne againe, becauſe (quoth he) *Cimon* is now with me. Which they hearing, went back againe, and being come into the campe of the Grecians, found that *Cimon* was dead the ſame day that the Oracle had told them (though not directly) that he was no longer liuing. No leſſe memorable is that which the Grecians report of *Apollonius Tyaneus* a Pythagorian Philoſopher, and the greateſt Negromancer of his time. At the ſame time that the Emperor *Domitian* was kild at Rome by *Stephanus* and other conſpirators, this Philoſopher was reading a publike Lecture to a verie great number of Auditors within the citie of Epheſus; ſuddenly, as all amaſed, he ſtaied ſome prettie ſpace without ſpeaking a word, and then comming to himſelfe againe, he began to crie aloud, *Courage* Stephanus, *braue* Stephanus, *ſtrike the villaine! thou haſt ſtricken him, thou haſt wounded him, thou haſt ſlaine him.* The like ſtorie we read in *Thomas Fazelus*. When the Sarazins had taken, pilled, ſacked, and ruin'd Syracuſe a famous citie in Sicilia, the verie ſame day ſhepheards brought the newes therof to *Adrian* Admirall to the Emperour *Baſilius*, being then in Peloponneſus with the Imperiall fleet. *Adrian* queſtioning with them, and asking how they knew it? They anſwered, that it was told them by ſpirits that were roming about a fen hard by the hauen where

Lib. 9. Eliæ.

Lib. 6. cap. 1. of the ſecond Decad of the Hiſt. of Sicilia.

the fleet lay at anchor. Thereupon he went with the ſhepheards to the fen, where with his owne eares he heard the ſame newes confirmed from the voice of the ſpirits, being queſtioned by the ſhepheards. Within a while after, certaine Greekes eſcaping the furie of the Sarazins, came in boates and landed in Peloponneſus, who deliuered at large all that had paſſed, and it was found by comparing of the times, that the ſhepheards had heard the newes immediatly after the taking of Syracuſe.

At the time I wrote this Meditation, there was in the place where I dwell, one whom I could name, and it were no hard matter to ſhew him, a man verie well knowne, and fit to vndertake many matters, who of a long time hath beene ſtraightly kept as a priſoner, becauſe betweene whiles he is vexed with a ſpirit exceeding ſtrange and violent. When his vnderſtanding is ſetled and at quiet, if any come to ſee him, he will ſalute them by their names and ſurnames, though he neuer ſaw them before, will diſcourſe with them in fit and proper tearmes, of their parentage, alliances, deuiſes and armes, in all reſpects as if he had frequented their houſes all his life time. If he grow a little angrie, he will now and then among, caſt in ſome lies and filthy words: but of the other ſide, he will alſo ſometimes doe and ſpeake verie ſtrange things. Among the reſt, it was obſerued, that when the maſſacres were in France in the yeare 1572. this man had certaine ſtrange viſions, whereby it was eaſie to gather that there were terrible doings abroad ſome where. And of all other times, the night of the 24 day of Auguſt that yeare, this man cried out oftentimes, See, ſee, what troupes of deuills meet out of diuers countries, and gather together in the aire, making ſport one to another, and leaping for ioy, becauſe they haue brought about a great matter which they haue purpoſed of a long time, and haue executed ſome extraordinarie crueltie. I ſee them, I ſee them running here and there thorow the aire. Then he added: All this is done and executed out of Germanie. Certainely, Sathan is euermore like himſelfe, though ſometimes he may make as if he had other meanings in his head, and would change his proceedings and courſes. For as God is the Creator and preſeruer of all his creatures, and hath a will to maintaine mankind: ſo (quite contrariwiſe) this *Abaddon* (as the holy Scripture nameth him) deſireth nothing elſe but to ſee the vtter ruin and deſtruction of nature, and is marueilous iolly when he thinketh what a number of ſeruants and companions he hath at his deuotion to put his deſignes in execution. Aboue all he beareth Gods children a great grudge, and laieth traps for their Faith; burſting with rage, when he ſeeth them liue in peace and loue together, and bathing himſelfe in their perſecutions and blood.

CHAP. XII.

Of Satyrs and Sphinxes.

THe ancient Pagans, giuen ouer to a reprobate ſenſe, haue worſhipped Satyrs, (which when they became old were called Silenes, ſaith *Pauſanias*) and likewiſe Fawnes & Syluans, which they called Demi-gods, and gods of the woods: for which cauſe they conſecrated woods, and ſet vp ſcaffolds and ſtages for the plaies that were made to honour them withall, and thoſe ſtages and theatres they decked with leaues, caues, hillocks, moſſe, greene graſſe, and ſuch other fine deuiſes. Painters and Image-caruers haue ſtudied to repreſent them moſt liuely, as it is to be ſeene yet at Rome, and *Plinie* is a witneſſe of it, who

who among the works of *Praxiteles*, extolleth very much foure Satyrs; whereof one, couered with a peece of cloth carieth *Bacchus* vpon his shoulders; the second made naked, beareth also another *Bacchus*; the third stils a child crying; the fourth reacheth drinke in a cup to another. There was to bee seene in times past, a peece of worke of the same worke-mans doing, which stood in the gallerie that *Augustus* builded in fauour of his sister *Octauia*, and it was the Rape of *Proserpina*, in which there was a *Bacchus*, and some Satyrs, as *Martianus* obserueth. The Silenes or old Satyrs were accounted mortall; for *Pausanias* writeth that their sepulchres were to be seene in diuers places. But *Strabo* saith, that the Satyrs, Silenes, and Tityrs, were certaine dæmons held for seruants of the gods (that is to say, angels of Sathan) whereof a Venetian called *Noel. des Comtes* hath written many tales in his *Mythologia*. But laying aside the superstition of the Pagans, let vs see what we can find that seemeth to be least fabulous. Many are of opinion, That the Satyrs are creatures dwelling in the vtmost parts of the deserts of Lybia: or (according to *Plinie*) the Satyrs are found in the mountaines of the East India, towards the Sunne-rising, or in the countrey of the Carradulians, hauing the shape of a man, and marueilous quicke of foot, running both vpright, and vpon all foure, so swiftly, that a man cannot ouertake them but when they are old or sicke. *Solinus* seemeth to make them a kind of Apes. There are also Apes (saith he) called Satyrs, of a pleasant face, that doe nothing but skip. *Pierius* alleageth *Pausanias*, who reporteth he heard *Euphemius* affirme (being a man worthie to be credited) that as once he sailed towards Spaine, and was caried by a tempest beyond the strait into the Ocean sea, hauing there tried his fortune for some dayes, he arriued at last in certaine desolate Islands inhabited by sauages, marueilous fierce and terrible to look vpon, couered all ouer the bodie with red haire, hauing a long taile, and the member of a horse. They seeing the Mariners comming towards them, run presently to the shore, making a noise of no articulat sound, but a kind of confused crie: which done, they offer with an incredible furie to assault the women that were aboord the ship, in so much that they had the greatest adoe that might be, to keepe them off with wands and staues. The Pilot and Mariners fearing least they should haue receiued some outrage from these beasts, cast anchor a prettie way from the shore, and set a land a Barbarian woman that they had in the ship, whom these Sauages vsed with most strange villanies. Afterwards, the passengers named these places, The Islands of the Satyrs. Thus saith *Pierius*. If this be so as *Pausanias* reporteth (which many thinke as true as the fabulous tales of *Lucian*) for good cause haue some Grammarians thought, that the Satyrs were so named because of their notorious lecherie: and indeed they haue bin vsually painted following of *Venus*, and sometimes coupled together as horses, and made to draw her chariot. From thence is the disease deriued, which we call *Satyriasis*: and some are of opinion, that the Satyre (a Comedie or Poeme, taxing with libertie of speech, dishoneſt or infamous manners) should proceed from hence, which we will not take in hand to particularise in this worke.

To returne to our Satyrs; *Plutarch* writeth, That there was a Satyr taken when *Sylla* determined to passe with a fleet of fiftreene hundred saile from Dyrrachium to Brundusium. *The citie of Apollonia* (saith he) *is not farre from Dyrrachium, and hard by Apollonia is a parke dedicated to the Nymphs, where within a greene valley and a faire meadow, there issue foorth heere and there certaine bubbles of fire, which flow continually: and they say that a Satyr was taken there asleepe, being such in euery respect as Painters and Image-makers shape him: so he was brought to* Sylla, *and being asked by many*

Lib. 36. *cap.* 5.

Lib. 6. *cap.* 2. of the description of old Rome.
Lib. 2. *Eliac.*
Lib. 10. of his Geographie.
Lib. 5. *ca.* 8. *&c.*

Lib. 7. *cap.* 2.

Cap. 30.

Lib. 17. of his Hyeroglyph.

In the life of *Sylla.*

many Truch-men, What he was? He answered nothing that one could vnderstand, but onely cast forth a harsh voyce mingled with the neying of a horse, and the crying of a goat: which Sylla *wondred at, and not able to abide it, made him be taken away out of his sight, as a monstrous thing.* *Plinie* saith, That the Satyrs haue nothing like a man about them but the face onely. And *Diodorus Siculus* writeth, That there were Satyrs presented to *Bacchus* in Æthiopia, which had their haires so long that they reached downe to their nauill. We read likewise in the liues of the Fathers, That one day as a certaine holy man liuing in the desarts, was standing at the entring in of his cell, a Satyr came to him, confessing that he was a man, and one of the inhabitants of that desert, which the poore people being seduced called Faunes, Satyrs, Incubs, and worshipped them; and that this Satyr conferred with the Hermit touching the doctrine of Penance. Now many make a doubt whether this were a man in that sort sauage, and naming himselfe for such, or rather some illusion of Sathan: for we read also, that the same Hermit saw a Hippocentaure, who (when the Hermit had called him, and asked a question of him) insteed of answering, began to grunt, and breaking his words rather than speaking, ran out into the fields with such violence, that in an instant the Hermit lost him cleane out of sight. A Rabin Iew, called *Abraham*, hath deuised many strange and vile tales of Satyrs: for he sticks not to maintaine, that the Fawnes, Satyrs, Incubs, and such other monsters, are vnperfect creatures, which God (preuented with the seauenth day) did not finish and perfit: For which cause, these monsters flie the holinesse of the Sabbath day seeking mountaines and darksome dens, from whence they neuer stir till that day be past; and then they returne againe to torment the world. But not to stand vpon such dreames of the Rabins, let vs obserue (by the way) the prouerbe applied (of a long time) against bablers, flatterers, and liers, and such as will now say one thing, and anon another; taken from him, that did blow to make one thing hoat, and then blew againe to make another thing cold; implying, That we must not trust that man out of whose mouth commeth hoat and cold: I meane the fable of the talke betwixt a Satyr and a clowne. Let vs adde hereunto that which *Plutarch* and others write befell *Alexander* the great. When hee had besieged Tyrus, and the Tyrians had defended themselues so valiantly, that all his attempts prooued vaine and bootlesse; Hee (much troubled in mind, for that this siege continued so long, and hindred the course of the victories which he hoped to carrie away in the East) being fallen asleepe, dreamed that hee saw a Satyr leaping and skipping a prettie way off before him: as he offered to goe to catch him, the Satyr ran away; at last, after much labouring and toiling, hee tooke him, and so awak't. The Coniecturers making of this one word two, told him very pretily, *Sa-Tyros*, that is, Tyrus is thine; which came so to passe: and they say, That afterwards there appeared a fountaine neere the place where *Alexander* dreamed he had seene this Satyr. A dreame not much vnlike to this, shewing the euent of things to come, (to make a little digression) hapned to the Emperour *Constans*, as he was readie to giue battell to the Sarazins, saith *Cedrenus*: Being asleepe, he thought he was to goe to Thessalonica. One of his Soothsayers interpreted it thus; *Thes-alle-nikin*, that is to say, Leaue the victorie to another; and so hee did. But such illusions of Sathan, haue not onely appeared to the ancient Pagans both asleepe and awake, (witnesse *Plinie* among others, who saith, That the mountaine Atlas, doth vomit out in the night-time many fires, rings with the lasciuious daunces of the Ægyptians and Satyrs, with the sounds of flutes, pipes, tabors, and cimbals:) but also in our time there haue bin seene apparitions of Faunes and Satyrs skipping, playing

Lib. 5. cap. 8.

In his Commentaries vpon *Genes.*

In the life of *Alexander.*

In his Abridg. of Histories.

Lib. 5. cap. 1.

of

of gamboles, and vſing geſtures moſt villanous and filthie, in many places, to draw vnſtable conſciences to ſuperſtition or ſhamefull diſſolution, eſpecially wanton women that are much giuen to their pleaſures. *Paul Grilland* the Mallet of witches, and *Olaus Magnus* (eſpecially in his tales of the Northren places, and other ſuch bookes of weak ſtuffe) conteine many narrations, and ſometimes ridiculous fables touching theſe apparitions. *Lib.3.cap.*11. & 22.

But let vs leaue theſe Satyrs, and come to Sphinxes, the ſecond part of our Meditation. We read in diuers ancient writers many diſcourſes of Sphinxes. Euery man knoweth that which is written by many of the Theban monſter called Sphinx, (how truly I know not) who had the face of a maid, and wings and tallents like the Harpies, and ſitting vpon a ſteepe hill hanging ouer the hie way, propounded to paſſengers as they went by, certaine riddles very hard, if not impoſſible to reſolue: and when they were not able to make a direct anſwere, this monſter would runne vpon them, and with helpe of his wings and tallants ſet them aloft vpon the edge of the hill, and throw them downe headlong: but *Oedipus* gaue the ſolution of the riddle that was put foorth to him. *Apollodorus* ſaith, that Sphinx was engendred of *Typhon* and of a great Serpenteſſe which *Iuno* had ſent to hurt and ſpoyle: That this monſter (hauing the face and breaſt of a woman, the feet and taile of a Lyon, and wings like a bird) learned his riddles of the Muſes, and afterwards came to liue in a mountaine called Phyceus, and that he propounded one of his riddles to the Thebans, which was this, *What creature is it, that hath in the morning foure feet, at noone two, and at night three?* The Oracle had told them, That they ſhould be freed from the dangers and inconueniences of the Sphinx, when they ſhould haue diſcouered this riddle. In the meane while the monſter demaunding now of ſome, now of others, the deciphering thereof, and no bodie being able to doe it, tooke away one of the companie, and deuoured him: in ſo much as the miſchiefe increaſed ſo farre, that in the end *Æmon* the kings ſonne died, for that he could not expound the riddle; wherupon *Creon* his father made a proclamation with ſound of trumpet, That who ſo could reſolue the riddle, ſhould marrie the widdow of *Laius*, and be ſucceſſor to the crowne. *Oedipus* hearing this, went to the Sphinx, and told him, That his riddle was meant by man, who in his child-hood creepeth of all foure; growne a man, goeth on his two feet; but when age commeth, he taketh a ſtaffe, and ſo walketh on three. The monſter hearing this riddle explaned, tooke ſuch griefe at it, that he caſt himſelfe downe from the top of the hill, and ſo was kild. I haue deſcribed this fiction the more at large, that one may vnderſtand the better whence this prouerbiall anſwere of the Ancients *(I am not Oedipus)* came, commonly vſed by them when any hard thing was propounded, which they could not anſwere. *Palæphatus* alleaged by *Lilius Gyraldus* expoundeth the ſtorie of this monſter as followeth. *Cadmus* hauing maried an Amazon called *Sphinx*, came with her to Thebes; where hauing ſlaine king *Draco*, and ſeazed vpon the kingdome, hee tooke to wife alſo *Harmonia*, *Dracos* ſiſter: wherewith *Sphinx* was ſo netled, that hauing drawn ſome Thebans to take her part, by their helpe and with a dog called *Pedochys*, ſhee tooke the mountaine Sphingium, from whence by out-roads and ambuſcados (which the Thebans call riddles) ſhe made war vpon *Cadmus*, and thoſe of his partie. At laſt *Oedipus* prouoked with the kings promiſes, tooke armes vpon him, ſurprized the mountaine by night, and ouercame *Sphinx* ſuſpecting no danger. *Lib.3.* of the Orig. of the gods. In his Riddles.

Diodorus Siculus and *Plinie*, ſpeake verie much of Sphinxes. *Noel des Comites* a Venetian, writeth a whole chapter of that ſubiect, *in his Mythologia*, and ſaith towards *Lib.4.* *Lib.8.cap.*21. *Lib.9 cap.*8.

wards the end thus; *I should thinke, that by this fiction of Sphinx the ancient Sages would giue vs to vnderstand, That euerie man ought to vndergoe his estate couragiously: and that if any man shrinke back, he shalbe forced to goe on whether he will, or no. For, what doe the wings signifie else, but the inconstancie of worldly affaires? and why doe they attribute vnto her hooked clawes? is it not because she can pluck vnto her from all places that which liketh her? And that face of man, what other thing doth it represent, but that it is the condition of all mankind to be laid open to the assaults and changes of this present life? The part of a Lyon signifieth, that one should beare aduersitie with courage, except he had rather be bound to beare it by force: For, if any man behaue not himselfe wisely in the hands of affliction, it will torment and teare him miserably. In a word, the Sages would intimate vnto vs by this fained fable, that either we must by prudence ouercome the discommodities that encompasse vs, or else we must be content to perish in them. The Riddle of the monster Sphinx doth it not paint out the weakenesse of man? for is there borne a poorer creature than man?* This learned and wittie exposition of *Noel des Comtes* I thought not amisse to set downe, that it may appeare (as I haue said elswhere) what good wholsome instructions the Ancients haue hid vnder their fabulous fictions and narrations. Furthermore, there are seene at this day in the Capitoll at Rome, and other places, *Sphinxes* of marble, brought out of Ægypt; where they were wont to set them at the doores of their temples: because the priests meant that their lessons, precepts, and mysticall instructions, should be masked with secret expositions, and so be kept close among them, that they might not by the people be made common and profane. Therefore it is thought, that *Augustus* the Emperour tooke (for a while) the Sphinx for his deuise, as a token of Silence. This Sphinx is yet to be seene at the mouth where the Euxine sea disgorgeth it selfe into the Bosphorus of Thracia, in one of the Isles Symplegades, vpon an old pillar with this inscription; DIVO CÆSARI AVGVSTO L. CLANNIDIVS L.F. CLA. PONTO, As *Iohannes Leonclauius* noteth, hauing seene the pillar and the Sphinx in the verie same place. Afterwards, *Augustus* being flouted by a great many when he could not answer them in the ambiguities of their speeches, laid away this deuise of the Sphinx, and hauing made all sure touching the affaires of the Empire, tooke the image of *Alexander* drawne after the life. The like after him did *Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Domitian*, and other Emperours. *Synesius* alleageth another reason: *The Ægyptians* (saith he) *represent* Mercurie *two waies, like a yong man, and like an old; the one standing by the other: which signifieth, that who so will with praise command ouer others, ought to be strong both in bodie and in mind. For this cause they reare certaine statues of Sphinxes at the doore of their temples, for a badge and ensigne of the diuine coniunction betweene these two Vertues, shewing the force of the bodie by that which is brutish in the Sphinx, and that of the mind by the humane force. For bodily force not guided by prudence, begetteth nought else but broiles and confusions: On the other side, the mind wanting the seruice of the hands, can effect and atchieue nothing.*

In his Pandects of Turkie.

In the Oration to *Arcadius*, touching the manner of reigning.

Pierius collecteth out of sundrie Authors, that the Pans, Satyrs, Apes, and Cynocephals, are creatures almost of one kind; yet distinguished one from another by certaine differences. It may be, he tooke that out of *Solinus*, who saith, that the Sphinxes are a kind of apes hauing the back verie hairie, the pappes bearing out somewhat, and great withall, apt to learne and easie to be woon and tamed. *Pierius* saith, he had seene of them. The Sphinxes (for these be his words) are bred among the Troglodytes of Æthiopia, almost as they are drawne by painters, of a blackish haire, with two teates in their breast: monstrous animals, well fed and somewhat fat, which are soone made tame and taught what one

Lib. 6. of his Hieroglyph.

Chap. 30.

one will learne them. *Albertus Magnus* ranketh them likewiſe among Apes, and ſaith that they are marked with two black ſpots in the iaw, hauing a black & long taile. Now we may not wonder that ſuch animals or monſters are brought out of thoſe deſerts of Lybia or other far countries, ſeeing it hath beene long ſaid, That Africa doth alwaies bring foorth ſome new thing. For it is well knowne, the great drougth and ſcarcitie of water in thoſe hot countries forceth the beaſts of diuers kinds to draw and aſſemble together where they can find any riuer, and when they meet there, they make ſtrange copulations, whereby are engendred beaſts of new ſhapes. The inhabitants of the countrey that are vſed to ſee it, and know the reaſon, neuer thinke ſtrange thereof. Of the Wolfe and the Hyena is engendred the beaſt called Crocuta. The Pard couereth the Lioneſſe, whence the ſpotted Lions come that haue no mane, and are not ſo generous as the other Lions are, ſaith *Philoſtratus*. Of the copulation of Wolues with Panthers are engendred the Thoës, hauing the skin ſpotted like the dams, and the ſnout of a Wolfe, as *Oppian* hath obſerued. The like falleth out in other animals of differing kinds that mingle together, as *Iohn Baptiſta Porta* is of opinion; and it hath beene found that ſhepheards, paiſants, and other men ſet in a beaſtly heate, haue had to doe with goats and other beaſts, from whence may ſpring ſuch monſters as the Satyrs are. I ſhall not need to produce the ancient and modern examples gathered by *Lycoſthenes* in his Recuell of prodigies. Let vs fauour chaſt eies and eares, and not touch any further ſuch kinds of abhominations. For concluſion of this Meditation, I wonder that neither the Portugales, nor the Spaniards, nor any elſe that haue ſailed by ſo many countries and iſlands of the Weſt and South, of which there was no ſpeech at all before, and who in their nauigation haue run ouer all the Ocean, make no mention (ſo far as I know) of theſe iſles of the Satyrs, or Sphinxes. For, if whole iſlands were poſſeſſed of ſuch monſters, according to the opinion of ſome writers, ſuch a thing ſhould hardly remaine vnknowne to pilots, vntill this time. This we ſay beſides, That when time was, the wenches and curtiſans of Megara were ſurnamed Sphinxes, becauſe they carried faces that ſeemed verie kind and gracious, but otherwiſe for their ſnatching and fierceneſſe they were lioneſſes, that ſwallowed vp their cuſtomers: and to them, and their like, may this guird of an ancient Poet be well applied.

A woman for fell cruelneſſe
Is like a raging Lioneſſe.

Nor were the curtiſans onely of Megara ſo branded; but alſo the citiſens and inhabitans of that place were flowted, as effeminate, giuen ouer to all kind of filthineſſe. The Ancients haue made ieaſts thereof, growne ſince into prouerbs. In the 19 chapter of the firſt Booke we haue ſpoken at large of the monſters of Africa, which we ſhall not need here againe to make repetition of.

These may be the Leopards.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 24. of Naturall Magick.

CHAP. XIII.

Strange illuſions of Deuills and Spirits; and of the Lycanthrops.

IT is reported by *Plinie*, how that *Euanthes* a certaine Greeke Author, a graue and ancient writer, hath left in a memorandum, That the Arcadians write how that one of their countrey deſcended from *Anteus*, and choſen out of that race by lot, is lead towards a pond or meare, vpon the ſide whereof he puts off his cloathes, hangs them vp in an oake, ſwims ouer the water, and ſo betakes himſelfe into a deſert, where he is transformed into a wolfe, and liues among

among other wolues the ſpace of nine yeares: During which time, if he ſee no man, he returnes to the ſame meare, ſwims it againe, re-takes the ſhape of a man, returnes to his home, and prolongs his age nine yeares. Now though *Plinie* hold this for a Grecian fable (for he ſaith thereupon, that there is not any lie how groſſe ſoeuer, but may find ſome to fauour it) yet there be many at this day of a ſtrong beleefe that ſome men grow wolues euerie yeare, and afterwards become men againe, which are called of the Germans *Verwolff*, of the French, *Loups-garoux*, and of the Picards *Loups Ouaroux*, a tearme comming neere the Latin *Lupi Varij*, and ſo doe the Germans alſo expreſſe it in their tongue. Now to know whether this transformation be reall, or imaginarie, let vs heare what *Georgius Sabinus* a learned man reporteth hereof in his expoſition vpon *Ouids Metamorphoſis*, and the ſeuenth booke, vpon this place, *Inque virum ſolitis vultus mutare ferinos, &c. Herodotus* reporteth (ſaith he) That ſuch people are found among the Neurians a people of Scythia. And it is commonly reported, That there be ſuch alſo in the countrey of Pruſſia, and that there was one of theſe wolues taken not long agoe, and brought to the duke of Pruſſia by the countrey-people, who they thought had deuoured ſome of their beaſts. He had in his face certaine ſcratches and hurts, which (they ſaid) were giuen him by the dogs that tooke him for a wolfe. The princes Commiſſioners examining him, he confeſt, that twice euerie yeare, namely about Chriſtmas, and Midſommer, he was changed from a man to a wolfe, that he then grew wild, feeling himſelfe (as it were) conſtrained thereto, and conuerſed in woods among the wolues. That before ſuch time as his wolues-haire came foorth of him, and that he changed his ſhape, he felt a horrible quiuering and faintneſſe ouer all his bodie. Euerie man gaue credit to that which he ſaid. But when they determined to trie out the truth, and to that end had kept him a long time priſoner in a caſtle, the guard hauing a continuall eie ouer him, to ſee the wolues-haire come out, he remained alwaies a man. This was the laſt act of the Comedie. Whereby it appeareth, that theſe tales of men-wolues are deuiſed for pleaſure, and that ſome melancholy and brainſick perſons make themſelues beleeue that they are turned from men into wolues. Thus ſaith *Sabinus*, with whom agreeth *Iohn Ewich*, ſeconding him with a notable example. There was one day (ſaith he) brought to *Pomponatius* (a famous Phyſition in Italy) a ſick man troubled with Lycanthropiſme, whom certaine husbandmen hauing found lying in a haycock, and taken for a wolfe (becauſe he gaue out that he was one, and cried to them that they were beſt be gone, or elſe he would eat them vp) had begun to flea him, to know whether he had wolues-haire vnder his skin, according to the erronious opinion of the common ſort: But at the requeſt of *Pomponatius* they let him goe, and he, by meanes of ſome phyſicall medicins healed him afterwards of his ſickneſſe.

In his treatiſe of the birth of Witches.

Iohn Wierus hath made a collection of many ſuch fantaſies meerely diabolicall, wherewith poore ſoules are bewitched: for thus he ſaith; *If a man meet ſometimes with daungerous wolues that run in Liuonia, which one would take for Witches, and which the Germans call Verwolff; a man muſt thinke them to be right wolues, tormented and driuen by the Deuill to play this Tragedie, who in the meane while by theſe ſundrie roaming courſes and actions, doth ſo fill the organs of the fantaſie of ſuch fooliſh Lycanthrops, that they thinke and confeſſe themſelues to be the Authors of thoſe inordinat courſes and actions; ſo greatly is their imagination corrupted: which is found to be much the eaſier for the deuill to doe, by the deſcription of the ſickneſſe called* Lycanthropia; *when as hee ſtirreth the humours and wits that are diſpoſed to ſuch fancies, eſpecially in them that vſe to bee*

Lib. 3. cap. 10. of Witchcraft.

bee troubled in their braines through the vapours of a melancholy humour, such as these mad and infatuated Lycanthrops are. Or else it must bee thought, that these wolues are very Deuils, who haue taken that shape vpon them, to the end they may the better entrap and deceiue these poore credulous wretches, and worke the more apparantly vpon the harmelesse, and make the Magistrats guiltie of doing iniustice. In the meane while they that say they are transformed into wolues, are found lying in by-corners, cast into a dead sleepe by the cunning of the Deuill, who (like a crastie workeman as hee is) blendeth their dreames with representations of things wherewith he bleareth their eyes when they awake, who thinke that they see them running heere and there after children, or after flocks of sheepe which they deuoure or teare in peeces: In so much as it is no maruell if some of good honestie and discretion, by the witnesse-bearing of these poore fooles, haue made no difficultie to condemne them to bee executed with death. Thus saith *Wierus*; whom *Olaus Magnus* doth contradict, and tels many tales of the transformation of men into wolues, if that which hee writeth may bee beleeued: Yet *Bodin* seemeth to giue credit to them. *Olaus* (saith he) *reporteth very oftentimes things incredible: howbeit he alleageth some, which a man may be perswaded that they are true, hauing regard to the consent, and number of other Authors that witnesse the same. For that which hee affirmeth of the Lycanthrops*; Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, *and other ancient Authors, haue written the same of the Neurians (who are now those of Liuonia) and the moderne haue confirmed it: and among others* Gaspar Peucer, *a man of great learning and rare iudgement*; *as also* Hubert Languet *famous for his knowledge, and well knowne in the Courts of all the princes in Europe, who told me himselfe, that he had learned it of the inhabitants of the countrey. And yet I know not whether the same bee done by some working of nature, who is marueilous in her works, as appeareth by that which befell* Parrhasius, *or by diuine punishment, witnesse* Nebuchadnezar. But in his *Dæmonomania* he is of opinion, that this transmutation is reall, and alleageth many examples thereof.

Lib. 18. ca. 45. 46. 47. In his Method of Histories, cap. 4.

Now although it passe for currant among the countrey people, that there be some men transformed into wolues, as they also hold other superstitious opinions: yet I doe not thinke that men of iudgement will so lightly giue credit thereunto. It is more likely, that in regard of men, it is a kind of melancholy humour: but if the Deuils haue their working in it, such kind of wolues doe hurt and spoile by the sufferance of God, and then it needs not that men should be changed into beasts: For albeit the holy Scripture speaketh of *Nebuchadnezzar* (saith *Ewichius*) as if he had beene changed into a beast, that must not be vnderstood according to the bare letter: for otherwise, whereas the text saith, that his vnderstanding was restored vnto him (as *Daniel* rehearseth) it would haue said, that from a beast he was turned againe to a man. *William Camden*, who with great diligence hath described England, is of the same opinion, for thus he saith, *I hold all that for fabulous and vaine, which some Irish, desirous of beliefe, report of certaine men, who in those parts euery yeare vpon certaine daies are turned into wolues: vnlesse (peraduenture) they meane that they are possessed of that melancholy humour which the Physicians call* Lycanthropia, *causing them that are infected with it, to thinke that they are become wolues. No other opinion can I conceaue of those of Liuonia, that are called Men-wolues, &c.* Whatsoeuer it be, it appeareth that the wise and learned Pagans held for most certaine, That spirits and nightly illusions neuer appeared to steadie and resolute men, but rather to timorous persons, to such as were sicke, or fearefull, to women, to children, who by reason of their weake vnderstanding are troubled with a continuall feare. In their mistaking they think verily they see spirits, which indeed are nothing else but imaginations forged in the depth of their fantasie, and that haue not any being at all. This is discouered

Dan. 4. 33.

In the description of Ireland

in *Orestes*, who crieth out, *O mother, I pray thee fright me not with thy bloodie furies: I see them, I see them, they lay hold of me.* Which are the words of a mad man thinking he seeth that which he seeth not. Therefore *Electra* offereth to quiet him, saying; *Poore soule! lie still in thy bed: heere is no such thing as thou fearest.* So the ancient Poet saith, That the daughters of *Pretus* ouercome with griefe, perswaded themselues that they were changed into cowes, and thereupon began to low, and skit vp and downe the fields: A thing not to bee thought strange, for the humour of melancholy is so violent, that it often troubleth reason; and sometimes ouerthroweth and choketh it vtterly. Therefore *Galen* and *Auicen* say, that there were some people pestered with this humour so sore, that they thought themselues earthen pots, & would take great care that none should touch them, for feare to be broken in peeces. There were others that had a conceit they were transformed into birds: for which cause they would (as it were) flitter, and beat with their armes, as if they had had wings, and so thought to flie. Others (saith *Auicen*) imagined, that they were become lions and deuils. *Wierus* alleageth *Plinie* and *Edouard*, who write, That a Beares braine engendreth such like fancies, for he that eateth thereof, makes himselfe beleeue that he is become a Beare: as in our time it happened to a gentleman of Spaine, who went roaming about through deserts and mountaines, with a strong beleefe (such a great blow had his imagination receiued) that he was no more a man, but a right Beare. And no maruell, for the number of fooles is infinit.

Now to goe forwards with our discourse of Spirits. They that desire to bee exempted from such imaginations, ought to prouide that their mind be earnestly giuen and applied to honest and holy thoughts, without suffring it to be troubled with terrible and fearefull apprehensions. To this purpose it is written, that *Democritus* the Philosopher was so strongly perswaded that there was not any such matter in the nature of things, that hauing shut himselfe within a close place where there was a tombe, and there spending his time in studying and writing; as a company of yong men went about to make themselues sport by making him afraid, and had disguised themselues by putting on long black gownes, and hidden their faces with ilfauoured and gastly vizards, and so rushing in suddenly, beset him round about with great roaring and noise; *Democritus* being no whit dismaied with all their inuentions, nor vouchsafing so much as to lift vp his head, but continuing his writing said onely this, *Will ye neuer leaue playing the fooles?* And certes he was more wise and couragious than the Priests of Ægypt, who (as *Orus* reporteth) perswaded themselues and others, that an Image with two heads, one of a man looking inward, the other of a woman looking outward, was a sure preseruatiue and remedie against deuils. *Cassius*, a follower of *Epicurus*, one of those conspirators that slew *Cæsar*, was also of *Democritus* opinion: Hee labouring to deliuer *Brutus* out of the feare he had conceiued, by reason of a certaine vision that had appeared vnto him, began to vse this speech: *Wee in our sect of Philosophie*, Brutus, *are of this opinion, that we neither suffer nor see truly and indeed all that which wee thinke we see or suffer: and that mans naturall sense is an vncertaine and deceitfull thing; and that the mind (which is yet more light and sudden) changeth it, and turneth it easily without any matter or subiect, into all formes and likenesses with the same facilitie that impressions are made in wax. Therefore the soule of man, which hath in her that which maketh and which receiueth the impression, may of her selfe make one thing both diuers and different: and this the diuers mutations of such dreames as happen vnto vs in our sleepe, doe plainely demonstrate, which the imaginarie part, or the apprehension of our mind, of a very small beginning doth turne into all sorts of accidents: because the nature of*

In his Hieroglyphicks.

Plutarch in the life of *Brutus*.

our

our mind is to be alwayes mooning, and that mooning is nothing else but imagination, or apprehension. But now in thee there is yet more than this: which is, that the bodie being wearied with trauell, holdeth naturally the mind in a trance and in trouble. Now (for the rest) to say that there be spirits, and if there should bee any, that they haue the shape or voice of man, or any power that may reach to vs, there is no likelihood at all. For my part, I wish there were some, to the end wee might relie not onely vpon a great number of armes, of horses, of ships, and of vessels, but also vpon the helpe of the gods: considering wee are the authors and defenders of most excellent, most holy, and most vertuous actions.

To this afore going let vs ioyne the narration written by *Arrianus* the Historian, of *Nearchus* Admirall to *Alexander* the great. He arriuing neere to the Isle of Nosala consecrated to the Sunne, heard say, that no mortall man might land there, and that whosoeuer would aduenture to goe ashore in that Isle, should presently vanish away, and be no more seene. Vpon this report the Mariners and Pilots refused to cast anchor: but the Admirall made them turne the prowes of their ships to the land-ward, and forced them all to goe ashore. Afterwards himselfe landed in the Isle, letting them see, that all that they had heard, was nothing else but an old wiues tale. *Ruffinus* relateth such a like storie, worthie to be remembred, touching the image of *Serapis*. Some thinke that by this name *Iupiter* was vnderstood, bearing a Bushell vpon his head, teaching men to gouern and to doe all things by measure; or signifying, that hee nourisheth the world with abundance of fruits. Others expound it of the working and vertue of Nilus, the which doth fatten Egypt, and make it fruitfull. Some thinke that this Image was erected for an honourable memorie of *Ioseph*, the sonne of the Patriarch *Iacob*, for the distribution of the corne which he furnished the Ægyptians with, in the time of their great dearth. And some others say, that it is the Image of *Apis* king of Egypt, who when there was another dearth, relieued the citizens of Alexandria with store of food, so as after his death they builded a temple at Memphis, where they fed an oxe, in token of a good countrey husband, and that oxe they called *Apis*. This kings tombe was caried to Alexandria; and because *Soron* signifieth a Sepulchre, at the first for shortnesse and easier pronunciation they tearmed it *Serapis*, that is to say, the sepulchre or tombe of *Apis*, and at last, the common sort called it *Serapis*. This Image was so huge, that with the right hand it held one of the temple walles, and with the left hand the other, the bodie being made and compounded of all sorts of wood and of mettals. And as the Christians were about to throw downe this Image, to the which the Pagans had committed such idolatrie, a certaine report noised by the idolaters, staied the blow: for they gaue out that if any man offered to touch it neuer so little, the earth would presenly open and sinke downewards, and the heauen would also fall instantly after. But one souldiour among the rest (strengthened more with faith than with other weapons) taking hold of an axe, bestowes a blow with all his might vpon the chaps of this image: both Pagans and Christians begin to crie out; but for all that, heauen fell not, and the earth sunke not: therefore the souldior employes his arme againe, and neuer leaues till he cut off one of the knees of this rotten peece of wood: which being off, was cast into the fire, and it burnt like drie fagots. That done, they strucke downe the bushell, the head, and the other parts of the bodie, which were drawne through the streetes of the idolatrous citie, and after burnt to ashes. There remained the trunke, which because it was very big, was burnt in the Amphitheatre: and this was the end of the vaine superstition and of the old error of *Serapis*.

In his Treatise of the affaires of India.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 27. of his hist. Eccles.

To returne to our purpose, I would not be thought (for any thing before set

downe) to haue any doubt of the power of wicked ſpirits, when God giueth them the reines at libertie: for then they can skill how to make and preſent terrible ſhewes and illuſions, to affright thoſe that are left to their mercie: as at this day the Turkes by enchantments recouer their fugitiue ſlaues, and conſtraine them to come back againe from whence they went away. For they write in a ſcroll the ſlaues name, and then hang vp the ſcroll in his chamber, againſt the which they make ſtrange coniurations and imprecations: within a while after it commeth to paſſe by the deceit and working of the foule fiend, that the run-away ſlaue thinketh that lions or dragons come againſt him, or that the ſea or the riuers ouer-flow to ſwallow and drowne him, and that darkeneſſe is continually round about him; which illuſions doe ſo afflict him, that he returnes home to his former ſlauerie worſe to him than death. Many examples there are in hiſtories touching theſe illuſions, which it is needleſſe to ſpend any more paper about. For the reſt, deuils being ſpirits not maſſie, but ſuch as can ſlip and glide more nimbly than we can imagin, take vp their lodging ſometimes in mens bodies, whoſe health they corrupt, framing ſtrange diſeaſes, troubling the braine with terrible dreames, vexing the mind with furies, and forcing by ſuch tortures poore afflicted ſoules to run to them for ſuccour, as *Lactantius* ſheweth. But withall we muſt ſay this, that theſe wicked fiends can ſometimes tranſport perſons, and other palpable and materiall things, from one place to another. On the other ſide it is certaine, that ſome women-witches and empoiſonners, to draw theſe vncleane ſpirits vnto them, haue vſed to annoint and rub themſelues with a ſleep-cauſing ointment, and ſo to get them to bed, where they ſleepe ſo ſoundly, that they cannot be awaked though one pinch them neuer ſo hard or prick them with needls, or burne the ſoales of their feet. In the meane while, the deuill ſetteth before theſe miſerable ſleeping caytifes many toies and deuiſes, as banquets, dauncings, and all ſorts of paſtimes: in ſo much, as it fareth with them as with mad and melancholie perſons, and ſuch as being at deaths doore are ſo troubled (ſaith *Galen*) that they thinke they ſee that without them, which is onely within them. Which appeareth by the example alleaged by *Iohn Baptiſta Porta*. *Once* (ſaith he) *I met an old witch, one of thoſe that are ſaid to enter houſes in the night time, and there to ſuck the blood of little children lying in their cradles. Hauing asked her a queſtion of ſomething, ſhe promiſed foorthwith, that within a while ſhe would giue me anſwer. She puts foorth of her chamber all thoſe that went in with mee to bee witneſſes of that which ſhould paſſe. Hauing ſhut vs out, ſhe ſtrips her ſelfe ſtarke naked, and rubs ouer all her bodie with a certaine ointment, which we ſaw thorow the chinkes of the doore. The operation of the ſoporiferous iuices, whereof this ointment was compounded, made her fall to the ground, and brought her into a deepe ſleepe. Vpon this, we open the doore; and ſome of vs begin to ſtrike and knock her welfauourdly, but ſhe was ſo ſoundly a ſleepe, that to ſtrike her bodie and a ſtone it was all one. Foorth wee goe againe; in the meane while the ointment hath ended his working, and the old trot being awaked and hauing put on her cloathes, begins to tell tales of* Robin-hood, *ſaying, That ſhe had paſſed ouer ſeas and mountaines, and then giues vs falſe anſwers. We tell her, That her bodie had neuer ſtir'd out of the chamber; ſhe maintaines the contrarie: we ſhew her the blowes we had giuen her, ſhee perſiſteth ſo much the more ſtifly in her opinion.* Thus writeth that naturall Magician. Albeit then experience doth commonly ſhew, that many (without once ſtirring from the place where they were) haue thought neuertheleſſe that they went trotting vp and downe: yet ſo it is alſo, that oftentimes it falleth out by Gods ſufferance, that fiends haue carried both men-witches

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. of Prognoſt.

witches and women witches into forreſts and other places, where they haue made them ſee dancings and reuellings, and ſuch like ſights. That famous magician of Samaria, named *Simon* (to whom in the reigne of *Claudius* was erected a Statue with this inſcription; SIMONI MAGO DEO, or, SIMONI SANCTO DEO, as *Tertullian*, *Iuſtin Martyr*, and *Euſebius* write) might well ſee many countries being carried in the aire by deuills; but at Saint *Peters* praiers, he fell from a great heigth to the ground, and made a wretched end. For which cauſe (if we may therein beleeue *Cedrenus*) the Apoſtle was put to death by the commandement of *Nero*, who loued that magician and made great account of him. In his Apologet. In his abridg. of Hiſt. Decad. 1. *lib.* 3. *c.* 1.

Thomas Fazel writeth, That a certaine Sicilian called *Lyodor*, a moſt famous magician, got himſelfe great credit in the citie Catana by his wonderfull illuſions. For he ſeemed by the extraordinarie working of his charmes and ſpells to transforme men into brute beaſts, and to beſtow vpon all things elſe ſuch forme and likeneſſe as himſelfe would, and (by euerie mans ſaying) he drew vnto him as ſoone & as eaſily perſons that were diſtant from thence many daies iournies, as thoſe that were in the ſame place. Moreouer he did ſo many iniuries and ſhamefull outrages to the citiſens of Catana, that they, bewiched with a falſe and fearefull opinion, fell to worſhipping of him. And when for his wicked deeds he was condemned to die, by vertue of his charmes he eſcaped out of the hangmans hands, and made himſelfe be carried away in the aire by deuils from Catana to Conſtantinople, and after brought back againe from thence into Sicilia. All which impoſtures and witchcrafts made him admired of all the people, who were ſo carried away therewith, that thinking the Diuine power was hid within this magician, euerie man running into execrable error offred him diuine honours. But at the laſt *Leo* biſhop of Catana inſpired ſuddenly with the Spirit of God, in an open place and before all the people, laide hands vpon this magician, and made him be caſt aliue into a hot-burning furnace, where he was conſumed to aſhes. To this example we may ioyne that of the Iew-magician called *Dauid*, whom we haue deſcribed in another place, out of the Voiages of *Beniamin de Tudela*. And *Paul Grillard* a Ciuilian of Italy alleageth other ſuch like Hiſtories. It fell out once that a certaine man curious after ſuch impieties, was in an inſtant carried from his houſe, and laid in a moſt pleaſant place, where hauing ſeene dancing all the night, and made good cheere as he thought; when morning was come, all theſe magnificences being vaniſhed, he found himſelfe laid vpon thornes among a company of thick buſhes, readie to die with hungar. The magicians that vſe theſe tricks, are properly called Enchanters, and their cuſtome is to make an apparition of coſtly bankets, of tables loaden with meats, and a number of ſeruants to waite; as *Dominick Soto* maketh mention of a Spaniard named *Mendoza*, who practiſed this vnhappie occupation: but it is found at the laſt that all theſe goodly preparations are nought elſe but aſhes, and coales, and meere jugling toies. *Bodin* reporteth, that in our time one of the earls of Aſpremont entertained moſt magnifically all commers to his houſe, who receiued great contentment by the daintie meats, the curious ſeruice, and abundance of all things that they had. Neuertheleſſe, the men and the horſes were no ſooner out of the houſe, but they were readie to ſtarue with hungar and thirſt. Theſe were ſuch banquets as that of *Menippus* was, of which we haue ſpoken before. This is certaine (as *Lactantius* ſaith) that the illuſions of magicians make not ſhew of any thing that is ſound and true: And all their nimbleneſſe ſerues to none other end but to charme the eies of the beholders. Or elſe (according to the opinion of *Iamblicus* a Platonian) the thing which the charmed

Lib. 3. *cap.* 2. *Lib.* of caſting of lots, Queſt. 7.

Lib. 8. *de iuſt. & iure*, *Quæſt.* 3. *art.* 2.

In the 10. Chap. *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 15.

persons imagin they see, haue no being or substance, but they are meere imaginations and nothing else. *Plutarch* writeth that *Pericles*, a valiant and wise captaine as any of his time, hauing beene brought downe through a long and wearisome sickenesse, grew so weake in his braine, that he suffred himselfe to be gouerned by witches; and one day as a friend of his came to see him, he shewed him a kind of preseruatiue charm, which the women had tied about his neck like a carcanet: as if he meant to let him vnderstand, that he was verie ill when he endured to haue such a foolerie applied vnto him. Historians also write, that *Vlysses*, esteemed by *Homer* the wisest of all the Greekes, being sore hurt in the thigh, did suffer the blood to be stanched by a charme. But experience hath shewed that all these inuentions were nought else but vanities and mockeries of the spirit of Error. Therefore *Plinie* had good cause to say, how that *Nero* acknowledged and found, that Magick (to which he was giuen) was but vaine and false in euerie part of it. This may be confirmed by the notable example of the magicians of Ægypt, who went about to counterfeit the true and diuine miracles wrought by *Moses*: for his rod being turned into a serpent deuoured all the serpents of those Enchanters. *Dio* witnesseth, That the Emperour *Adrian* voided all the water wherewith he was swolne, by magicall arts and enchantments: but that presently after he appeared (and was indeed) full of the dropsie as before. Therefore *Pomponius Lætus* said well, That *Maxentius* was fitter to play the jugler than to gouerne the Empire: and afterwards he addeth, *That all they that haue recourse to Magicians, and seeke for predictions in the guiding of their affaires, are euermore perplexed, and in this desire of knowing things to come, doe ballance with extreame disquietnesse betweene Hope and Feare. If the Soothsaiers foretell them ioyfull things, a vaine hope begins to carrie them aboue the winde: if they denounce some misfortune, they are stricken & infatuated with sadnesse.* Besides these others which I haue alleaged, *Andreas Alciatus* an excellent Ciuilian hath discoursed both learnedly and Christianly of this matter: among other articles, he refuteth by the authoritie of the holy Scriptures, and the testimonies of *Origen* and Saint *Ierome*, the opinion of some ancient and moderne Diuines, who maintaine that our Sauiour was carried and set vpon the pinacles of the Temple by the power and working of Sathan. *Alciatus* saith, Although it be contained in the text that Sathan carried Iesus away into the holy citie, and placed him vpon the pinacles, yet our Sauiour did the same willingly, and gate vp thether by the conduction of the holy Spirit. I know verie well, That *Paul Grilland* and others hold the contrarie, and produce many and sundrie arguments and testimonies for maintaining thereof. But I will not dispute of it, but leaue the consideration hereof to the Diuines.

In the life of *Pericles*.

Lib. 30.

Exod. cap. 7.

In the life of *Adrian*.

In the abridgemen of Roman Hist.

Parer. Iur. lib. 8. *cap.* 22.

Lib. of Cast. lots, Quest. 7.

CHAP. XIV.

Of many strange things whereof none can yeeld a reason. And of the Impostures of Sathan.

Cap. 10.

WEe read in *Solinus*, that the Philosopher *Democritus* disputing against Magicians, and offering to make proofe of the secret power of nature, vsed the help of a stone called Catochites, which is found in no place but in the Isle of Corsica, and sticketh so fast to the hands and other parts of mans bodie, if it once touch the same, that a man hath much adoe to draw it away. Not without cause therefore is it, that many maruell to see a number of naturall things,

of

of the propertie of which it is impoſſible to yeeld a certaine reaſon: as for example, No man can tell why forked ſticks of hazill (rather than ſticks of other trees growing vpon the very ſame places) are fit to ſhew the places where the veines of gold and ſiluer are: the ſticke bending it ſelfe in the places, at the bottome whereof the ſame veines are. Who can alleage any certain and firme reaſon why the blood runnes out of the wounds of a man murdred, long after the murder committed, if the murderer be brought before the dead bodie? *Galeotus Martius*, *Ieronymus Maggius*, *Marſilius Ficinus*, *Valleriola*, *Ioubert*, and others haue offered to ſay ſomething thereof. Who (I pray you) can ſhew, why, if a deſperat bodie hang himſelfe, ſuddenly there ariſe tempeſts and whirlewinds in the aire? And who can tell exactly (though *I. Baptiſta Porta*, and *Iulius Cæſar Scaliger* doe learnedly diſpute thereof) why ſometimes the ſtone called Theamedes doth draw yron to it of the one ſide, and of the other ſide putteth it away? And whence commeth it, that if a man rub the ſame ſtone with garlicke, or couer it with dung, it looſeth the vertue of drawing to or putting from, vntill it be waſhed with wine? Againe, why the needls that are made of it, turne either towards the South, or towards the North? The Loadſtone doth not onely draw yron, but (as *Plato* ſaith) if many yron rings be tied one to another, the loadſtone by his ſecret vertue pierceth into all thoſe rings ſo following one another, without any other vertue or force than that of the ſtone. And therefore whoſoeuer ſhall obſerue this wonderfull propertie, it is impoſſible but he muſt be rauiſhed with admiration thereof when he firſt ſeeth it, as S. *Auguſtin* confeſſeth he was. Who would beleeue without ſuperſtition (if experience did not make it credible) that moſt commonly all the Bees die in their hiues, if the maſter or the miſtreſſe of the houſe chance to die, except the hiues be preſently remooued into ſome other place? And yet I know this hath hapned to folke no way ſtained with ſuperſtition.

*Cap.*22 of mingled doctrine. In his Miſcell. *Lib.*3. *cap.*5. *Lib.*16. *cap.*5. of the immortalitie of ſoules. *Lib.*2. *cap.*21. of naturall Magicke. In his 131 exerciſe againſt *Cardan.*

In the Dialog. entit. *Io.*

*Lib.*2. of the Citie of God. *Cap.*4. & 5.

Alſo we know great and noble houſes, that haue certaine ſignes and warnings either of the extreame ſickneſſe, or of the danger, or death of ſome one of their kinred, be he neere vnto them, or in ſome farre countrey, were it among the Antipodes. *Lodouicus Lauaterus* produceth many examples to this purpoſe, in his worke of the apparition of ſpirits. Among others he alleageth out of *Cardanus*, that there is a noble family at Parma, & whenſoeuer any is to die out of it, there is alwaies ſeene in the hall of the houſe an old woman ſitting in the chimney corner. Shee was one time perceaued, when a certaine young gentlewoman of that family was ſicke, who thereupon was taken for dead, notwithſtanding ſhee recouered her health, but in her place another of the ſame houſe died ſuddenly. The Marqueſſes of Eſt, afterwards dukes of Ferrara, haue of a long time obſerued the ſame in an Abbey where *Beatrix* of Eſt, who came out of their houſe, was buried: for, ſo ſoone as any ſtrange thing was to happen to their houſe, one ſhould heare in the Chappell of this Ladie a great noiſe and ruſtling, and her corps which was laid vpright, ſhould be found lying atone ſide. She died in the yeare 1226, in the moneth of May, ſaith *Bernardin Scardeon*: her corps was tained into a monaſterie of Ferrara, where it ſhewed things to come no leſſe than it had done before. That which *Bale* writeth of *Sylueſter* is no leſſe notable. Theſe bee his words; It is ſaid, That the ſepulchre of *Sylueſter* preſageth the death of the Popes, by a knocking and ratling of the bones within, and by a ſweating of the ſtone without. He died in the yeare 1003, and by his firſt name was called *Gerbert*, a Monke in the Abbey of Fleury. Touching his practiſes to become Pope, and likewiſe touching his life and his death, *Nauclerus*, *Platina*, and *Onu-*

*Lib.*1. *cap.*16.

*Lib.*2. *claſſ.*6.

*Lib.*5. of the liues of the Popes.

phrius

phrius the Popes Chamberlaine (who helping himſelfe with memorials out of the Vatican Librarie, and out of many other learned bookes, hath diligently written the liues of the Popes) tell ſtrange and wonderfull things. *Herodotus* writeth, That in Peduſia aboue Halicarnaſſus, *Mineruas* prieſt had certaine tokens which foretold him the aduerſities that within a certaine time after ſhould befall the Amphyctians, who dwelt round about the ſame citie. There bee ſome princes of Germanie that haue particular and apparant preſages and tokens full of noiſe before or about the day of their death, as extraordinarie roaring of lions, and barking of dogs, fearefull noiſes and buſtlings by night in caſtles, ſtriking of clocks, and tolling of bels at vndue times and howres, and other warnings whereof none could giue any reaſon. I haue heard a prince ſay, that there is in his territories a fountaine that yeelds a current of water which runs continually; and euer when it decreaſeth, it preſageth deereneſſe of victuals: but when it groweth drie, it ſignifieth a dearth. But what may we thinke of the fountaine that was whilom at Glomutz, or Lumiz a citie of Miſnia? *Dietmarus* writeth of it this that followeth, by report of *Peter Albinus* in his Chronicle: There is a fountaine in the citie of Glomutz a league from the riuer Elbis (ſaith he) which of it ſelfe making a pond produceth oftentimes certaine ſtrange effects, as the inhabitants of the countrey ſay, and many that haue ſeene the ſame witneſſe. When there was like to be a good and fruitfull peace in all the places about, this fountaine would appeare couered with wheat, oats, and akornes, to the great ioy of the countrey people that flock thether from all parts to ſee the ſame. If any cruell war doe threaten the countrey, the water is all thick with blood and with aſhes, a certaine preſage of miſerie and ruine to come. The ſame *Albinus* alſo, after *Eraſmus de Stella*, ſaith theſe words, That in old time the Vandals Sorabes came euerie yeare in great troupes to this wonderfull fountaine, where they ſacrificed to their Idols, and enquired after the fruitfulneſſe of the yeare following: and that this idolatrie laſted till the time of one of the *Henries* that were Emperours, who brought all the people of that countrey to the knowledge of the Goſpell.

In the 7. title or chapter.

It hapneth alſo moſt often in Couents, that in the Churches there are ſeene ſpirits without heads, apparelled like Monkes and Nunnes, ſitting in the pewes of the right Monkes and Nunnes which were to die ſoone after. And my ſelfe know ſome Gentlemen that confeſſe, If a certaine fountaine (being otherwiſe very cleane and cleare) be ſuddenly troubled by meanes of a worme vnknown, that the ſame is a perſonall ſummons for ſome of them to depart out of the world. Another noble houſe holdeth for the like preſage, when there hapneth any ſinking of the ground neere to their caſtle, or any other part of their territorie. In Bohemia there is ſeene the apparition of a woman in mourning attire, in a caſtle belonging to a great and honourable Houſe, a little before that any wife of any of the lords of that family bee to depart this life. And who can relate all the particularities of ſuch accidents? therefore as wee muſt confeſſe that there be infinit things in the boſome of nature, which are hidden and vnknowne to vs (nature abounding with innumerable treaſures of Sciences which can neuer be exhauſted) and in the ſuppreſſion of which, no leſſe than in the manifeſtation of thoſe that are diſcouered, the immenſe wiſedome of the Creator doth ſufficiently ſhine and appeare (for he can, as often as it pleaſeth him, make that to be which is not, and change that which is; hauing bin no whit impoſſible to him, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, to create ſuch natures as he thought good, and being poſſible alſo for him to change them into ſuch other as he will:) ſo may wee obſerue

Lib. 21. of the citie of God.

ſerue in ſome of them certaine impoſtures and illuſions of Sathan, who by the ſame goeth about to ſurpriſe and deceiue the vnadviſed. *Dominicus Soto* (a Spaniard handling this queſtion, Whether it bee lawfull to coniure deuils) prooueth both largely and learnedly, that there be ſtrange and marueilous properties hidden in waters, in herbes, in ſtones, and other naturall things, which are not knowne to men, but are manifeſt to wicked ſpirits, who with a very ſudden motion can carrie them hither and thither, to the effects moſt extraordinarie, and which ſeeme miraculous. And therefore it is not without cauſe that theſe vncleane and reprobat ſpirits are thought to be fortified with inuentions and artes full of deceits and noiſome illuſions: For they can (by Gods permiſſion, none of their owne power) corrupt and alienate the ſenſes of men infinite wayes; and ſometimes by the helpe of theſe ſecrets of nature preſent them in ſtead of true things, that which hath no reſemblance of truth. Or elſe (as *Lactantius* ſaith) they charme with their illuſions the eyes of the beholders, ſo as they ſee not that which is, and thinke they ſee that which is not. *For this Author of all euill* (ſaith S. *Ignatius* Martyr) *taketh vpon him infinite ſhapes, and changeth himſelfe into many ſhapes, deceiuing mens vnderſtandings by falſe perſuaſions, being contrarie to himſelfe, vnconſtant, an hypocrite, and a lyer: inuentious and craftie to doe euill, vniuſt and vnprofitable to any good, which he knoweth not.* Therefore *Prudentius* the Poet deciphereth him elegantly in theſe verſes;

Auant prodigious Worker of huge dreames;
Thou that (Arch-lier) with thy charming gleames
Bewitcheſt hearts and eyes: Thou Serpent old,
That full of frauds and windings many wayes
Doſt vex the peacefull minds, and it doſt hold
Within thy clutched arm'd at all aſſayes.

Theſe things I thought vpon, as once I heard a man (worthie of credit) diſcourſe of the tyrannie of the Fiend in the countreys that lie farre Northwards, where he tormenteth the inhabitanes by his illuſions and impoſtures, more than euer he did vſe to doe. He ſaid, that the deuils doe there converſe familiarly in houſes, doe ſeruice and drudgerie, and are called of the countrey people, Good fellowes: They dreſſe horſes and other beaſts very carefully, ſhew themſelues peart and nimble to doe all that one commands them, without doing any harme, (as the inhabitants ſay) ſo that the companie of theſe Good-fellowes is verie profitable and pleaſing to many maſters. And oftentimes they foretell the perſons whom they ſerue, of ſickneſſes and dangers threatned, to the end they may preuent the ſame: and at this day there be ſome Muſcouites that affirme they are ſerued of ſuch: and they worſhip certaine ſpirits that appeare vnto them in the likeneſſe of a man, which are called of them *Calitki*, of the Greeks *Coboli*, and of the Germans *Cobaldes*, ſaith *Iohannes Meletius*. They beleeue that theſe ſpirits kepe in ſome by-corners of houſes, or among piles of wood cut for the fire: they giue them of the daintieſt victuals in the countrey, and of all maner of ſorts; becauſe theſe ſpirits are wont (in requitall of ſuch good cheere) to bring their Hoſts good wheat which they ſteale out of mens garners in other places. Theſe ſpirits being light and incomprehenſible, haue a marueilous kind of promptneſſe and viuacitie, exerciſed with long cuſtome and experience of things; which maketh them by naturall cauſes to foreſee things a long time before-hand, yea, and to know them much more exactly than the ſpirits of men can, that are loaden with the heauie maſſe of their bodies: And that S. *Auguſtin* thought, when he wrote theſe words, *We muſt vnderſtand that the nature of deuils is ſuch, that*

Lib.8. de inſtit. & de relig. queſt. 3. art. 2.

Lib. 2. ca. 1. & 2

In his letter to the Philippians.

In the Hymne of the euening

In his letter touching the religion & ſacrifices of the ancient inhabitants of of Pruſſia.

In his book of the nature of the damned.

that in the ſenſe of their ayrie bodies they eaſily ſurpaſſe the ſenſe of earthly bodies. Likewiſe in ſwiftneſſe, they exceed, by reaſon of the agilitie of their bodies, not onely men and foure-footed beaſts, how ſpeedie ſoeuer their courſe be; but alſo the moſt ſudden flying of birds: with this quickneſſe of ſenſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſpeed they declare things knowne and diſcouered by them before, at which men wonder becauſe of the lumpiſhneſſe of their earthly ſenſe. Moreouer, by reaſon of the long time it is that theſe ſpirits haue beene, they enioy much larger experience, and a more exact knowledge of things, than men by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of their life, can attaine vnto. The verie Pagans knew thus much: For *Plato*, after *Heſiodus*, thinketh that the Dæmons are ſo called, as who would ſay *Daemons*, that is, prudent and skilfull. *Triſmegiſtus* is of the ſame opinion, as it is alleaged by *Lactantius*, who addeth further, *The Dæmons know many things to come, but not all; becauſe it is not lawfull for them to know all the counſell of God: therefore their anſwers are moſt commonly doubtfull and of two meanings.*

In his Cratyl.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

To returne to our purpoſe: That man of whom I made mention afore, aſſured, that in thoſe Northern countries there was a certaine place in a promontorie betweene two horrible rocks of the ſea, in the which moſt often ſome daies before, and ſometimes at the verie inſtant that a battell was fought, or ſome ſlaughter of men was made in any place of the world, the waues of the ſea would appeare all as blood, and a man ſhould ſee floating among them bodies of men all mangled and for the moſt part wanting ſome of their parts, as head, foot, or hand. *Olaus Magnus* ſeemeth to ſay the ſame, deſcribing a place of Iſland, where by the apparition of ſpirits, the Iſlanders preſage the aduentures of princes, and tell of that which is done in the remoteſt parts of the world. Now although I am not ignorant, that the waters doe oftentimes change colour naturally (as the Arabian ſea appeareth red at a certaine time, and the Diphnoſophiſts in *Athenæus* diſcourſe largely of the nature of waters, and of the differences of them, according to the qualitie of the places, in theſe termes; *The colour of waters is ſuch as the ground is that they waſh: the water of the Lake of Babilon is red for ſome daies, and that of Boryſthenes is of azure-collour at certaine times, although verie light, ſeeing it runs aboue the riuer Hypanis, becauſe the waters thereof running out of the North are verie cleere and pure:*) notwithſtanding, if that we now ſaid of bodies comming foorth (as it were) of the waters, be thought fabulous and vaine to ſome, let vs heare (ſaid that man further) what another worthie of beleefe, as an eie-witneſſe, hath oftentimes reported vnto vs. He was one that had trauelled diuers parts of Aſia and Ægypt, and affirmed that he had ſeene more than once in a certaine place neere to the Cayre (where meets a great number of people vpon a certaine day in the moneth of March, to behold the reſurrection of the fleſh, as they ſay) certaine bodies of dead perſons, ſhewing and putting themſelues (as it were) by little and little out of the ground: not that one may ſee them all whole; but ſometimes the hands, and ſometimes the feet, and ſometimes halfe the bodie: which done, they goe in againe, and then put themſelues out, and preſently hide themſelues againe by little and little within the ground. When many could not beleeue ſuch ſtrange things, and I (for my part) deſired to know the truth of all this matter, I enquired further thereof of a kinſman of mine, my ſingular good friend, a gentleman ſo well accompliſhed for all vertues, as is poſſible to find any, aduanced to great honour, and hauing an inſight in moſt things: He hauing trauelled the foreſaid countries with another gentleman who was alſo one of my moſt familiar and greateſt friends, called the lord *Alexander* of Scullenbourg (kild of late yeares in Frizeland being gone thether to ſee ſome kinsfolkes and friends of his that

Lib. 2. of his North. Hiſt. lib. 3, & 4. cap. 22.

Lib. 2. cap. 2.

bare

bare armes there; a man for his most rare vertues worthie of a longer life) told me that he had heard by many but had not seene it himselfe, that it was a matter of verie truth in so much as at Caire, and in other places of Ægypt, all held this resurrection for a common and sollemne thing. And for my better satisfaction, he shewed me a booke, printed long before at Venice, containing diuers descriptions of voiages made by Venetian Ambassadors to the princes of the Northerne Asia, into Æthiopia, and to other countries to vs vnknowne. There was one discourse among the rest entituled, *Viaggio di Messer Aluigi di Giouanni di Alessandria nelle Indie:* out of which I haue taken some words towards the end; the sense whereof is this. *The 25 day of March, in the yeare 1540 many Christians accompanied with certaine Ianissaries, went from Cayre towards a little barren mountaine about halfe a league off, assigned in times past for a place of buriall for the dead: in which place there meets ordinarily euerie yeare an incredible multitude of persons, to see the dead bodies there interred, comming out (as it were) of their graues and sepulchres. This beginneth the Thursday, and lasteth till the Satterday, and then all vanisheth away. Then may ye see bodies wrapped in their cloathes, after the old fashion. But one sees them not either standing or walking: but onely the armes or the thighes, or some other part of the bodie which you may touch. If you goe further off, and presently come forward againe, you shall find these armes or other limbs appearing more out of the ground. And the more you change places, the more diuers & eminent these motions are seen. At the same time many tents are spread about this mountaine. For both whole and sick that come thether in great troupes, beleeue verily, that whosoeuer washeth himselfe the night before the Friday with a certaine water drawne out of a pond there hard by, it is a remedie to recouer and maintaine health. But I haue not seene this miracle.* This is the report of the Venetian. Besides the which, we haue also the relation of a Iacobin of Vlme named *Felix*, who hath trauelled in those quarters of the Leuant, and hath published a booke in the Almaine tongue of that which he saw in Palestina and in Ægypt. He maketh the same narration. Now as I haue not taken vpon me to maintaine, that this apparition is a miraculous thing, to confound those superstitious and idolatrous people of Ægypt, by shewing them that there is a Resurrection and a Life to come; nor yet doe meane to confute the same, or to sustaine that it is an illusion of Sathan as many thinke: So doe I leaue the iudgement of this matter to the Reader, to thinke and resolue thereof as shall seene good vnto him.

CHAP. XV.

Of a mans Genius, or familiar spirit. And of the wicked spirit of Caumont, *and of* Schilrac.

SEruius the Grammarian is of opinion, that Genius was held for God, because he was giuen to be a guide and conductor of those that were borne. *Censorinus* is of the same mind, saying; That we haue a Genius giuen vnto vs for a continuall controller and assistant, and that he is neuer a minute from vs, but doth alwaies accompany vs from the time we are committed to his charge, which is at our first comming into the world, vntill our last gaspe. *Socrates, Empedocles*, and *Menander* haue thought the same, attributing to euerie person a good and a bad Genius or familiar spirit, a thing that *Plutarch* approoueth in his Tractate of the contentment of the mind.

The Pagans endued with such opinions erected peculiar seruices & sacrifices to these Geniusses, who were represented by the shape of a serpent, sometimes of

of a child, or an old man. These shapes were crowned with leaues of the Plane-tree, which tree serueth for generation. In the ancient coines of *Traian* and of *Adrian*, and of other princes, there is seene a Genius holding in his right hand a cup which he reacheth out ouer an Altar strewed with flowers; and in his left hand a whip, or such like thing. In the coines of *Adrian* and of *Diocletian* there is seene in the left hand of the Genius, a *Cornu-copia*, or horne of abundance, and in the right a cup, with this inscription GEN. P. R. And so in diuers other coines, diuers and sundrie inscriptions. Cities and nations had also their speciall Geniusses.

Genius Populi Romani.

Now the Pagans attributed such reuerence to this Genius, that whosoeuer sware a false oath by the Genius of the princes, was punished by an expresse Edict with the bastonado. But yet he was punished more grieuously that tooke the name of *Iupiter* in vaine and to maintaine a lie, as the learned *Rœuardus* prooueth by diuers testimonies. But to come to examples drawn out of Histories, that which *Plutarch* reporteth of the Genius of *Augustus* and of that of *Antonie* is memorable, and deserueth to haue the first place: to shew how the Romans thought that one Genius, or Dæmon & familiar spirit, had the aduantage of another: which *L. Gyraldus* toucheth in the Historie of the gods. I will here set downe the words of *Plutarch* speaking of *Augustus* and *Antonie*. *In all pastimes* (saith he) *and in all plaies that they sometimes vsed one with another*, Antonie *euer lost and had the worse, whereat he would be much vexed. For he had about him an Ægyptian Diuine, one of those that vse to calculate Natiuities, and to foretell mens fortunes by obseruing the houre of their birth; who either to gratifie* Cleopatra, *or else because he found so by his art, told* Antonie *plainely, that his fortune (which of it selfe was verie great and most splendent) was dazled and obscured when it came neere that of* Cæsar; *and therefore hee aduised him to remooue himselfe so farre as euer he could from that young Lord: for thy Dæmon (said he) that is, the Angell and spirit that hath thee in keeping, doth feare and redoubt his; and being courageous and lostie when he is alone, he becommeth timorous and fearefull when he commeth neere the other.*

L. 13. in fin. ff. de iureiur.

Tr. de ambig. iurii, l. 2. c. 7.

Lib. 15.

In the life of *M. Antonie.*

In the life of *Brutus.*

No lesse remarkable is that which the same *Plutarch* reporteth of the Dæmon or Genius of *Brutus*, in these tearmes: At the instant that *Brutus* was to passe into Europe, vpon a night very late, all his campe being asleepe, and in very deepe silence, as he sate in his tent, a small light standing by him, thinking and musing vpon something, him thought that hee heard one comming in, and casting his eye towards the entring in of his tent, he perceiued a wonderfull hideous shape of a strange and horrible bodie, which came and stood before him without saying word. *Brutus* had the boldnesse to aske him who he was, and whether hee were a god or a man, and what occasion brought him thither. The phantosme answered him, *I am thy euill angell*, Brutus, *and at Philippi thou shalt see me.* *Brutus* without being more troubled, replied; *Well then, there will I see thee*; and with that the spirit vanished away. *Brutus* thereupon calling his seruants, they told him, that they had neither heard any voice, nor seene any vision. Now albeit that *Brutus* felt some ease in the remonstrances which *Cassius* (to whom he had reported this aduenture) made vnto him, maintaining that spirits had no forme, voice, or power that could touch vs: yet the night before the day of the battell at Philippi, this phantosme appeared the second time to *Brutus* in the selfe same shape that it did at first, and without speaking word vanished. And *Cassius* himselfe could not be so stiffe in his opinion drawne from the puddles of the Epicurean doctrine, but he startled at the sight of such phantosmes, though he went about to persuade *Brutus*, that valiant men were exempted from such visions,

visions, which he tearmed vaine imaginations. For Historians write, that in the very same battell in the field of *Philippi*, the same *Cassius* saw *Julius Cæsar* in the shape of a man of a more than ordinarie heigth, who with an angrie countenance came towards him on horse-back with a forc't gallop to strike him: which strucke such a feare into him, that he turned his backe to his enemies, and soone after he kild himselfe. The like welneere befell *Cassius* of Parma, a renowmed Poet, who followed the side of *Brutus* and *Cassius* (say *Acron* and *Porphyrio*) being Collonell of a Regiment of foot. His masters being dead, he withdrew himselfe within the citie of Athens, whither *Augustus* sent *Quintilius Varus* to kill him. *Varus* found him in his studie, where without all respect of learning, hee slew him. But *Valerius Maximus* speaking of Dreames, saith of his death as followeth: *M. Anthonie* hauing lost the battell of Actium, *Cassius* of Parma who had followed him, by flying away saued himselfe within Athens: where one night being ouerwhelmed with cares, him thought that a very great blacke man with long haire, and his beard vncombed, stood before him, who being asked what he was, made this answere, I am the euill spirit. *Cassius* affrighted with that furious countenance, and with so fearefull a name, called aloud for his seruants, and asked them if they saw not such a person comming into his chamber, or going foorth: they all swore they saw none. Thereupon he laid him downe againe, and began to take some rest and sleepe; but the same phantosme came and stood there againe: which did so awaken him, that hauing called for light, hee charged his seruants not to leaue him. Betweene this night and his death (hauing been slaine by the commandement of *Cæsar*) there past not many dayes. Thus farre *Valerius*. *Plutarch* writeth that the like fell to *Dio* the Syracusan, before hee was kild by those that conspired against him: Sitting one euening all pensiue and solitarie in his gallerie, a sudden noise made him lift vp his head, and looking towards the other side of the gallerie, he espied a great woman of such a face and dressing, as one of the furies is represented in Tragedies, who was sweeping of the place: being amazed, yea quite besides himselfe at the sight of this vision, he calleth his friends, to whom he telleth the matter, praying them to tarie with him that night, fearing least if he staied alone the vision would appeare vnto him againe: which notwithstanding did not. A while after a young sonne of his transported with choller, proceeding of anger for a light occasion, threw himselfe head-long from the top of the house, and so was kild. *Plutarch* comparing *Dio* and *Brutus* together, saith, That they were both slaine ere they could see the end of the enterprises whereof each of them laboured by so faire exploits to see the atchieuement and end. The same Authour in the same place seemes to approoue their opinion, who haue held (and he seemes to come neere the truth, if hee bee well vnderstood) that euill spirits malice famous men, and oppose themselues against their heroicall designes, shocking and battering their constancie by terrors and frightings: so much are they afraid, least they persisting in their honourable deliberation to the end, should after their death enioy a better state and condition than the same euill spirits are like to haue. It is likewise reported that *Cornelius Sylla* being in the countrey, saw an ill spirit that called him: which in the morning hauing told his friends, hee presently made his will, and sealing it in the euening, he was the night following taken out of the world by a feauer, when he was threescore yeares old. That which *Herodotus* mentioneth is no lesse memorable, touching the Spectre that appeared twice to *Xerxes* in his sleepe, and constrained him with threatnings to make war vpon the Grecians: His vncle *Artabanus* hearing of it made no reckoning there-

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In the life of *Dio*.

Lib. 7.

of, saying they were but dreames, and giuing counsell (as a wise man would) to haue peace maintained; the same vision appeared to him, holding a paire of burning tongs in his hands, as if he would haue put out his eyes because he opposed himselfe against the counsels of warre. Wee may not forget that which is read in Histories lesse ancient, when Christianitie dispersed by little and little the darknesse of Paganisme, touching *Iulian* the Apostata, what time his armie proclaimed him Emperour. *Ammian Marcellinus* writeth thereof thus: The night before the day that he was declared Emperour, he told his friends, that as he reposed himselfe, there stood before him such a one as they vse to represent euerie mans Genius or familiar spirit, who said vnto him in good rough tearmes; *Iulian*, I haue of a long time (without making any adoe) kept thy lodging doore, desiring nothing more than to make thee great; sometimes I haue gone away, as if no reckoning had been made of me; if now thou reiect me, though many are of the same mind to aduaunce thee, I will take my leaue, and goe away very sorrowfull: for the rest, marke this well, that I will not tarrie much longer with thee. The same Historian addeth, That a little before *Iulian* was kild in the war against the Persians, being about to take some rest amidst the troubles and crosses that pressed him; after hee had a little slumbred, and was waked againe (as *Iulius Cæsar* was wont to do, who would euer write something in his tent) being attentiuely bent to the reading of some philosophicall discourses, he perceiued (as he confessed to his familiar friends) the same Genius or Spectre that he had seene in Fraunce a little before his election, but then all ragged, and filthie to looke vpon, bearing in his hand a horn of abundance couered with a linnen cloth, walking very sadly along by the hangings of his tent.

Lib. 20.

All these stories make me remember that which *Plinie* the second writeth to *Sura* touching the apparition of spirits, which I will heere set downe at length, that it may the better and more fully appeare what the Pagans haue thought of this point. *Plinie* requireth *Sura* to send him his opinion touching apparitions, to wit, Whether they be things that haue any forme or diuine power, or whether men bee caried away with a conceit of vaine illusions whereof they are afraid: That *Curtius Rufus*, to whom the like thing had chanced, perswaded him to beleeue, that such apparitions were not illusorie or idle dreames. This *Rufus* came into Africa with the Gouernour, being yet of no credit or reputation: and walking one euening in the gallerie before his house, a woman greater and fairer than any other appeared vnto him, whereat he was abashed. But shee said vnto him, I will fore-tell thee thy fortunes: Thou shalt returne to Rome, shalt be aduanced to great Offices, shalt bee chosen Proconsull and Gouernour of Africa, and shalt die in that dignitie: which came to passe in euery point. The same Authour reporteth another thing no lesse admirable and strange. In the citie of Athens there was a goodly lodging, which yet was out of request, as a place very dangerous: for in the night there was a spirit that walked in it, drawing a chaine, and making a noise, and seemed as if hee came a farre off; and then would suddenly be hard by. After that there would appeare a great old man, his flesh all worne away, hauing a long beard, his haire standing an end and all tangled, fetters on his feet, and a chaine at his handes, which he would alwayes be shaking. They that dwelt in the house could neuer rest in the night, but would grow heauie and pensiue, and so fall sicke and die: for in the very day time, though they saw not the spirit, yet they should thinke hee alwayes was in their sight, and that the ringing of his chaine did euer beat in their eares, whereby their feare continued in them without any intermission.

Lib. 3. Epist.

Vpon

Vpon this the lodging ſtood emptie, becauſe no bodie would dwell in it, notwithſtanding it was cried to be hired or ſold, and Bils were ſet vp to that purpoſe. At the ſame time *Athenodorus* the Philoſopher came to Athens, who ſeeing this lodging ſet to ſale for a ſmall price, thought there was a pad in the ſtraw, and ſo would needs know the myſterie of it. Vnderſtanding all the matter, he was the more deſirous to buy it: and at night cauſed a bed to bee made ouer the forepart of the houſe, and called for his writing-tables, and a lampe well lighted, and willed his ſeruants to withdraw themſelues into a chamber at the backe end of the houſe. That done, he ſetled himſelfe to write and ſtudie very earneſtly, to the end that his mind being not diſtracted, he might make the leſſe account of the noiſe which he ſhould heare. The night growing late, the ſpirit begins to ſhake his fetters, and his chaine: but *Athenodorus* without once mouing his head, ſate alwayes writing, though the noiſe increaſed neuer ſo much: the ſpirit comes on, and ſtands at the chamber doore: and then the Philoſopher lifting vp his head, he eſpied the thing to be ſuch as was reported to him. Vpon this the ſpirit made a ſigne to him with his finger, as if he called him to come to him: the Philoſopher anſwered him with the hand, that hee ſhould ſtay a little, and ſo fell to his writing againe. But the other ſhaking his chaine ouer his head, *Athenodorus* looking vp, perceiued that hee made a ſigne to him as before, whereupon he tooke the light and followed him: the ghoſt went moſt pitifully, as if he carried his yrons with great paine, and being gone out into the ſtreet, vaniſhed away. *Athenodorus* taking ſome graſſe, and leaues, marked the place, and when it was day went to the Counſell of the citie, willing them to dig and ſearch in that place: which being done, they found a dead bodie all rotten, whereof nothing remained but the bones that were chained. The bones were taken vp and buried; and after that time there was neuer any ſpirit ſeene in that houſe of *Athenodorus*. *Plinie* addeth, that he beleeueth this report vpon their words that maintaine it to bee true: but that *Sura* ſhould giue credit to this that followeth, becauſe *Plinie* is certaine that ſo it was. There was a freed ſeruant, with whom his younger brother lay. One night this free-man thought that he ſaw one ſitting vpon his bed, that ſhaued away his haire with a razor. The next day hee found himſelfe ſhauen, and his haire lying beſides him. *Plinie* ſaith, that nothing elſe followed thereof, and that the ſame hapned vnder the Emperor *Domitian*. Vpon this he ſhutteth vp his Epiſtle, exhorting *Sura* to conſider this well, and to put him out of his doubt: But wee find not the others anſwere.

Although Sathan transforme himſelfe ſometimes into an Angell of light, as the holy Scripture teacheth vs: yet by a ſpeciall prouidence and a particular ordinance of God, he doth commonly ſhew himſelfe to his ſeruants in a terrible and hideous ſhape, retaining withall ſome ſhew of greatneſſe, and promiſing wonders, to retaine (as it were) with ſome authoritie (wherewith he couereth his execrable deſignes) thoſe that enter into league with him; otherwiſe, he is ſuch a proud and craftie deceiuer, as he would neuer put on other roabe than that which is magnificall and of moſt excellent apparance, vnleſſe the power of God did curbe and hold him in. Therefore the Almightie lord maketh him appeare ſometimes to corporall eies in a marueilous foule and ougly ſhape, to the end that ſuch, as elſe not knowing him would worſhip and adore him, might not eſteeme of him, but vtterly deteſt him, after they haue once ſeene what he is. Saint *Iohn Chryſoſtom* hath obſerued that, ſaying, *What a number of wicked ſpirits are there flying in the aire? what a number of enemie-powers?* *Homil. 41. in Pſalm.*

If God would ſuffer them to ſhew vs their terrible aſpects, would it not make vs looſe our vnderſtanding, ſenſe, and life? We haue enriched this ſaying with the ſtories of *Lupoldus* duke of *Auſtrich*, of *Euthymus* in *Pauſanias*, and of the German lord in the eleuenth chapter aforegoing. They that giue themſelues to ſuch Impoſtures, ſay that in magicall coniurations the deuills when they appeare, ſhew themſelues in the moſt horrible ſhapes, that they may the more terrifie him that calleth them foorth. And albeit they be not ſolid and perfect ſhapes, yet the eies doe ſee them to haue diuers motions, and that they goe and walke, but not by a naturall meane, namely by ſetting one foot before another as liuing creatures doe, but are carried or driuen like a boate that glides away before the winde, or as if one did ſlide vpon ice, or on a verie ſmooth ground.

For the reſt, experience hath ſhewed that good and euill Angels doe for the moſt part appeare to men two waies: the good, in a humane forme or ſome other like, in whom there ſhine ſome draughts of the Diuine glorie and Maieſtie: the wicked in a hideous and horrible ſhape, wherein appeare the ſignes of the fearefull wrath and indignation of the Almightie: which giueth a terrible check to ſuch perſons as thoſe wicked ſpirits ſhew themſelues vnto. Which thing *Lambertus Danæus* hath learnedly obſerued, who concludeth in theſe words: *The good Angells comfort men, and inſtruct them in the feare of God: the wicked doe nothing elſe but deceiue and torment their ſeruants.* He addeth a ſtrong comfort to all Chriſtians, taken out of the holy Scriptures, whereby they may defend themſelues againſt the aſſaults and temptations of Sathan; namely, That the power of the wicked angels is limited, and that of themſelues they cannot that which they can, but ſo far foorth as God giueth them the bridle, for a more ample demonſtration of his glorie. For, they are not ſtronger or powerfuller than God, by whoſe might we reſiſt the deuill and ouercome him. But though they haue a willingneſſe accompanied with deteſtable malice, yet haue they no power to execute any thing but from the Iuſtice of God, whether he will by them puniſh the reprobate, or humble his Elect to glorifie them at the laſt. The good Angels defend all perſons that are carefull of their ſaluation: Contrariwiſe, the wicked labour to ſurpriſe them, and to draw them into perdition. In this ſenſe are the good tearmed the Heauenly armie: the rather, becauſe the faithfull haue for their capitall and fearefull enemie, Sathan the prince of this world with infinite legions, whoſe aſſaults they can neuer reſiſt, if they be not aſſiſted with the watchfull protection of one that is more mightie. The good Ancients meant to put vs in mind hereof by an example which they haue left vs from hand to hand. A certaine Chriſtian (one of thoſe that left the cities and other places frequented by the multitude, and retired to deſolate and vnfrequented places where they might liue in greater puritie and quietneſſe of mind) going one day towards a certaine citie neere to his ſolitarie aboad, and carrying a wicker basket of his owne making, which he meant to ſell, and with the money receiued for the ſame to buy ſome bread; vpon the way paſſing by ſome poore houſes of other folke that liued in that ſolitarie ſort, he diſcouered (as it were) certaine troupes and ſwarms of deuils, which with a ſoft noiſe skipped about the places of thoſe that dwelt there. When he came neere to the citie which was full of Idols, ill gouerned, and all diſteined with vices, he caſt vp his eies, and eſpied one onely deuill on the top of a high tower, as if he had beene placed ſentinell there. Wondring at this ſtrange ſight, and not able to reſolue himſelfe of the doubt, at laſt he tooke heart of grace, and coniuring the wicked ſpirit in the name of IESVS CHRIST, commanded him to tell why he ſtood

In the Treatiſe of good and euill angels, chap. 8, 9. 12.

ſtood ſo alone with his armes a croſſe in a citie where ſo many wicked people were, whereas (contrariwiſe) in the ſolitarie places where he had paſſed, there were ſuch great troupes of his fellowes? The fiend compelled by ſo great an adiuration, anſwered; That the citie needed not any greater troupe, but that one was ſufficient to watch that the inhabitants thereof made no innouation but continued their old ordinarie traine, becauſe of a long time he had beene maſter of that place, and poſſeſſed and ruled it in peace: Contrariwiſe, thoſe places of ſolitude made the other ſpirits to employ all the cunning, might, and meanes they had to get the maſterie of them, which was the cauſe why he ſaw ſo many ſquadrons there as if they were to fight in battell aray. This tale putteth vs in mind, that all they that haue any care of their ſaluation, ought to ſtand vpon their guards, to flie all drunkenneſſe inward and outward, and to giue themſelues to the diligent reading and hearing of Gods Word. *For, our aduerſarie the deuill* (ſaith the Apoſtle Saint *Peter*) *walketh about like a roaring lion, ſeeking whom he may deuoure.* 1. *Pet.* 5. 8.

To enlarge yet this Meditation of good and euill angels: Euerie one muſt hold this article reſolutely, according to the inſtruction of the holy Scriptures which deceiue no man, That God hath committed the protection of mankinde to the good Angels; and that euerie perſon that putteth his truſt in God hath ſome good Angell to guard and defend him; yea many: according to that which our Sauiour Chriſt (who is the truth it ſelfe) hath manifeſted, ſpeaking of thoſe little ones that beleeue in him, *That their Angells doe alwaies in heauen behold the face of his Father.* Matth. 18. 10. And the Prophet ſaith *Pſal.* 34. *The Angells of the Lord pitch their tents round about them that feare him, and deliuer them.* And *Pſal.* 91. *He ſhall giue his Angells charge ouer thee to keepe thee in all thy waies, and with their hands they ſhall hold thee vp, that thou hurt not thy foot againſt a ſtone.* And the Apoſtle ſaith, *Heb.* 1. *The Angells are all miniſtring ſpirits ſent to ſerue for their ſakes that muſt be heires of ſaluation.* Agreable to which is the ſaying of Saint *Ierom*, *Great is the dignitie of the ſoules, when as euerie one of them at their firſt comming into the world hath an Angell deputed to guard it.* Lib. 3. ſuper Matth. And of *Origen*; *A good Angell* (ſaith he) *the Angell of the Lord doth aſſiſt euerie one, yea the leaſt that are in Gods Church, to direct, admoniſh and gouerne them; and who, to correct our faults and obtaine pardon, doth behold euerie day the face of the Father which is in heauen.* Homil. 71. Therefore let euerie one haue care not to driue away by his impietie the Angell that aſſiſteth him, who doth defend him, and is alwaies readie to fight for him. For, euen as Bees doe ſhun all ſtinking, filthie, and vncleane things; ſo the holy Angels withdraw themſelues commonly from the companie of perſons that giue themſelues to wickedneſſe and villanie; and in their place come wicked angels, which are exceeding craftie and ſubtill to doe euill, and to drag ſoules into perdition: and this no wiſe man can denie. Therefore, as theſe are rightly tearmed euill, and we ſay of the whole bodie of them in the Lord praier, *Deliuer vs from euill*, that is, from our enemie deſperatly euill and wicked: ſo the other, are ſometimes called *Angells of heauen*; ſometimes *Holy Angells*; And ſimply, *Angells*, that is to ſay, Meſſengers. To this agreeth the ſaying of *Macarius*: *When the ſoule* (ſaith he) *departeth out of mans bodie, a great myſterie is accompliſhed: For, if ſhe be guiltie of ſinne, the bands of deuils, wicked angels, and powers of darkeneſſe run and take hold of this ſoule their ſlaue, and carrie it away with them. Which ſhould not be thought ſtrange: for as much as if the partie while it liued did receiue the yoake of euill ſpirits, did obey and ſerue them, it is reaſon that thy be maſters thereof when it departeth out of the world. And that this is ſo, it may be gathered by that which concerneth the bleſſed ſoules. For, ſeeing that in this preſent life the good Angels compaſſe* Matth. 24. 36. Marc. 8. 38. Hebr. 1. 13. Homil. 22. de Statu morient.

about and keepe the children of God, when their soules are seuered from their bodies, the companies of the same Angels carrie them into a better life, and present them vnto the Lord. These are the words of *Masarius*.

Lib.4. of the Annals of Bauaria.

We will end this Meditation with two examples of the notable furie of these wicked fiends expressed in burning of a village, and a citie. *Iohannes Auentinus* writeth of a notable thing that hapned in the village of Caumont neere the Rhine, touching the wonderfull illusions of the deuill. And these be his words. *Not many daies past, the spirit of Error and Apostacie did marueilous things in this village, and plaid most terrible parts, by molesting those of that place diuers and sundrie waies. First, a phantosme or spirit began to cast stones at people, and to knock at mans doores, and could neuer be perceiued. Presently this wicked and raging spirit being masked with mans shape, begins to answer to such questions as were demanded of him, and to discouer things stolne, accusing, slandering, and defaming those whom he would, and raising vp enmities and quarrels among the inhabitants. Hauing burnt certaine barnes, he set fire also in all the houses. But he vsed one of the dwellers there much worse than all the rest, for he would alwaies be at his elbow whether soeuer he went, and burnt his house to ashes. And to stir vp all the neighbours to fall vpon this harmlesse man, and to murther him, this forger of lies gaue out that the village was cursed and destined to vtter destruction for the wickednesse of that person, who thereupon was forced to liue abroad in the fields, hauing no other couert but heauen: for no man would take him into his house, because he was held for an execrable and damned person. Yet he, to satisfie the desire of his neighbours and countrimen, carried the burning iron in his bare hands according to the custome then vsed, and receiuing no hurt thereby, so made proofe of his innocencie: all which notwithstanding, the raging and desperate enemie burnt all his corne that stood in stacks in the field. The continuance of so many horrible ill turnes constraine the husbandmen to aduertise the Archbishop of Mentz of all the matter: who sends thether Priests that cleanse, hallow and blesse the fields and the farmes after the accustomed manner: At first, the spirit increased his furie, and hurt some of the priests with stones that he flung at them: But they exorcised and coniured him so oft, that in the end he was quiet feigning to be gone out of the countrie. But so soone as the priests were gone, he sheweth himselfe againe as before, saying; So long as these shauen priests mumbled I know not what, I lay hid vnder the surplice of such a one (whom he named by name and surname) who this last night by my suggestion hath had the maidenhead of his Hosts daughter.* These are the words of the Historian. *Sigebert* and *Vincent de Beauuois* write, That in the time of Pope *Benet* the third, a deuill hid himselfe vnder a priests vestment, whose familiar he was; and as the priest began to cast holy-water, the deuill charged him how that the night before he had lien with a Procurators daughter.

I. wier. lib. 2. c. p. 22.

The other example hapned in our time, namely in the yeare of our Lord 1533, at Schiltac a little citie in the duchie of Wirtenberg, and is as followeth: The wicked spirit hauing for the space of some certaine dayes tormented most horribly all the citie with strange howlings and cryings, and particularly the host of the golden Starre and all his houshold, it was discouered that a woman-seruant of the house had intelligence with the deuill, and that he abused her. They that were of this opinion, grounded vpon great coniectures, commanded the seruant to depart thence, and goe into some other place. Some dayes after, the Inne and all the citie was miserably burnt to powder by a furie altogether diabolicall, in the space of two houres, so that the inhabitants of the places thereabouts could not come thither in time, nor any remedie might be found to quench the violence of the fire. It was specially obserued, that some circles of fire flying from all parts, tooke one house after another, so that they who ranne thither

thither at the beginning, to helpe thoſe that were firſt taken, were forſt to leaue them, to run with all ſpeed to their owne home where all was on fire. This Satanicall fire was ſo ardent, that they had the moſt adoe that might be to defend a caſtle builded with hewen ſtone, & ſtanding a good way off the citie, from being conſumed as the citie was. It is not many yeares ſince I heard of the particularities of this fearefull viſitation, from the mouth of the Curat of that place, and of other the inhabitants worthie of credit, who had beene beholders of all; at which time I was employed by the Commiſſioners to the Earle of Furſtenberg (the chiefeſt of whom was *Lodouicus Grempius*, a famous Ciuilian) to end ſome differences with the Embaſſadors of the Duke of Wirtenberg. This Curat who was very old, told vs (and ſhewed it in writing) of ſome marueilous illuſions of Sathan, and how this ſubtill ſpirit counterfeited naturally the ſinging, tunes, and melodie of diuers birds. Wee wondered to ſee this Curate haue (as it were) a crowne about his long haire (which he wore after the old faſhion) all of diuers colours; who ſaid, that the wicked ſpirit had trim'd him ſo, by caſting a hoope at his head. He ſaid further, that one day the ſame ſpirit asked him and ſome other men, If they had euer heard a Rauen croake: and that thereupon he made ſuch a horrible croaking, that all they (ſo many as were of them) ſtood ſo amazed, that if the ſame helliſh muſicke had laſted neuer ſo little longer, they had beene all fore-gone with feare. Moreouer, this old man affirmed (not without bluſhing) that this enemie to ſaluation had oftentimes laid open to him and to others, all the ſecret ſinnes they had committed; and ſo exactly, that they were all forced to leaue the place, and get themſelues home, they were ſo amazed and confounded.

CHAP. XVI.

The Sword was in times paſt, as it is now, a marke of Iuſtice, and of Valour in Warres and Combats.

BEing not long ſince at the Imperiall Diet holden at Spira, a certaine lord of Germanie told me, that not long before there had hapned a controuerſie between the Chriſtians dwelling at Temiſware in Tranſyluania vnder the dominion of the Turk, about Images in Churches. Some of them profeſſed the Romiſh Religion, others, the Reformed. As they of the Romiſh attribute diuine honours to Images, namely, to thoſe that are ſet vp in Churches: ſo (contrariwiſe) they of the Reformed haue them in abomination, as forbidden by the Law of God. The Gouernour of the place had yeelded to allow them a little Church, where they might haue exerciſe of both Religions at certaine houres, without let one of another. Neuertheleſſe in theſe Aſſemblies, and whenſoeuer they met together, a man ſhould heare of none other diſpute among them but concerning this article, ſome pleading for Images, & maintaining that they were to be reteined and kept; others arguing to the contrarie: ſo that they were almoſt readie from words to fall to blowes. The Gouernor or Baſſa hauing newes of this quarrell, commanded both ſorts to make their appearance before him at his houſe; where hauing heard their allegations, to ſet all euen, he cauſed forthwith all the Images and Statues to bee taken downe, and to bee caſt out of the Church (for they are things which the Turkes abhorre exceedingly, and they haue none in their Moſques or Temples, mocking the Chriſtians for Idolaters, ſaith the lord of Busbeck, becauſe of the Images that are in their Churches:) that

In the deſcription of his Turkiſh voiage.

that being done, hee assigned to each sort a place in seuerall within the same Church, that there they might vse their exercises without any brawling or contention. And that they might know what punishment was ordeined for mutiniers, he caused a naked Cymiter to be hang'd before the Church-doore, for a certaine warning, that whosoeuer should first trouble the common peace and tranquilitie, should haue his head cut off without all redemption. This whipfoole kept both the one and the other sort in such awe, that from thence-forwards no man durst haue any saying to his neighbour about the matter of Images. Now, albeit this deed may be thought ouer rigorous and strange to some: yet we find that in old times the very Romans hung out the Sword in publique to scare the seditious and wicked: for as the Axe among them was a signe of soueraigne power, saith *Festus* (as for example, the Proconsuls when they iudged in ciuile causes the matters and controuersies of the inhabitants of the prouinces committed to their charge, had an Axe held aloft by a Sergeant appointed purposely therefore) so when they executed Iustice in criminall causes, the naked Sword was caried before them, as *Iacobus Ræuardus* prooueth learnedly by the testimonie of *Cyprian* in one of his Epistles, where speaking of the seats of the Romans for ciuile and criminall Iustice, he saith; *Sæuit inuicem discordantium rabies, & inter togas, pace rupta, forum litibus mugit insanum; hasta illic, & gladius, & carnifex præsto est*: that is to say, *The rage of those that quarrell one with another, waxeth fierce; and the peace broken among such as appeare peacefull and vnarmed, the place of pleading ecchoeth with bawling and crying: There is the Axe, the Sword, and the Executioner readie to strike.*

Lib. 2. of the diuers rules of the law.

In his life.

To this may that be referred which *Dio* writeth of *Traian*, who when he would guird on the Captaine of his Guards Sword newly by him created, offered him the same sword naked, saying, *Take this sword, and if I commaund well, vse it for me; and if I doe amisse, employ it against me. Plinie* the younger writeth the same. So we see, that the sword vnsheath'd, borne before Kings and Emperours at their entrances, doth demonstrat Iustice, to the terrifying of the wicked, and assuring of the good that they are exempted and free from all hurt, being vnder the protection of the soueraigne Magistrat. *Vallerius Maximus* witnesseth, that the same order was vsed when time was, among those of Marsellis. *Euer since their citie was built* (saith he) *there hath beene a Sword in the same, with the which they cut off their heads that are condemned; all rustie, it is so old, and cutting (as it were) by force; witnessing moreouer, that in matters of least moment euery man must hold himselfe tooth and naile to the points and articles of the ancient custome.* When the Emperour or any King at this day makes the knights of his Order, he putteth the naked sword into their hands (after hee hath first giuen them some strokes therewith flatling vpon the shoulders) exhorting them to maintaine Iustice, and to defend the widows, orphans, and other poore persons against any that would offer them outrage and violence. Therefore *Herman* of Epping noteth very fitly in the Preface vpon his obseruations of the practise of the Imperiall Chamber, That the first Poets of ancient times being reputed and taken for Diuines, when they would admonish princes of their dutie, faigned, that *Iupiter* was placed in a throne set all ouer with Stars, and encompassed of all sides with a most resplendant light, hauing Iustice and Force standing at his sides: that by the commandement of this *Iupiter*, the Aygle who beares his Armes and his Thunderbolt, puts into the hands of princes a flaming Scepter: then *Themis* or Iustice, the mother of Lawes and of Concord, presented them the Sword: Force or Power bound their head with a Diademe: whereby they meant, That it is God who placeth princes in authoritie,

In his *Panegyr.* to *Traian.*

Lib. 2 *cap.* 6.

authoritie, as the Eagle giueth the Scepter by commandement of *Iupiter*: That from *Themis* they receiue the Sword, to the end they might do nothing but that which law and equitie permits them: that Power doth crowne them, whereby they are taught not to oppreſſe by violence cities cloſed and compaſſed about like their crownes, but to preſerue them with gentleneſſe and good order. *Poliphilus* pretendeth to ſhew the ſame in his Hieroglyphicall figures, painting within a circle a ballance hanging at a naked ſword, the point whereof is crowned with this writing, IVSTICIA RECTA, AMICITIA ET ODIO EVAGINATA ET NVDA, ET PONDERATA LIBERALITAS, REGNVM FIRMITER SERVAT: meaning, that vpright Iuſtice, exempted from acception or exception of perſons, and deſire of reuenge, accompanied with proportioned liberalitie, is the ſure ſtay of a kingdom. In the ſame place alſo he painteth a Coffer as if it were full of gold, vpon which lieth the hilt of a ſword, and of one ſide thereof a Serpent, of the other, a Dog. In his *Hymerotomachia.*

It is a thing alſo very notorious, that the ancient Germans were great Iuſticers, and that it was an ordinarie thing among them to cut off the heads of offendors. And they ſay, that there is yet in a certaine citie an old ſword all ruſtie, like to the ſword of Marſellis; with which in times paſt he that was laſt receiued into the Councell, was bound with his owne proper hands to cut off malefactors heads that were condemned to die. And the ſame was no diſreputation to him, but a great honour, in as much as therein hee ſeemed the Protector of Iuſtice. Hereto agreeth that which is receiued for a moſt ancient cuſtome in ſome parts of Franconia or Franckenland, as I heard the Count *Conrad* of Caſtel ſay, ſhewing me from a caſtle ſeated very high, a certaine village belonging to him: In this village if any theefe be taken with the manner, the laſt maried man there is bound to put the halter about his necke; which done, hee maketh ſignes to the other men, that they ſhould come and helpe to carie and tie the theefe to an old oake appointed for ſuch execution time out of mind. It is reported, that when the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt paſſed by the places of execution belonging to cities and ſeigniories, where the bodies of offendors are hangd for a ſpectacle, he would vaile his bonet, pronouncing theſe words; SALVE IVSTITIA: as if one would ſay, *God maintaine Iuſtice.* Wee read alſo in the Genealogies of the Earles of Flanders (printed with the pictures cut in braſſe by the diligent induſtrie of *Peter Balthaſar*) that the twelfth Earle called *Baldwin*, was ſuch a ſeuere puniſher of offences, that he was ſurnamed the *Hatche*, becauſe of the Hatchet or Axe, that in thoſe dayes ſerued to cut off the offendors heads condemned to die. The ſame Earle ſent for eleuen knights to his palace, and becauſe they had robd and kild three Marchants, he cauſed ropes to be put about their neckes, and after made them to aſcend and ſtand vpon a planke, and the ropes ends to be tied to certaine ſtaies made for the purpoſe: which done, hee himſelfe drew away the planke from vnder their feet, and ſo let them totter till they were ſtrangled to death. Which ſheweth, how ſeuere and inexorable ſome great perſons haue been in times paſt, yea againſt the dignitie of their places, and without ſtanding vpon the formalities of Iuſtice.

Wherein yet men may eaſily paſſe their bounds, if equitie doe not mitigate the rigor of the Law: for thus ſaith the rule of the Law, *In all things, eſpecially in Law, we muſt haue regard to Equitie.* What was then in old time the Municipall law in Morauia, deſcribed by *Dubrauius*? A man may apply to that Law the old ſaying, *Summum ius, ſumma crux. The rigour of the Law is paire a of gallowes.* To vnderſtand the ſame Law, I will here adde the words of the Hiſtorie, which are theſe. *Lib.*32. of the hiſtorie of Bohemia.

» theſe. *Ladiſlaus* returning into Bohemia, ſtaied ſome daies in Morauia, and be-
» ing entred into the citie of Olmutz ſate in iudgement vpon a matter verie
» ſtrange, and of which he had neuer heard the like. An honeſt citiſen of Breſlaw,
» the head citie of Sileſia, a rich man, and one of the chiefeſt of the citie (as it was
» ſaid) going to Polonia about ſome buſineſſe, and paſſing by a certaine citie, tooke
» vp his lodging there in an Inne, where his hoſt ſtoale fiue hundred crownes
» from him; who being charged with it, and fearing the rack confeſſed the fact,
» and declared himſelfe willing to make reſtitution of all; wherewith the Sile-
» ſian was content, deſiring no more but to haue his money againe, and to proceed
» in his iourney. But the Burgomaſter and the Counſellors of the citie came vp-
» on him, alleaging, that he was to ſatisfie the lawes of their citie, importing, That
» who ſo accuſed any man of theft, was bound to hang the partie accuſed at a gibet
» by throwing him ouer the ladder: and that, if he refuſed to doe it, the theefe
» had a priuiledge to hang his accuſer. The hoſt (for his part) ſhewed himſelfe
» willing inough to doe ſuch an execution. This notable man hearing of ſuch an
» ordinance, maketh a ſupplication that he may be exempted from ſuch a re-
» proach, declaring to the Iudges, that he willingly giueth among them the fiue
» hundred crownes that had beene ſtolne from him, ſo they would let him goe
» away quietly. They denie his requeſt, ſaying, it was not lawfull for them to
» ouerſlip their lawes. When he ſaw he could obtaine nothing of ſuch obſtinate
» men, he choſe rather (yet) to hang the theefe, than to loſe his goods and his life
» too. The execution being done, he goeth in all haſt to the king of Polonia be-
» ing then at Cracow, and acquainteth him with the matter; who not onely pro-
» claimed ſuch a law to be barbarous and vniuſt, but beſides declared by his let-
» ters pattents that this man was pure, cleere and exempted from all infamie and
» reproach. And the like did king *Ladiſlaus*, impoſing withall a puniſhment and
» a fine vpon him that ſhould be ſo bold as to vpbraid ſuch a one with any thing
» of that which had beene done. Thus writeth *Dubrauius*. Therefore the Impe-
riall conſtitutions touching crimes and puniſhments, haue wiſely and with equi-
tie aboliſhed ſuch abſurd and moſt vile ordinances and cuſtomes. Which con-
ſtitutions (it may be) are grounded vpon certaine tearmes of a Law of the Em-
perour *Iuſtinians*, where he ſaith; *Let it not be lawfull to name or ſeeke out cuſtomes,*
In Authent. vt nulli Iudic. lic. cap. 1. *which haue beene by chance vniuſtly inuented by ſome for their particular profit. For nei-*
ther effluxion of time, nor long vſe, can giue footing to wicked inuentions and vnworthie
faſhions for the gouerning of ones ſelfe.

But let vs proceed with our Meditation. Among the Alans the Sword was in ſuch eſtimation, that they did worſhip it as a god. *Ammian Marcellinus* writeth of them as followeth; *There is neither Church, nor Chappell, nor little houſe*
Lib. 31. *thatched with ſtraw among them, but with barbarian ceremonies it hath a ſword ſet faſt*
in the ground, which they reuerence and adore like the god Mars, *patron of the countries*
wherein they trauell. This is a thing both memorable and praiſe-worthie, that as in times paſt, ſo likewiſe in our age, valiant and worthie men haue alwaies gone to the charge with ſwords in their hands, thinking it a thing vnworthie of their valour to vſe other weapons, vnleſſe at the firſt charge they deſired to breake a launce, or elſe a pike if they ſerued on foote. And therefore would they be moſt carefull to haue ſwords of good temper, both to ſtrike and to thruſt with; and the moſt famous among them haue giuen proper names to their ſwords, as they haue to their horſes of ſeruice. We reade of *Rowland*, a braue warrier, and Ne-
In the 1 chap. of the 5 booke. phew to *Charlemaigne* (of whom we will ſpeake more at large hereafter) that he had a ſword called *Durendal*, of ſuch hard and notable temper, that after the de-

feature

feature of his forces in the valley of Ronceuall, before he grew faint with trauell and thirſt, he aſſaied with all the force that remained in him, to breake the ſame ſword, leaſt his enemies might hap to get it. For which cauſe he ſtruck with it ſo hard as he could, vpon the rocks, out of which the ſword, in ſteed of flying into peeces it ſelfe did ſlice whole ſplinters (ſaith the lord of Haillan:) who addeth further, That the ſame ſword (by the commandement of *Charlemaigne*) was hanged with his ſtandart ouer *Rowlands* tombe, at Blay vpon the riuer of Garonne in the Abbey of Saint *Roman*. *Arthur* king of great Brittan, who liued in the yeare 470, had a ſword called *Caleburne*, and a lance named *Rone*. With this ſword he ſlue in one battell (if *Sigebert* the Monke doe not miſreckon himſelfe) foure hundred threeſcore and ten of his enemies. *Plutarch* likewiſe much commendeth the ſword of *Alexander* the great, which was light and of a ſtrong temper, and giuen him by the king of the Citieyans, and ſaith, that *Alexander* moſt commonly ſerued with no other weapon in the battell. *George Caſtriot*, prince of Albania, one of the ſtrongeſt and vallianteſt men that liued theſe two hundred yeares, had a Cimiter which *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour his mortall enemy deſired to ſee. *Caſtriot* (ſurnamed of the Turkes *Iſchenderbeg*, that is, great *Alexander*, becauſe of his valiantneſſe) hauing receiued a pledge for the reſtitution of his Cimiter, ſent it ſo far as Conſtantinople to *Mahomet*, in whoſe court there was not any man found that could with any eaſe wield that peece of ſteele: ſo that *Mahomet* ſending it back againe, enioyned the meſſenger to tell the prince, That in this action he had proceeded enemy-like, and with a fraudulent mind, ſending a counterfeit Cimiter to make his enemie afraid. *Iſchenderberg* writ back to him, That he had ſimply without fraud or guile ſent him his owne Cimiter, with the which he vſed to helpe himſelfe couragiouſly in the wars: but that he had not ſent him the hand & the arme, which with the Cimiter cleft the Turkes in two, ſtruck off their heads, ſhoulders, legs and other parts, yea ſliced them off by the waſt; and that verie ſhortly he would ſhew him a freſh proofe thereof: which afterwards he performed. It is not without cauſe therefore that the Turkiſh ſouldiers are greatly eſteemed of now a daies, that make ſuch reckoning of their Cimiters which they buy deerely, and keepe ſo daintily, that it is not poſſible for a man to buy one of them.

Iornandes writeth, That *Attila* relied much vpon the Sword of *Mars*, kept a long time among the kings of the Scythians, and diſcouered at firſt vpon this occaſion, ſaith an ancient Author, A certaine Neat-heard ſeeing one of his beaſts haulting, and not knowing how it came, followed the tract of the blood, at the end thereof he finds a ſword vpon which the beaſt had trod in feeding. This ſword he takes out of the ground, and brings it to *Attila*, who ioyfull of ſuch a preſent (for which he rewarded the Neat-heard) being a man of a loftie courage, it ſtruck into his head that the Monarchie of all the world was deſigned for him, and that the ſword of *Mars* would beare him out to make war with euerie one. The Turkes at this day tell ſtrange things of *Alis* Cimiter, which they call Sulficar, as appeareth by *Leonclauius*. Their fable ſaith, that when *Ali* vnſheath'd his Sulficar, the ſame parted in two, each part being eighteene cubits long, and that *Ali* by the helpe of that Cimiter did hew the Gaures (ſo they call the Chriſtians) on the right hand and on the left, as mowers mow downe corne: yea, and that he cleft and ſplitted the rocks and mountaines with that ſword. The Turkiſh Sultans are alſo wont to ſweare by their Cimiter among many other things, as did *Mahomet* who beſieged Conſtantinople when he would encourage his ſouldiers tired with the length of the ſiege. For, beſides the publike faſt appointed

Lib. 3. of the Hiſt. of France.

In his Chronicle.

In Hiſt. *Get. cap.* 35.

In the Annals of Turkie, *lib.* 1.

pointed by him, he ſware, By the immortall God, by the foure thouſand Prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his Fathers ſoule, by his Children, by the Cimiter he wore at his ſide; that he would ſuffer the ſouldiers to take the ſpoile of the citie three daies together: Which promiſe he performed, Conſtantinople being woon by aſſault.

And although Artillerie and ſhot haue done great ſcath to the enemies in skirmiſhes, encounters, and fights: yet experience ſheweth that the victorie is not alwaies carried away by ſuch helpe. For diuers captaines, vſing the ſeruice of harquebuziers more for faſhion ſake than otherwiſe, after a volley or two haue made them ſuddenly take their Swords, and throwing away their Peeces fall to handie ſtroakes, and ſo haue ouerthrowne their enemies. And indeed, what a pittie is it to ſee a worthie man, and perhaps a great Commander to be ſlaine by a bullet comming from a meere coward, or by an arrow ſhot by an effeminat yongſter? This complaint doth anſwer the ancient ſaying, *It is a comfort to the vanquiſhed when he ſhall die by a valiant man.* And the Spartans who fought neere at hand with ſhort Swords, thought it cowardiſe to kill an enemie with arrowes, becauſe they might be ſhot aſwell by women as by men. And indeed it is with Swords, and not with arrowes, or ſhot out of harquebuzes or muskets that couragious men make triall of their valiancie in the war. And *Arioſto* in his *Orlando Furioſo*, doth worthily & wittily inueigh againſt the monke that inuented artillerie, as the cauſe why warlike force hath beene debilitated and almoſt brought to nothing. We ſee alſo that the Romans haue relied more vpon their Swords in a day of battell, than vpon other weapons of war, and haue thereby gotten great victories. Whereat *Titus Liuius* aymed in theſe words; *Ventum eſt ad gladios, vbi* Mars *acerrimè furit*: that is to ſay, They came to Swords, the moſt fearefull and furious weapons of all other. In the ſame Author, as alſo in many places of *Plutarch*, we may reade the pithie and vehement exhortations of Generals to their ſouldiers, crying vnto them, That, without ſtanding vpon iauelins, darts, arrowes, or other weapons to be throwne a far off, they ſhould make haſte to ioyne with their enemies, and fight with Swords, to carrie away the victorie ſo much the ſooner. For this cauſe *Claudius Marcellus* (witneſſe the ſame *Plutarch*) a man warlike, venterous, nimble in fight, neuer at reſt, couetous of martiall glorie as any man of his time, and who like a violent ſtreame was euermore at the head or in the ſides, or vpon the taile of his enemie, was ſurnamed of the Romans, their Sword. Contrariwiſe, they called *Fabius Maximus* their Buckler, becauſe he grounded his actions vpon Counſells well diſgeſted and ſure, ouerthrowing and conſuming *Hannibal* by little and little, as a riuer that ſlideth without any noiſe, vndermineth his bankes ſilently: and they eſteemed of the Buckler aboue the Sword, becauſe a man muſt haue care to couer and defend himſelfe, before he ſtrike and hurt his enemie. For his reaſon the Grecian Law-makers ordained no puniſhment for him that had loſt his ſword or his iauelin, but they appointed a puniſhment for him that had left his buckler, or let it be taken from him.

Scutum reliquiſſe præcipuum flagitium. Tacitus *de morib. Germanorum.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Militarie crie and noiſe in fighting, is of great power to terrifie the Enemies.

 Haue often heard ſome ſay that haue beene in the wars againſt the Turkes, that beſides the drums and ſuch other inſtruments of noiſe, inuented to encourage ſouldiers, they vſe another helpe at their comming to the encounter, to wit; horrible cries, and fearefull ſhowtings, to ſtrike a terror into their enemies that are vnſtable and without reſolution. This proceeding of the Turkes may ſeeme an idle thing to reſolute men, who thinke theſe cries to proceed of cowardiſe and feare. For, as *Solinus* witneſſeth, feare prouoketh him that is taken therewith to crie amaine, yea and it forceth him to crie often; whence (as I take it) came the prouerbe much in vſe among the Bactrians, *That fearefull curs barke more than bite:* conſidering alſo, that true valiantneſſe conſiſteth in the greatneſſe of courage, and the force of the arme. An African lord likewiſe, being to fight againſt the Portugals, was of the ſame opinion: For his troupes ſtanding in battell-ray, he ſaid thus vnto them; *You muſt not crie, but ſtrike hard. Thoſe men that you ſee, are not wont to be afraid of the ſound of voices: the hope of Victorie is not to be grounded on out-cries, but vpon Valour. I deſire to ſee now, not Criers, but valiant men, who with ſtriking and thruſting will charge and runne through the enemie.* And yet notwithſtanding we read in Hiſtories, that the Romans, and other warlike people were wont of old, as yet at this day, in their warres, as well in the charge as in the fight, to crie with a maine and (as we commonly ſay) with open throat. The Weſt Indians, who haue continually warred ſome of them againſt other ſome, chopping into peeces, morſelling and deuouring their priſoners, do both know and practiſe theſe manner of cries. *I. de Lery*, ſpectator of a battell fought in the land of Braſilia, betweene the Toupinambaous the allies of the French, and the Margajats the friends of the Portugals, ſaith of it theſe words: *When the Toupinambaous had diſcouered their enemies about halfe a quarter of a league off, they began to make ſuch a howling and ſhowting, that they who heere with vs goe a hunting of wolues, make not ſo much noiſe by farre: and (the aire cleauing with their cries and ſhowts) the noiſe was ſo great, that if it had thundred from heauen, certainly we ſhould not haue heard it. Beſides, as they drew neerer and neerer, redoubling their cries, ſounding with their Cornets, ſtretching their armes abroad, threatning one another, ſhewing one to another the bones of the priſoners which they had eaten, yea and the teeth of them laced vpon threed, of which ſome had more than two fadome length hanging about their neckes; it was a terrible thing to ſee their geſtures and countenances.* Hee addeth a little after; *Theſe Americans are ſo eagre in their fight, that ſo long as they can ſtir hand or foot, they neuer giue ground, or turne the head backe, but fight without ceaſing.* In the like caſe a fooliſh opinion (ſaith *Camden*) hath poſſeſſed the minds of the wild Iriſh, and made them beleeue, That whoſoeuer in this militarie crie (wherewithall they helpe themſelues ſo much as their throats can affoord) anſwereth not the crie of the reſt, is ſuddenly lifted from the earth, and caried through the aire (like one flying) into a deepe and deſolate valley, called Kerri, where hee feeleth neither good nor harme; vnderſtands well, but cannot ſpeake; and at laſt is taken and held by the hounds and certaine hunters, and caried into their houſes. Inſteed of a trumpet in the fight, they vſe a pipe, carie charmes about them, mumble certaine prayers, and ioyning ſtrokes, crie ſo loud as they can *Pharro, Pharro* (a militarie exclamation, which *Ammian Marcellinus* maketh mention of.)

Cap.7.

Curtius lib.7.

Oſor. lib.8.

In his voiage to Braſil. *ca.*14.

In the deſcription of Ireland

But leaue we theſe ſuperſtitious fooleries of the Barbarians, and let vs heare

Lib. de moribus Germanorum. *Tacitus*, who writeth, that the ancient Germans ſung when they went to the warres; and had therefore certaine ſongs, by repeating the burden whereof they would encourage their people, and by the ſound of the ſinging of them, would foretell the fortune of the future battell. *For they either terrifie others* (ſaith he) *or elſe themſelues by that ſinging: the ſame ſong ſeeming rather an harmonie of valour than of voyces. Aboue all, they deſire to haue it make a rough ſound, and a broken rumbling, by putting their targets before their mouthes, to the end their voice by the reuerberation might ſound bigger and fuller.* When *Cato* the Cenſor taught the young men to fight with a ſteadie ſtanding foot, he would often ſay, That words and ſhoutings had more power to amaſe and put the enemies to flight, than handie-ſtrokes. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Marcus Coriolanus* was in euery reſpect ſuch a ſouldior as *Cato* wiſhed; to wit, not only ready to ſtrike, and to carie a heauie hand, but with his voice alſo and terrible countenance ſtrucke a feare into his enemie. Therfore the ſame *Cato* ſaid, That he liked not the ſouldior that wagged his hands in marching, that danced with his feet in fighting, and that ſnorted lowder in ſleeping than hee cried ſtronger when he came to the battell. *Cæſar* thought no leſſe when he ſaid, *That there appeareth in all men a certaine motion and naturall readineſſe, which is kindled by a deſire: and which the commanders of an armie ought carefully to encreaſe, not to extinguiſh.* It hath not been for nought, that the Ancients would haue the clarions, trumpets, and drummes to ſtrike vp; and that all the ſouldiers ſhould crie with all their might: for they thought the ſame would encourage their troupes, and daunt their enemies. They that haue written the hiſtorie of *Alexander* the great, ſay, that the Macedonians and Perſians begun the charge with cries and ſhouts. Among whom, *Quintus Curtius* (ſurnamed of the learned Hiſtorians, Exact and diligent) writeth theſe words: *The two armies were in ſight one of another, but without the reach of any ſhot, when the Perſians began to make a moſt furious and confuſed noiſe with their voices. The Macedonians, though leſſe in number, anſwered them ſo lowd, that the tops of the mountaines and of the ſpacious forreſts (as rocks and woods are wont to multiplie the ſound of voices, and to make a long eccho) reſounded mightily againe.* So then experience ſheweth, that as the ſight is much quicker than the hearing; becauſe naturally (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) that which the eye comprehendeth, goeth farre ſwifter than that which is obiected to the eare; for that the one ſendeth far in a moment, the other receiueth more ſlowly that which is ſent vnto it: ſo alſo it is certaine, that of all the ſences there is not any that ſhaketh the ſoule more boiſterouſly than the hearing doth, nor that ſooner throweth it out of her hinges (if we may ſo ſay;) and aboue all, it amaſeth the vnderſtanding, and bereaueth reaſon of her diſcourſe. The Abares were not ignorant hereof, who comming to the fight, reſolued to raiſe a confuſed and harſh noiſe, and to adde thereunto the ſound of drummes, thinking by that meanes to amate the Romans; whoſe Commaunder being before hand acquainted with that deuiſe, diſcouered it to the ſouldiers, to the end they might not be affrighted with the noueltie, but rather conſidering they were of neceſſitie to fight, might accuſtome themſelues by the things preſent, to beare with that which they ſhould preſently ſee and heare: then he commanded them, that ſo ſoone as the enemies drummes ſhould begin to ſound, they ſhould ſtrike their bucklers, ſhout with all their might, ſing ſomewhat that might prouoke them to the fight, and knocke certaine woodden pailes one againſt another.

In the life of Coriolanus.

In his Commentaries,

Lib. 3.

Lib. de Mundo.

Suidas in his recuels of hiſt.

The contrarie hapned in the memorable warre againſt the Parthians, in which *M. Craſſus* with his ſonne *Publius*, a young lord of great hope, and almoſt all the Roman ſouldiers that followed them, periſhed through the treaſon of the Parthians:

thians: for thus *Plutarch* hath obserued therein; *When they were neere the one to the other, and that the signall of ioyning was throwne vp into the aire, first they filled all the field with a terrible noise and fearefull to heare; because the Parthians vse not to encourage themselues to the fight by the sound of Cornets, Trumpets, and Clarions, but they haue big Tabers of leather, hollow within, about the which they tie little copper bels, and such other iingling things, and with that they sound (of many sides) all at once, which yeeldeth a foul noise, as if it were mingled with the roaring of some wild beast, and with the fearefull rumbling of thunder: knowing very well, that the Hearing is the sence which of all other doth most speedily and liuely mooue the soule and the passions thereof, and most suddenly setteth a man beside himselfe. So when the hearts of the Romans were amased at this sound, the Parthians at an instant threw off the couers which they had vpon their armour, &c.* And we read that the Indians vsed such like instruments of warre, which they held hanging in the aire, and beat vpon with stickes, being a thing that yeelded foorth a hideous and fearefull noise. These helps, which were a kind of drums, were made of the stocke of a hollow firre tree, and within them they would rye bels of cast mettall, and would couer these drums with oxe leather, and so make vse of them in battels. When they would make a great noise, or giue some warning, they would ioyne to the mouth of the drumme a woodden vessell, vpon which they would beat hard: and then the bels that were within the drums, somewhat big, and of a good number, would begin to resound and make a harsh noise, such as who so had not seene the like drums neere at hand, could not tell whether such noise were the sounding of drums, or the roaring of beasts. Let vs here insert the notable ouerthrow giuen to *Henrie Percie* Earle of Northumberland, and Warden of the East-Marches, as *Buchanan* setteth it downe. He being entred Scotland vpon a sudden with seuen thousand men, was driuen out from thence by the peasants and shepheards, with the helpe of their feare-babes and fear-crowes, which they vse to feare away the stags and beasts with; the instruments are these: At the end of a good long pole they set vp certaine ribbes of wood bowed into halfe hoops, which they couered with a skin (these engins are very much like to the lanternes which at Paris they call *falots*) within the same they put many little stones, and stirring these deuises, make a noise, which keepeth away the beasts from going into the corne. With these inuentions rattling and sounding from the tops of the mountaines neere to the campe, they strucke such a feare into the English horse, that breaking their bridles and reines, they ranne away without their masters ouer lands and fields, where after they had a good while gone flying vp and downe, they were taken by the peasants, who had a rich bootie of them, &c. To returne to that which was alleaged before; *Plutarch* saith moreouer touching *Crassus*, *That when hee made his Oration to the souldiers, encouraging them to fight manfully, he could not perceiue that they were moued any whit the more thereby; but contrariwise, hauing commaunded that they should crie the shout of the battell, hee then knew plainly that they were taken with feare, because the noise that his armie made was weake, low, and vnequall, as not proceeding from all alike; whereas (on the contrary part) the crie of the Parthians was great, strong, and braue.*

That which we haue said hitherto, sheweth the efficacie of the voice and crie of man, as well to stirre as to astonish minds; and that voices, and shouts ioyned with a multitude of many thousands of men together, may doe much, extend very farre, and (like a shot) pierce with violence all that they encounter; as the same *Plutarch* reporteth, how that in an assemblie at Rome, all the people began to crie so loud, and with such a full mouth, that a rauen flying at the same instant ouer their heads, being stricken (as it were) with the noise, fell all amased

Plutarch in the life of *Crassus.*

Lib. 9. of the Historie of Scotland.

In the life of *Pompeius.*

to the ground. We read also in *Titus Liuius*, that birds haue fallen from the aire to the ground at the shoutings of the souldiers, when they were shipt in such multitudes, that one would haue said there was not a man left neither in Italie nor in Sicilia. Such a like storie we read in *Paulus Æmilius*, reported after him by *P. Iustinian. When the Christians* (saith *Paulus Æmilius*) *had besieged the citie of Tyrus, behold a Doue was seene in the ayre. The Christians knowing the deuise before-hand, began to make such a shout from aboord the ships, and vpon the land, that the bird stricken (as it were) with a whirle-wind from heauen, fell downe: about the neck whereof there was found a letter which the Sarazins had written to the besieged, containing, That they should speedily be relieued, and that therefore they should take good hearts, and endure yet for a while. Whereupon the Christians, hauing some among them that were skilfull in that language, wrote another letter which they tied about the neck of the same Pigeon, and so let her flie; the effect of which letter was, That the besieged were to prouide for their safetie: that they had made sufficient triall of their valour and fidelitie: that fortune crossed them: that they must not expect any succours, the passages being all stopt by the enemie. The Tyrians thus fetcht ouer, yeelded themselues &c.* In that long war which the Spaniards had with the Hollanders, this pollicie of sending letters by these flying poasts was often practised, specially at the siege of Harlem, which held out a long time. And it hath beene often seene, that these feathered *Mercuries* with the force of great cries, the noise of muskets, and roaring of cannons, haue beene beaten to the ground and robbed of their packets. Which may serue to confirme that which *Plutarch* writeth, (speaking of Rauens, which at the crie of a great multitude of people fell within the circuit of the Theatre, ouer which by chance they flew at that time) *That the aire cleaues and breakes with the violence of so strong a voice, in such sort, that it hath not the firmnesse to beare vp the birds, so that they are forced to fall to the ground, as passing thorow a place that is wide and emptie of all support: Vnlesse we will say, that it may be rather with the violence of the crie, which hits and strikes the birds as they passe thorow the aire, as if it were with arrowes, whereupon they fall to the ground starke dead. And it may be that there is a whirle-wind made in the aire; as we see in the sea when it worketh, there is sometimes a whirling about of the waues through the violence of the tempest.*

Lib. 5. of the Hist. of France.

Lib. 2. of the Hist. of Venice.

In the life of *Quintus Flaminius.*

Finally we are to note, That although the sight be more quick and sudden (as we said before) than the hearing, especially when there is nothing to hinder it: notwithstanding it hapneth also oftentimes, that the hearing extends it selfe verie far. Not to speake of the hearing of the thunder, we know, that many times the roaring and thumping of great ordnance hath beene heard twelue or fifteene German leagues from the places where they haue beene shot off, witnesse the batterie at Lipsic, Magdebourg, and Mets, some yeares since. Therefore that which *Lienin Lemnius* writeth, may well be true, how that in a certaine battell giuen betweene the Flemings and Hollanders, the noise, crying, and shouting of men, and the bustling and clattering of armes, were heard three leagues from the place where the field was fought. A wonderous thing also, that at the last siege of Malta the thundering of the Turkish artillerie was heard in Sicilia, which is a verie great distance off. For the Turkes, to batter the bulwarkes and walls, vsed certaine peeces called Morters, bearing balls of stone of three hundred pound weight: their great cast peeces carried balls of eight score pound, their canons of foure score, and they shot (as *Hubert Foletus* saith) aboue three score and ten thousand such bullets and balls in that siege. But this is a thing welneere surpassing all beleefe, that they who inhabit the mountaines of Anagnia in the countie of Tirol, heard the report of the ordnance

Lib. 3. of the Secrets of Nature, cap. 2.

In the Hist. of the siege of Malta.

that

that was shot during the battell of Lepanto, about the end of the yeare 1572, where the Turkes were ouerthrowne with a notable losse. For so long as the conflict lasted, there was heard in the aire a terrible noise as it had beene of a great thunder, wherewith the countrey people were so amased, not knowing what it was, and seeing the skie verie cleere and bright, that the next morning they went to acquaint the Gouernour of the countrey with what they had heard, thinking it had beene thunder: but a while after it was knowne that the noise had so spread it selfe during the time that the said battell continued. I would not haue spoken of these things because of the far distance of the places (being some hundreds of leagues asunder) but had suppressed and buried them in silence, if I had not beene informed thereof by a man worthie of credit. *Lemnius* yeeldeth a reason hereof, and holdeth that such a rumbling at sea may be heard a great way off, especially in a calme night, because there is no wood or hill to let the noise from spreading it selfe far and wide vpon the plaine waters, and from raysing and rolling it selfe thorow the spatious emptinesse of the aire.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Honour of the Victorie deserueth to be preferred before the Bootie and Spoile of the Enemies.

HIstories declare and make manifest, that excellent Generals of Armies and valiant captaines, haue oftentimes made more account (by a great deale) of honour and fame, than of riches, spoile, and bootie of the Enemies campe, which they haue left their souldiers, reseruing the glorie for themselues. It is reported (as *Plinie* noteth after some other Historians) that *M. Curius Dentatus* being accused of robbing the common treasurie, brought a wooden tun which he serued himselfe withall in sacrifices, and set it before the Iudges, swearing, That of all the spoile of the Enemies he had brought home nothing but that tun. *Paulus Æmylius* followed him: for hauing ouercome *Perses* the mightie king of Macedonia, and repleniſhed with Grecian wealth that pouertie which the Romans of a long time and from the father to the sonne had inherited, without enriching his owne priuat house: he made account that he had prouided honourably for himselfe by heaping vp glorie, making by that war others rich, and setting the commonwealth in quietnesse and rest. The like is reported of *Cato* the elder: who hauing conquered Spaine, and taken foure hundred cities therein; affirmed, That of all the wonderfull bootie of that war he had neuer taken any thing but what was needfull for his sustenance; *Not that I blame* (saith he) *such as will gather wealth in war: but I had rather contend with the best men about vertue, than with the most couetous and greatest rifelers, about riches and spoiles of the Enemies.* It is said also, That *Themistocles*, when as after the winning of a battell, he came to the shoare to see the dead bodies, and spied many a rich bootie lying here and there verie thick, he past by, saying to a fauorit of his that went with him; *Gather, and take to thee, for thou art not* Themistocles. For the same cause *Ammian Marcellinus* magnifieth the Emperour *Iulian*, who shared a great prey among his souldiers, according to their deserts and trauels: but as his custome was to bee content (for his owne part) with a little, he reserued nothing for himselfe, but a dumbe child, which was presented vnto him, who knew many things, and made them vnderstood by conuenient countenances and

Cap. 33. of famous men.

Val. Max. lib. 4. *cap.* 3.

Plutarch in his life.

In his life.

In the 24 booke of his Hist.

gestures: so that a present of small value was to him a precious and pleasant recompense of the victorie obteined.

In like manner (to come to moderne examples) the oration of that mightie prince of the Tartarians called *Tamerlane*, made to the Souldan *Baiazeth* his prisoner, sheweth, that he was not so barbarous, but he preferred glorie before riches: which agreeth with the iudgement that *Iustin* the Historian giueth of the ancient Scythians or Tartarians, that in war *they desired nothing else but the honour of obtaining the victorie*: He said therefore to *Baiazeth* (who wept like a woman because of his misfortune) *I care not for thy good, nor for all thy spoiles, nor for these great riches which thou hast heaped together, seeing that by thy faint-heartednesse thou robbest me of the glorie which I onely desired.* It may be that *Tamerlane* imitated *Paulus Æmylius*, who rising off his seat when he saw *Perses* comming, whom they brought prisoner, and going to meet him with his friends the teares standing in his eies, as if he went to meet a great person falne by the fortune of war and by the diuine will into a pittifull calamitie: the wretch carried himselfe so bashfully and faintly in his countenances and words, that *Paulus Æmylius* himselfe could not endure the same, but looking on him with a discontented and angrie face, said vnto him; *Poore man that thou art! why dost thou thus discharge fortune of that whereof thou mightest charge and accuse her in discharge of thy selfe, by doing things whereby it wilbe thought that thou hast well deserued the mishap whereinto thou art falne, and art vnworthie of the honour and prosperitie which thou hadst heretofore? And why dost thou debase my victorie, and diminish the glorie of my deeds, by shewing thy selfe so faint-hearted, that it shalbe no great honour for me to haue ouercome thee, considering thou wast not a worthie aduersarie of the Romans? Magnanimitie, in whatsoeuer enemie it be, is euermore reuerenced of the Romans: but cowardlinesse, though it be prosperous and haue happie successe, is alwaies, and of all, had in detestation.* The like also may be seene in the oration of Sultan *Solyman* to *Philip de Villiers*, great Master, after the taking of Rhodes. Hauing saluted him, and called him *Babba*, that is to say, Father (though dissemblingly) he saith vnto him; *I am most glad that God hath put into your heart to desire (now at the last) rather peace than war. I wish you had beene of that mind in the beginning; Surely, you should then haue receiued more good of my soueraigne and most puissant maiestie than you haue suffred euill since, which is not for any malice I beare you, but onely of a desire I haue to domineere, as you may gather by this, that I let you goe from hence your liues and goods saued. For I make not war to heape vp riches and treasures: but I aspire to glorie, to immortall fame, and to the enlarging of my Empire. This befitteth a king descended of a noble blood, to inuade and spoile another, not for couetousnesse, but for magnificall ambition, contenting my selfe to destroy by open force whosoeuer offreth to oppose himselfe against me.*

Plutarch in his life.

Jaques de la Fontaine, lib. 2. of the war of Rhodes.

But leauing these stories and such like, I admire (especially) that which is contained in the Oration made by *Antonius Muretus*, to Pope *Pius* the fourth, in the behalfe of *Antony* of Burbon king of Nauarre. We read in Histories, saith he, that in times past, thirtie Mahumetan kings, the chiefe of whom was called *Smaragdus*, assailed the kingdome of Castile, and put the Christians to a wonderfull trouble, making full account to driue them out of Spaine, which they held as good as alreadie conquered. Thereupon *Sancus* king of Nauarre leuied an armie consisting of a small number of men, but couragious and most resolute souldiers; making a publike, solemne, and most memorable vow, that hee would neuer lay aside his armes till he had defeated these Barbarians: who among other deuices to restrain the out-roads and approches of the Christians, vsed the help of strong yron chaines, to barricado all the waies and passages against the Christian Caualle-

lerie,

lerie, which was very ſtrong, and to lie in priuie wait againſt their out-courſes. But craftie counſels can do nothing againſt true wiſdome: engins erected againſt a braue reſolution, are but as hempen ſtalkes; a baſe multitude is too weake to make head againſt proweſſe and valour. *Sancus* being led by the Lord of hoſts, and making an open paſſage for him and his through the midſt of the enemies, by force of armes, neuer left till hee had broken, defeated, put to rout, and vtterly diſperſed this armie of the Barbarians, which taught him, that the victorie is not incloſed in fortreſſes and ſtratagems of war, but in iuſt armies, and that they who fight for the name of *Ieſus Chriſt*, are ſo couragious and valiant, that no humane power is able to withſtand them. So, after he had cruſht this armie of ſuch barbarous enemies, all the Chriſtian captaines and ſouldiers came running to him in crowds to kiſſe his hands, and his knees, and to doe him all poſſible honours, as to the conquerour of the Barbarians, and the deliuerer of Spaine by the victorie which he had gotten; and they that could not come neere him for the preaſe, did by ſignes of the head, eyes, hands, and of all the bodie beſides make outward ſhew of the affection that was hid within; all and euery one of them ſaluting him, and crying with loud voices, *God ſaue the inuincible Captaine, and the valorous Warrier.* Afterwards, when they came to ſhare the boot which was great, as any man may thinke (the riches of thirtie kings being then aſſembled in one heape) there was not a man in all the campe but ſaid and confeſt, That whatſoeuer ſhare *Sancus* would reſerue to himſelfe, how great ſoeuer it ſhould be, was yet far leſſe than he by his valiant exploits had deſerued. There was found in the tents of the Barbarians a huge ſumme of gold and ſiluer, part whereof was coin'd into money, part caſt into Ingots, a number of pearle and ſtone of rich value, great ſtore of hangings and rich veſtures, a great quantitie of curious houſhold-ſtuffe ſuch as the Mores vſe, who are exceſſiue and pompous in warre: a number almoſt innumerable of all ſortt of armes forged, wrought, and inriched moſt curiouſly: horſes of ſeruice great ſtore, with an incredible number of ſaddles, barded armour, bridles, and other ſuch ornaments: priſoners by hundreds, out of which might be drawne great ranſoms. All the Caſtillians and Nauarrians with one conſent earneſtly beſought king *Sancus*, to take of this boot all that he ſhould think good: who ſhewing by his cheerefull countenance, how much this franke and liberall offer of the armie liked him, made them this anſwer; *It was not the deſire of laying my hands vpon the riches of the Barbarians that made me enter into this war, and offer my breſt to the ſhot of the enemies: but the zeale I had to the maintaining of Chriſtian Religion, and to free this faire land from the vniuſt dominion of Tyrants enflamed and incited mee to this worthy action. Now that by the goodneſſe of God, and your valour (braue ſouldiers) I haue done that which I entended, I will take heed leaſt any ſhould ſay of me, that I haue made more account of the ſpoyles of our enemies vnarmed, beaten, and ouerthrowne, than I feared their forces and their weapons when they were ſtanding vp. Theſe ſpoiles may ſerue, firſt of all, to decke and beautifie our Churches; to the end that the ſame being ſeene in the Chappels, in the Vaults, and vpon the Wals, may preſerue our name in time to come, and prouoke our ſucceſſors to maintaine the defence of our Religion, couragiouſly, and for euer. Next, let them enrich the poore, hurt, and maimed ſouldiers, according to their deſerts; ſo as they, hauing employed their luſtie young yeares in dangers and labours, may haue wherewith to ſuſtaine their weake age heereafter in peace and reſt. As for me, I deſire no recompence, ſaue theſe yron chaines, which I haue hewen and broken before your eyes, and by meanes of your helpe: and that precious ſtone which I haue beaten downe with my hands, and which you ſee there lying on the ground:* in ſaying of which, he pointed at Smaragdus *all dead, and weltring in his blood; playing wittily vpon that name, which ſignifieth a Smarage, or Emerald.* To preſerue

ſerue therefore the memorie of ſo notable a victorie, and to encourage his ſucceſſors to follow him, the Armes of Nauarre euer after conſiſted of chains borne croſſe-wiſe, and diſpoſed into a ſquare; *Sancus* ordaining, that the ſame Armes, and none other, ſhould bee borne by the kings that were to ſucceed them. And becauſe in this battell he had ſlaine with his owne hand *Smaragdus* the Generall of the enemies armie, he would haue thoſe chaines ſet with Emeralds: yea, and becauſe of this victorie and other like, it hath beene granted for an honor of the kings of Nauarre, that they ſhould be annointed, ſacred, and crowned.

Method of hiſt. cap. 6.

For good cauſe therfore doth *Bodin* think (according to *Ariſtotle*) that a prince ought ſo to bee inſtituted, that he may take pleaſure to content his mind with ſound and true glorie, that ſo he may grow and increaſe therein euery day. If he ſatisfie himſelfe with any other thing, he will grow to be a tyrant; for hee will ſeeke after riches and pleaſures, wherof will follow extortions and whoredoms; which befell young *Dionyſius* the tyrant of Sicilia, brought vp by his father in idlenes and delights, in ſuch ſort, that he neuer ſtird out of a chamber, nor knew any thing fit for a prince, neither had he any deſire or feeling of true glory; therfore he plunged himſelfe more and more in fleſhly pleaſures with ſome pernicious flatterers and minions, vntill at the laſt hee was taken away, and throwne headlong out of the neaſt of his tyrannie (as from ſome high rocke into a bottomleſſe pit.) But the prince that is deſirous of glorie, will firſt flie all the traine of a bruitiſh and infamous life: Secondly, he will remember that true honour conſiſteth in the onely action of vertue, by the which he may repreſſe the wicked, maintaine the good, honor the valiant and wiſe with praiſes and rewards, and brand the proud and mutinous with perpetuall obloquie and reproach.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the plainneſſe and frugalitie of the ancient and moderne Souldiers.

L. Poſt liminii. § filius, De Captiuis. lib. 22.

WHen Valour and militarie vertue began to degenerate among the ancient Romans, which their predeceſſors held a greater glorie than any other good which they could leaue to their children, as *Paulus* the Ciuilian ſaith; and when (by the report of *Ammian Marcellinus*) the Roman ſouldiers, inſtead of a ſtone ſeruing for a pillow to ſleepe vpon the hard ground, would haue ſoft featherbeds, and their goblets ſhould weigh more than their ſwords: then went their empire to wracke, and was made a prey to their enemies that aſſailed them. The like hath fallen out alſo in our time. When the Souldier (as the ſame Hiſtorian ſaith) began to plunder, rifle, and ranſome his friends, to be afraid of his enemies, and to flie before them; when he began to haue ſome inſight in precious ſtones, to diſcerne betweene the right and the counterfet, to know what gold and ſiluer meant, muſtering riches together vnlawfully gotten; then force and valor tooke their flight, and ſoared quite away: for all goes to the ground when vices are taken for vertues; and as an ancient Poet ſaith,

When all the Romans care was to be rich and gay,
Then Vice grew in requeſt, and Vertue in decay.

Plutarch in the life of M. Cato.

Therefore is *M. Cato* worthily commended, for that being Treaſurer to the armie of *Scipio* in the African war, and ſeeing that this lord beſtowed exceſſiue largeſſe, and (after his accuſtomed manner) ſhewed himſelfe ouer-much liberall towards the Souldiers, he could not endure that exorbitancie, not that hee cared for gold or ſiluer (as himſelfe confeſſed) but becauſe the Souldiers growne too much

much into wealth, became volupeuous, dissolute, and infamous; in a word, that the plainnesse, frugalitie and temperance of the Ancients was lost by such excesse. (He was also wont to say, *We haue of late lost the true names of things: to steale from one to giue to another, is called Bountie; to be bold and forward to doe euill, is called valiantnesse.*) This brought the publike state to the brinke of her ouerthrow: But when such a Souldier made war as contemned riches, and stood vpon his vertue and discipline, (as *Charidemus* saith, speaking of great *Alexanders* army) had pouertie for mistresse and maintainer; when the bare ground serued for a bed to the wearie, the meat that came first to hand contented the hungrie, & when men neuer slept a whole night together; then no place was vnapprochable, nor any enterprise impossible. *Agesilaus* would haue the same to be conceiued, when as after the defeating of some of the Barbarians about Hellespont, seeing that the Asians being gorgeously apparelled, were effeminat men, and no way fit to endure the brunts and difficulties of war; he placed the prisoners stark naked on the one side, and their apparell on the other, commanding the Crier to sell them so apart: to the end that his souldiers and confederats might know that they had vndertaken the war against briske fellowes and faint hearts, from whom there was much to be gotten: and that therefore they should march to the combat against such effeminate ones so much the more cheerefully, hauing no more to doe but to strip them, and to put on their rich furniture vpon themselues. Therefore is it, that *Pescennius Niger* would haue souldiers, when they go to the battell, carie neither gold nor siluer in their purses, but leaue it with the Common-wealth, that after the battell ended, they might take it againe: or, if they miscaried, it would be giuen to their wiues, children and heires: that so, if any ill fortune befell them, the enemies might not gaine that boot. *Pompeius* also saith, that there was a very profitable law among the Romans, by which (when the souldiers were to receiue their pay in victuals, which the Common-wealth did furnish) the one halfe of that their pay was defalked and reserued for them, to the end they might not spend it all, but remembring this remainder they might be the carefuller to doe their dutie, and neuer forsake their colours. *Domitius* made an exception against this law, & would not haue this remainder amount to aboue fiue pounds; because *Lucius Antonius* brewing some innouations among two Legions that wintered in certaine garrisons, seemed to relie much vpon the summe of money which hee hoped to gather out of such remainders, as *Suetonius* saith. And the by-word of *Alexander Seuerus* is well knowne, *That a Souldier is neuer afraid, but when hee seeth himselfe well apparelled, and his belt furnished with money.* For that which *Plautus* writeth to *Vrsinus* is most true, That the Roman Common-wealth was the most florishing of all other, when her citizens gloried in their pouertie: for then (as witnesseth *Petrarch*) they subdued all other nations; but when they grew rich, others ouerthrew them. So that vpon the arriuall of pompous delights, and excessiue commodities, victories and vertues fled away, giuing place to dissolutions the companions of riches. And therefore is it, that some Historians haue (not without cause) deplored the death of the *Roman Powertie.*

Herodotus wisely bringeth in *Demaratus* telling *Xerxes* king of the Persians (who prepared to make war vpon the Grecians) That Greece had euer entertained Pouertie, and harbored vertue brought in by wisdom & seuere discipline, by which meanes domination, and pouertie, which is an enemie to vices, continued among them. Of the same opinion was the Emperor *Pertinax*, when hee saith, *That it is a far more excellent thing for a Common-wealth to bee poore, then to attaine to great riches by the way of perill and infamie.* And *M. Curius Dentatus* is iustly commended, who answered

Plutarch in his life. *Athenæus lib.* 12. *cap.*28.

Spartian in his life.

*Lib.*2. *cap.*20.

In his historie written by *Lamprid.*

Lib. of true Nobilitie.

*Lib.*7.

Iul. Capitol. in his life.

answered the Samnites, offring him a great sum of gold, *That he should neuer need gold so long as he could command his affections. Charlemaign* the Emperor, in the oration which he made when he dismissed his armie, after he had subdued the Saxons and Lombards who had long held out against him, thus taketh his leaue of them: *Farewell my souldiers* (quoth he) *euerie man will call you valiant, companions for Kings, Iudges of the wicked. Liue hence-foorth free from trauell, giue good counsell to Princes for the commonwealth, be protectors of the Widowes, relieue the Orphans, compasse the great Lords with your prudence, and demand of them food, apparell, and entertainment: He that shall denie you, let him be accounted wretched and infamous. Who so wrongeth you, let him be guiltie of the crime of Maiestie and Treason. But take heed that you staine not by drunkennesse, iesting, or other vice, the great Honour and priuiledge you haue gotten by the iust trauell of warre; for feare least that which we grant vnto you for Honour, redound to your dishonour and punishment, which we reserue to our selues for euer, and to our successors kings of the Romans, if by chance you run into any excesse.* This sheweth, That it is a gallant thing to ouerthrow kings, to assaile prouinces, cities, and castles; but it is a far more gallant thing to command ones own passions: yea, That it is a wonder surpassing all wonders, that he, who hath ouercome many other, should after all ouercome and surmount himselfe. For such a Victorie (saith *Plato*) is the chiefest of all victories. And such a Victorie it was that *Frederick* the Emperour implied, when he said to his German souldiers (after he had defeated certaine people of Hungarie) as *Æneas Syluius* reporteth, *We haue stricken one good blow: there resteth another yet better and greater than that, which is, that we ouercome our selues, forbearing to rifle and to kill.*

Lib. 1. de legibus.

Such a Victorie is not woon without temperance and contempt of riches; and this *Ammian Marcellinus* meant when he saith, that vnder the Emperour *Maximinus*, some baggage of the king of Persias being surprised, a souldier found a certaine bag such as the Parthians beare, wherein were many pearles, which he shaked out, not knowing what they were, being content with carrying away the bag because it was a faire one to looke to. The like hapned in the memorie of our predecessors, when *Charles* duke of Burgundie was ouerthrowne by the Swissers nere Granson. As he fled (saith *Philip de Commines*) the Conquerors had a great bootie: but they knew not the worth of it. They rent the dukes Pauilion into many peeces, which was thought the faireſt and of the most curious worke that possibly could be found. Many of them thought that the siluer dishes had beene of tin, and sold them away for about three pence the peece. His Diamond, esteemed the richest that was in the world, and whereat there hung a faire great pearle, being found by a Swisser, was drawne foorth of the case wherein it was kept, and after put vp againe, and the case and all throwne vnder a wagon: a while after he came againe, and tooke it vp from the ground, and sold it to a priest for halfe a french-crowne, and the priest sent it to some of their lords, who gaue him for it three francks, which make a french crowne. To be short, all the most pretious things the duke had, came to the Swissers hands, who vpon that occasion began first of all to know what gold and siluer meant. The precious Diamond before mentioned comming to the hands of Lapidaries that were skilfull in such iewels, and at last set at so high a rate that none could be found rich inough to buy it, was in the end carried into Turkie, and sold to the Souldan that then was, who made it be set (as his chiefest iewell) in the sightliest place of his Turban, which his successors neuer weare but vpon their most solemne feast-daies. The same Author writeth, That he saw the coller of this dukes Order, after his death, a most rich coller, and of most excellent

Lib. 7. of his remembrances.

lent workemanſhip, which was ſold for two French crownes in the citie of Milan. Before this Victorie, the Swiſſers were of ſuch little worth and ſo poore in the wealth of the world, that their deputies being ſent to the duke to beſeech him that he would let them be at reſt, confeſſed, That they were ſo poore and of ſo little meanes, that the bridles of the horſes, and the ſpurs of the horſe-men of his armie, were more worth than all the reuenues of the lands in Swiſſerland. Therefore the Swiſſers might doe as *Pauſanias* did, and (after ſo great a bootie made of the campe of the Burgonians) ſcoffe at all this vanitie, as that great captaine did at the riches and exceſſe of the Perſians after the ouerthrow of *Mardonius*. It is reported, ſaith *Herodotus*, That when *Xerxes* fled out of Greece, he left his gold, ſiluer, and precious ſtuffe which *Mardonius*, his lieutenant: and that *Pauſanias* ſeeing ſuch magnificent furniture which he was maſter of, commanded the Perſian cookes and paſtrey-men to prouide him a ſupper, ſuch as they made for *Mardonius* when he was aliue. Which being done, and *Pauſanias* ſeeing the beds of gold and ſiluer, fitted with their pretious carpets to ſit on, the tables alſo of gold and ſiluer couered after the royall manner; was wholly rauiſhed to ſee ſuch ſumptuous prouiſion: And after all, ſmiling, he ſaid to his owne cooke; Make readie my ſupper ſuch as they vſe at Sparta: and that was a few black pottage, and ſome morcell of ordinarie fleſh. Then laughing heartily, he called for the Grecian captaines, and ſhewing them the preparation of the Perſians, and of the Spartans; ſaid vnto them, *My friends, I haue called you hither to be the beholders of* Mardonius *folly, who leading ſuch a diſſolute life, hath taken the paines to come againſt vs that feed ſo poorely.* Let vs here adde that which *Tigranes* the ſonne of *Artabanus* ſaid to *Mardonius* in the preſence of *Xerxes*, when he heard that the Grecians being victors in the Olympick games, receiued for all their recompenſe but a crowne of Oliue; *Ho* Mardonius, (quoth he) *what men are theſe which thou haſt counſelled vs to aſſaile, who fight not for the winning of ſiluer, but for carrying away the price of Honour and of Vertue?*

Lib. 9.

Lib. 8.

CHAP. XX.

A verie light occaſion ſerues oftentimes for a direction to perfect great things.

IT was not in vaine that *Portius Latro* ſpake to *L. Catilina* in theſe tearmes: *Knoweſt thou not that in the expedition of affaires we muſt follow the opportunitie of time, take occaſion by the haire, and carefully ſhun remiſneſſe, delay, and ſloath? The wills of the gods haue maruellous ſudden reuolutions, and if thou once let fortune goe, and ſhe turne her back to thee; crie after her as long as thou wilt, ſhe is euer loſt for thee.* And albeit the Pagans, blinded with ridiculous and abhominable ſuperſtition, haue attributed to the goddeſſe *Fortune*, That ſhe bare all the ſway ouer human affaires (as *Iulius Cæſar* would haue made all the world beleeue, that *Fortune* ſailed with him vpon the ſea, kept him companie by land, lodged with him in his tents, aſſiſted him in all his exploits of war) according to the ſaying of the Poet,

In his Declamation written by *Saluſt.*

Fortune *hath woon the field, then let vs follow her,*
And where we heare her voice, by that way let vs ſtir.

And in another place,

The Deſtinies are they
Shall find vs out the way.

Let vs that are Chriſtians, enlightned with the light of truth, attribute (as it behoooueth) that ſway, direction, and euent of all things both great and ſmall,

as

as well of aduerſitie, as of proſperitie, to the eternall prouidence and will of the onely true God. To which purpoſe we haue read ſome latin verſes, of this tenor:

He that beholds what courſe men take,
How euerie one doth ſcrape and rake;
Will ſay, that fraud and crueltie
Haue of this world the ſou'raignie.
If he obſerue more curiouſly;
He muſt needs thinke that certainly,
All this that doth ſubſiſt in nature
Aſcends and falls at all auenture.
But if he view all and each part,
Then muſt he needs ſay from his heart,
That the Diuine Wiſedome ſo hie
Rules this great Vniuerſitie.

Experience witneſſeth, That ſometimes a light occaſion ſerueth as a directorie for the execution of moſt weightie things, and that againſt all hope; to wit, when matters are come to that exigent, that ſome fortune muſt needs happen by the ſpeciall ſufferance of God. We haue a memorable example hereof in the yeare 1527, when the duke of Bourbon led the Imperiall armie before Rome: For, being deſtitute of ordnance and other meanes fit for a ſiege, and moreouer incloſed on euerie ſide by his enemies, there befell a ſtrange caſe, reported by *du Bellay.* An Enſigne-bearer of the Romans being appointed with his companie to guard a breach in Saint *Peters* quarter, ſeeing the duke of Bourbon comming vp by a little hill ſet with vines with ſome ſouldiers, to diſcouer the breach, fell into ſuch a feare, that thinking to flie into the citie, he comes downe with his collours diſplaied thorow the breach, and marcheth towards the enemies. *Bourbon* ſeeing him come, thought that the companie followed after him, to giue a charge; and therefore made a ſudden ſtand, with intent to gather his followers together, thereby to endure the charge, vntill the reſt of his troupes were come vp, who had preſent notice to put themſelues in armes. The Enſigne hauing made ſome three hundred paces without the citie, and hearing the larum and noiſe, comes to himſelfe, and as one awaked out of a ſound ſleepe, gathereth his ſpirits to him, and turnes back towards the citie faſter than he came foorth, aſcending again thorow the breach. *Bourbon* wondering at this kind of countenance, made towards that place with ladders, recouereth the top of the breach, and there was ſlaine, but his armie entred by the breach into the citie. The ſame *du Bellay* writeth, How that he ſaw ſuch another thing in the taking of a citie called Sainpaul: where an Enſigne-bearer ſtanding vpon a bulwarke with his enſigne in his hand, ſeeing the enemies comming to the aſſault, tooke ſuch a feare, that in ſteed of flying into the citie as his meaning was, he ran thorow a Caſemat into the ditch, and with his Enſigne made towards the aſſailants, who cut him in peeces vpon the place. So hapned it, beyond all opinion, and by a verie light occaſion, that Belgrade, a ſtrong place by nature and art, was loſt in the abſence of the Gouernor. For he being gon to Buda where the king of Hungarie and the court then lay, to require pay for his ſouldiers, the treaſurer entertaining him with words, and after all ſending him away emptie-handed, whereas a hundred crownes would haue ſuffiſed to content the ſouldiers, and haue kept Belgrade at that time from falling into the power of the Turkes, as the Hiſtorie ſaith; the poore Gouernour durſt not goe back to his ſouldiers without

Lib. 3. of his Remembrances.

Lib. 8.

Ioſ. Dubrauius, lib. 23.

without ſiluer. They being left without a head, agreeing but ill togither, and amaſed at the armie of the Turkes which (in this meane while) came to inueſt them, were attached with ſuch a feare, that they had neither reſolution, courage, nor force to defend themſelues, but without ſtaying for the ſuccours which made thitherwards with all ſpeed, yeelded themſelues and the place by compoſition. And thus came Belgrade to be moſt ſhamefully loſt, a mightie bulwarke of Hungarie and of other kingdoms, placed at the meeting of the three famous riuers Dra, Saw, and Danuby.

To aſcend againe to hiſtories more ancient, let vs here inſert that which *Abbas Vrſpergenſis* and other Hiſtorians write touching the Hunnes. They inhabited about the Fennes of Mæotis, where they gaue themſelues to nought elſe but hunting, without caring for other countries, not thinking that beyond thoſe Mariſhes there was any region habitable. But it ſo fell out, that ſome Hunters perceiued a Hind that in her walke croſſed the Mariſhes, and at ſome times would ſtand ſtill as it were to ſound the foord, vntill ſhe was gone quite ouer to the far ſide: the Huns finding this thing ſomething ſtrange, followed the Hind afarre off by the trace, vntill they were come ouer to the firme land. And then diſcouering a great countrey inhabited by the Scythians, they returned and made it knowne to all their people, who vnderſtanding that the Mariſhes were wadeable, and had their bounds, could hardly beleeue the report; but in the end they gaue credit vnto it: and ſo concluding that the Hind had diſcouered the paſſage for them by ſome diuine inſtinct, they gathered together in great numbers, paſſed through the Mariſhes, ſurpriſed the Scythians and other their neighbors being out of order, defeated them, and within a while increaſed ſo in power, that they made themſelues feared all the world ouer. *Aimonius*, who writeth the Hiſtorie of France, ſaith, that in like manner a Hind ſhewed the paſſage ouer the riuer of Vienna to king *Clouis*, who deſired to giue battell to the Goths. *Sozomenus* in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, obſeruing this deed of the Hind that ſhewed the paſſage to the Huns, reporteth, That an oxe ſtung with a waſpe ran through the mariſh, and was followed by the neat-herd, who hauing diſcouered on the other ſide, an vnknowne countrey, acquainted thoſe of his nation therewith. Firſt of all, the Huns ſet vpon the Goths with a ſmall troupe to trie their force, then after being ioyned all together they ouerthrew them in battell ray, and ſeazed vpon all their countrie. The Gaules that whilom beſieged the Capitoll had not ſo happie an iſſue: for albeit the reuolution of worldly affaires had ſhewed them the way to enter thereinto, yet at the very pinch it failed them; and ſee how, as *Titus Liuius*, and *Plutarch* report it. After the great ouerthrow of the Romans neer to the riuer Allia, they that could ſaue themſelues by running being come into Rome, filled all the citie with trouble & feare, ſo that the people confounded at theſe newes, ſcattered themſelues, flying all away, ſome here, ſome there, ſauing a ſmall number of the moſt reſolute, who put themſelues within the caſtle of the Capitoll, determining to hold it againſt all extremitie that ſhould happen. The reſt that eſcaped the enemies hands, being aſſembled in the citie of Vejes, choſe for Dictator *Furius Camillus*, whom the people (hautie and inſolent through long proſperitie) had before that beaten and caſt to the ground, accuſing and condemning him as guiltie of robbing the publike treaſure; but then taken downe by this affliction, they tooke him againe after this defeature, and put into his hands the ſoueraigne power and authoritie. But leaſt this might ſeeme to bee done through the iniquitie & misfortune of the time, and that it was not by order of the lawes that he vndertooke this charge, but deſpairing of the reſtitution of the citie, had

*Lib.*1.*cap.*21.

*Lib.*6.*cap.*37.

In the 1. *Decad lib. de fortuna Rom.* & in the life of *Camillus.*

made himselfe to be chosen by a troupe of souldiers patched vp of all sorts, hee would that the Senators which were within the Capitoll should haue vnderstanding thereof, and that by their consent they should approue and confirme this election at Vejes. Now there was one among the rest called *Caius Pontius*, a valiant man, who promised to goe himselfe in person, and carie the newes of all to those that were in the Capitoll; and so vndertooke a very dangerous enterprise, because he was to passe through the midst of his enemies, who held the castle enuironed of all sides with trenches and *Corps de garde*. When hee was come to the riuers brinke, he laid vnder his stomack broad peeces of corke, and committing his bodie to the lightnes of such a cariage, let driue with the streame which was fauourable vnto him, and caried him faire and softly to the opposite banke without any danger: and there landing, he went stalking that way where he saw no light, coniecturing by the darkenesse and stilnesse that no bodie was watching there. So he set himselfe to clamber vp the steepe hill where he found the rocke lowest, taking and staying himselfe by the windings and rough crags thereof so well as he could: and finally made such shift, that with much adoe he got to the top, where the sentinels hauing spied him, holp to take him vp, where he declared to those within what had bin thought good by those from whom he was sent; and receiuing of them an ordinance decreed, returned the same night & the same way, to *Camillus*. On the morrow, one of the Barbarians walking about the place, (without mistrusting ought) espied (by chance) the prints where one had stood a tiptoe, and the slidings and crushings of the grasse growne in the places where there was a little earth, with the marks where some bodie had drawne and traild himselfe, and went and told his fellowes of it, who thinking the enemies themselues had shewed them the way, stroue by vies to doe the like: and hauing marked out in the night the most couert way, ascended vp the hill, without being any whit discouered, not onely of the men that kept watch, nor yet of the dogs which were also set out to stand sentinell, so soundly were all asleepe: and yet the good fortune of the Romans wanted not voices to giue them warning of so great a danger. There were certaine Geese dedicated to the goddesse *Iuno*, which were kept at the common charge in honour of her, hard by her temple. Now this bird is very fearefull by nature, and easie to bee frighted with the least noise that is made in the night: & there was then in the Capitol great want of all kind of food, so that these geese were kept very leane, who feeding meanely, slept so much the more lightly; so that they perceiued the enemies so soon as they were at the top of the wall, and crying as being exceedingly afraid, ran against them, and were much the wilder when they saw the glittering of the armes, so that they filled all the place with a violent and vnusuall crie, which waked the Romans, who mistrusting some matter, ran presently to the wall, and from thence beat back their enemies, and threw them downe headlong. In memory of which accident, fortune doth at this day triumph ouer this deed: for vpon a certaine day they carie about in Procession a dog hangd on a crosse, and a goose laid in a little chaire vpon a cushin very sumptuous and rich.

Decad. 2. of the hist. of Sicilia. *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 6.

In regard of moderne examples, we might here infer that which *Fazel* writeth of a Hawke. The Arragonians hauing an enterprise vpon Casibla, a strong hold of the Clairmontois, came one night to the foot of the wals, and set vp their ladders vndiscouered, because the sentinels were asleep. And hauing entred one of the towers of the castle (the doore whereof they had broke open) they assaulted another tower that was higher, giuing the signall to their fellowes from that into which they went to enter, and without great adoe had possest themselues of the

the place, if a Hawke being afraid at the clattering of the armes, had not by her bating and crying awaked the Gouernor of the place and his ſouldiers; who ſeeing the enemie within, lighted with all ſpeed their torches, the ordinary ſignall to their friends, that they ſhould come and ſuccour them: by means wherof the Arragonians were forced to retire. But the ſouldiers of *Seuerus* (as *Herodian* writeth) had a more fortunat iſſue by an occaſion not foreſeene, & they not knowing any more what to do, to force a fortreſſe built in all haſt by *Peſcennius Niger* vpon mount Taurus to ſtop their paſſage: for this fort was impregnable, couered with the mountaine, and with a ſteep downfall. So being ouerwhelmed with griefe, trauell, and deſpaire, becauſe they were ſtaied of their iourney, and for that their enemies mocked them; behold the aire ſuddenly begins to bee troubled, the mountaine to be full of melted ſnow, whence growes a mightie ſtreame, which ſwelling the more becauſe the fort ſtaied and bridled the courſe thereof, began to vndermine the defences, and ſo to ſhake the foundations of the fort, that nature ouercomming art, the water made it ſelfe a paſſage: which they of the garriſon ſeeing, and that (the fort being caried away) all retrait would faile them, leauing the fort, they ſuddenly retired themſelues. The ſouldiers of *Seuerus* very glad of this good fortune, and encouraging one another, as if the gods had lead them by the hand, ſent to view the place, & ſeeing it left, paſſed ouer that mountaine without hinderance, and preſently entred into Cilicia. After the ſame maner a very light occaſion helped *Marius* (who had beſieged a caſtle in Numidia, that was ſtrong both by nature and art) in the ſtraits and dangers he was brought into, being not able to force the place which all men held vnconquerable, as *Saluſt* ſaith. For as he balanced between hope and feare, not knowing whether hee ſhould raiſe the ſiege, wherein he ſhould loſe time, money, and men; or hold it on and abide the hazard, which oftentimes before had bin fauourable to him; it happned, that a ſimple ſouldier, being gone out of the campe to walke towards the riuer, eſpied by the caſtles ſide quite oppoſite to the campe, Tortoiſes that ſcrambled among the ſtones; which he runs after, takes one of them, and then another, and caried away with deſire of gathering as many as he could, he ſeeth himſelfe (without thinking of any ſuch thing) vpon the ridge of the mountaine. There he diſcouered that which he thought would ſerue for a better end than for the gathering of Tortoiſes: ſo downe hee comes, and preſently declareth to *Marius* how ſolitarie the caſtle was left vpon that ſide, in ſo much as no man appeared in all that quarter of that caſtle. *Marius* ſent men to view it, and taking hold of the occaſion, aſſaulted the place both before and behind, whereby he made himſelfe maſter of the caſtle. Whereupon the Hiſtorian ſhutteth vp his diſcourſe with theſe words; *So it may be, the raſhneſſe of* Marius *woon him honour by his fault.*

Lib. 3.

In bello Iugurth.

The end of the fourth Booke.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF HISTORICALL MEDITATIONS.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of vaine and vnprofitable attempts.

In the Tragedie of Hippolytus.

Eneca the Tragedie-writer bringeth in one, who among other complaints maketh this,

Great men vnwiſely ſeeke to doe
More than is fit they ſhould obtaine:
And they that can doe much, would faine
Doe that they cannot reach vnto.

When I noted this ſpeech, I thought it one of the excellenteſt and beſt auouched ſayings in all *Seneca*. For both in times paſt, and in our age, Emperors and Kings relying vpon their too much power and riches, haue taken vpon them to performe great and extraordinarie matters, to the end they might leaue to poſteritie ſome badge of their greatneſſe, either to ſtrike a terror into their enemies, or to ſerue for ſome good to their countrey and commonwealth. This appeareth by that pompous attempt of *C. Caligula*, who wiſhed not any thing ſo much as to effect that which he ſaw could not be brought to paſſe. For *Suetonius* ſaith, That he ioyned, by the meanes of a bridge, the ſpace betweene the citie Baiæ, and the hils of Puteoli: which bridge had about three thouſand and ſix hundred paces in length, and it was made with a huge number of ſhips of burden placed in double roe, tied faſt with anckors, and couered aboue with a banke and cauſey of earth, paued with broad ſtones like the high-way of Appius. *I know* (ſaith *Suetonius*) *many thought that* Caligula *meant by building this bridge to imitate* Xerxes, *who made a long one, but ſomewhat ſhorter than this, ouer the Helleſpont. Others ſaid, That he would thereby make the French and Engliſh afraid, to whom he bare a grudge, thinking the report of ſuch a great worke would make them aſtoniſhed.* He addeth a third cauſe, which he thinketh the likelier, though many were of another mind: to wit, That *Caligula* meant by this enterpriſe to diſprooue the Aſtronomer *Thraſyllus*, who one day had told *Tiberius* enquiring about his ſucceſſor, that *Caligula* ſhould be Emperour, when he ran a horsback ouer the gulfe of Bajæ. There remaine yet ſome arches of this bridge, made of hewen ſtone nere to Pouzol which I haue beheld not without wondering, becauſe of the great length this bridge conſiſted of, being made vpon arches and ſhips of burden from the one ſide to the other, and to the caſtle

In the life of *Calig. Sect.* 19.

of

of Bajæ that ſtandeth ouer againſt Pouzol, which caſtle is built vpon a rock, and kept by the Spaniards. With like boldneſſe *Claudius* his ſucceſſor (witneſſe the ſame *Suetonius*) vndertooke to dreine the Lake Fucin, as well for the common benefit, as to purchaſe glorie; and to preuent priuat men, who promiſed to doe the ſame at their charge, ſo that the grounds after they ſhould be dried, might remaine to them as their owne proper lands. For, hauing cut away one part of the mountaine, and made hollow the other, he finiſhed (not without great difficultie) the chanell, being three thouſand paces long, hauing emploied elleuen yeares about it, and thirtie thouſand workemen who laboured vpon it continually without any reſt or intermiſſion. There be other ſignes and tokens of the great power of the Romans to be ſeene in the high-waies paued with faire great ſtones, whereof may be witneſſe yet at this day in ſome ſort (time hauing worne out the reſt) the way of *Appius*, ſtretching out in length ſo far as Brunduſium: although by the negligence of the inhabitants of the countrey it be ruinate in many places, and the ſea hath ſpoiled ſome part of it. Beſides, there be the Caues, the Water-conduits, the Theatres and Amphitheatres, the Obeliskes, Temples, and Arches which the Romans built in diuers and ſundrie places.

In his life.

Now to furniſh the charge of ſuch workes, the Romans were exceeding rich: For Hiſtorians write, That the reuenues of the kingdome of Ægypt alone, in the time of *Ptolomeus* ſurnamed *Auletes*, who was *Cleopatras* father, amounted to twelue thouſand and fiue hundred talents of gold, which make ſeauen millions and fiue hundred thouſand French crownes. But when this kingdome fell into the power of the Romans in the time of *Auguſtus*, the reuenue came to more; by reaſon of the traffick to the Indies and to Æthiopia. Not to ſpeake of the reuenue of ſo many other prouinces, they drew out of the ſiluer mines neere to New Carthage in Spaine, euerie yeare almoſt a million of gold. Moreouer they had an infinite number of ſlaues which they fed like beaſts, and made them worke vnceſſantly, as they in Turkie doe now a daies. But as we muſt confeſſe, that the Romans were able to take in hand, follow, and finiſh ſo many ſtrange workes with leſſe difficulties and coſts euerie way than could be done in theſe daies, with the helpe of ſo many ſlaues which they had, beſides their riches and ſundrie other commodities (the Emperour *Claudius* hauing furniſht of his owne, towards the charge of the Aqueducts, or water conduits at Rome, almoſt fourteene hundred thouſand crownes:) ſo fell it out alſo many times, that going about (as it were) to force nature, they loſt their time, their labour, and their money. This hapned, by the report of *Cornelius Tacitus*, at ſuch time as *Seuerus* and *Celer*, great Enginers, tooke vpon them to ſurmount nature, and to dally with *Neros* wealth: for they had promiſed to dig a channell from the Lake Auernus to the mouth of Tiber, either by the ſea ſhoare, or thorow the mountaines; there being not any moiſture betweene both to bring out any water, but the ponds of Pomptina, all the reſt being drie and hilly: ſo that it was the enterpriſe of a labour inſupportable, and of which there appeared no vſe or commoditie at all. Notwithſtanding *Nero* (who deſired not but impoſſible things) aſſaied to pierce the hils next to the Lake Auernus, and there are yet to be ſeene the traces of his vaine hope. *Suetonius* maketh mention of this Channell, begun for to goe from Auernus to the hauen of Oſtia (leauing the ſea) a hundred and three ſcore Italian miles long, and ſo broad that fiue of the greateſt gallies that were might ſaile therein one by another eaſily, without danger of falling foule one of another. To ouercome this worke, *Nero* gaue commandement, That all the priſoners, euen they that were capitall offenders and condemned

2250000 li. ſterling.

430000 li.

Lib. 15. Annal.

In the life of *Nero*.

should be brought into Italy, to the end they might be emploied in this worke. Not content with that, he tooke in hand (saith the same Author) to pierce the Isthmus or straite that is in Achaia: and after he had by an oration exhorted the souldiers of his guard to begin the worke, and by sound of trumpet giuen the signall, he himselfe tooke a pickaxe in his hand, and began first to dig the ground, and then filling a basket with the earth, carried it away vpon his shoulders. But he had the like successe that many other had before him, who with vnluckie issue began the like enterprise: of which number were king *Demetrius*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Caligula*, *Caius*, *Domitius* and others, of whom *Plinie* maketh mention. *Lib. 4. cap. 4. Decad. 3. lib. 8.* *Sabellicus* saith, That the Venetians fortified with walls and a double ditch all the length of the Isthmus consisting of foure thousand paces, from the Ægean sea to the Ionian, and that in the space of fifteene daies, albeit the walls were of a measure much longer, because they could not be builded so directly forward but that in many places they were of necessitie to be made winding and crooked. From thence came the old prouerbe, when any man would speake of great attempts and enterprises which it was impossible to ouercome, he would say; *He will pierce the Isthmus.* *Herodotus* writeth, That the Gnidians went about to cut it in the place where it is shorteſt (to wit, of the length of fiue furlongs) to make an Isle; but the splinters of the rocks flue into the worke-mens faces: whereupon repairing to the Oracle to aske counsell therein, the Propheteſſe said thus vnto them; *Lib. 1.*

Forbeare to cut the Straits to make an Isle where's none:
For if God had so pleas'd, he would haue made it one.

But the enterprise of *Xerxes* king of the Persians, of cutting the mount Athos, had better successe. It is a great and goodly mountaine (as witnesseth *Herodotus*) washed of the one side with the waues of the sea, and of the other side, inhabited and full of tillage, extending it selfe in manner of an halfe Isle, with a Strait twelue furlongs ouer. At this day Athos is peopled with the Calogeres, who are Greeke friers of Saint *Basils* order. *Herodotus* addeth, Xerxes *commanded (as I thinke) that Athos should be cut to make himselfe feared, and to shew that he had a meaning and meanes withall to eternise his memorie. For, desiring to transport ships thorow the Strait, he would needs haue it cut, and gaue order, that the chanell should be broad inough to containe two gallies afront with ease.* Another king, *Nicanor Seleucus*, offred to cut the Strait which separateth the seas Euxine and Caspian; but before he could finish it, he was slaine by *Ptolemeus* surnamed *Ceraunus*, as *Erasmus* obserueth. In like manner, some of the kings of Ægypt would haue brought to passe that one might haue gone by Nilus to the red sea, digging great chanels, and broad for two gallies a front without touching one another, and of the length of foure daies sailing. *Herodotus* writeth that six score thousand men died in that worke in the time of king *Neco*: and a man may see at this present not far from Sues certaine tokens of this enterprise, as they who haue beene at the place and seene them, haue assured me. But such designes vanished into aire, as did that of the queene *Cleopatra*, who in the same place had proiected a mightie and proud peece of worke. Her purpose was to cut the Strait that diuideth the Red sea from Ægypt, and seemeth to be the bounder betweene Asia and Africa, being three hundred furlongs broad where it is narrowest; to the end shee might saile into that Red sea with a fleet well furnished with men and riches, and there lodge her selfe in some place to auoid seruitude and warre: But the Arabians that inhabit about Petra, opposed themselues against it. *Dio* also reporteth, that *Traian* began a channell to make the riuer Euphrates fall into Tigris, and to carie boats

Lib. 7.

In his Adages.

Lib. 2.

In the life of *M. Antonius.*

In the Hist. of *Traian.*

which

which he had set out for a bridge that hee had purposed to set vp. But finding that the Euphrates was much higher than the Tigris, he left all; fearing least the Euphrates taking his course downewards, would haue made it selfe wade-able. Such a like thing was attempted by an ancient Collonell of *Neros*, who went about to ioyne the Mosselle and the Saone, making betweene these two riuers a ditch, to the end that the Roman armie carried by the Rhone and the Saone into this channell, might enter by the Mosselle into the Rhine, and from thence into the Ocean; by which means so many difficulties of the way by land being taken away, they might easily goe by water from the West to the North. But *Gracilis*, Embassador of the Belgi, dissuaded him from doing it; For otherwise (added he) it will be said that thou wilt lodge the Legions where they ought not to be lodged, and that thou seekest the friendship of the Gaules, which is that the Emperours feare, whereof many times ensue the interruptions of braue enterprises. Thus reporteth *Richard Dinoth*, after *Tacitus*. *Iohn le Maire* saith, That becauſe of the continuall falles of raine which had washed the earth againe into the ditch or channell out of which it had beene taken, all this worke was laid aside. In his Remembrances.

Not to stand altogether vpon examples that are ancient and strange, let vs see what our owne Emperours haue many times attempted. *Charlemaine* was persuaded by some, that he might bring to passe that boats might bee brought out of the Danubie into the Rhine, if betweene Regnitz and Altmul (riuers of that part of Germanie that is called Voitland, as *Auentin* saith) there were a large channell cut through the fennie land, within the which the waters might runne out of both sides, to render themselues into those two riuers: and these waters would bee deepe ynough to carie boats. Touching Regnitz it falleth into the Mein at Bamberg, and the Mein ioyneth with the Rhine at Mentz; the Altmul dischargeth it selfe a little beyond Nurenberg into the Danubie. *Charlemaine* commanded this worke to be taken in hand: whereupon great numbers of people being gathered out of Bauaria, Franconia, and Suetia, began to dig a ditch three hundred foot broad, and two thousand paces long. All the Autumne was spent about this excellent & profitable businesse: but the diuine prouidence gaue not such successe as was desired, to a worke forcing nature, but by diuers prodigies, shewed the dislike it had thereof: for in the fields were found great heaps of wheat, and of all other graine; whereof if the beasts did eat neuer so little, they died presently; and the meale that was made therof vanished away in their hands that touched it: in the night time voices were heard, as if some had dolefully cried, or (quite contrarie) had plaied gambolds, and laught vnmeasurably, with confused noises all about the banks of that ditch. Besides, it neuer left raining in those fennie places, by meanes whereof all the earth that was taken out in the day, in the night was washt into the ditch againe. The Emperour *Charles* the fourth began such a like or a greater worke (though I cannot conceiue by the scituation of the place, and course of the riuers how it could be done) when hee would haue brought Multauia, a riuer that washeth the foot of the mountaine vpon which the castle of Prague is builded, and runneth through that head citie of Bohemia, to ioyne with the Danubie, as writeth *Iohn Dubrauius*. But not to enlarge this discourse any further, such attempts (for the most part) haue neuer had good successe. For God hath set bounds to the sea and to riuers, which they shall not passe, and hath shut them within beds, out of which they are not to stir, vntill he commaund them. So said he by his Prophet *Ieremie*; *Will not this people feare mee that haue placed the sand for bounds to the sea?* Sathan was forced to confesse

*Lib.*4. of the Annals of Bauaria.

In the delcription of Italie.

In the historie of Bohemia.

*Psalm.*104.9. *Cap.*5.22.

Lib. 2. cap. 30.

feſſe it in the Oracle at Delphos, aboue mentioned. *Ruffinus* reporteth a notable ſtorie of the ouerflowing of Nilus, after the ruine of *Serapis* temple. It is not long ſince the Turkes learnt (to their coſt) the certaintie of this truth: for they hauing brought a puiſſant armie, and many thouſand ſlaues, to cut through a high mountaine, and to make the Rha (a great riuer diſgorging it ſelfe into the Caſpian ſea) fall into the Tanais (another great riuer which ſeparateth Aſia from Europe, and runneth into the Euxine ſea) were kept from following their enterpriſe through want, being in a deſert countrey, and through the vnmeaſurableneſſe of the labour, and becauſe of the ſerpents; and alſo by the Muſcouits, who deſtroied a good part of the armie; and finally by the Tartarians, who ſurpriſed the reſidue in their returne, and cut them all in peeces.

So then, the bounds of the ſea and of the riuers ſhall not ſtirre, ſeeing God hath placed them, but ſtand faſt in deſpight of men that would remoue them, though all in vaine. The Ægyptians pretended to ſhew the ſame in their Hieroglyphicks, by coupling an Otter and a Sea-calfe together, beaſts liuing both on the land and in the water: ſhewing by that bond the coniunction of the water and of the earth, each one in her limits. But yet notwithſtanding, hee that hath ſhut the ſeas and the riuers within their depths, can for the triall of his power and ſeuere iuſtice againſt ſinners, commaund theſe waters to goe foorth and ſpread themſelues, at ſuch time, in ſuch places, ſo long while, and ſo farre as it pleaſeth him: witneſſe the vniuerſall flood which was in the yeare one thouſand ſix hundred fiftie and ſix of the worlds creation, and which laſted three hundred threeſcore and fifteene daies, wherein all creatures liuing vpon the earth and in the aire, were drowned, except *Noah*, his wife, his ſonnes and their wiues, who were within the Arke, with the beaſts that were ſhut into the ſame. This deluge is exactly deſcribed by *Moſes*, who ſetteth downe beſides for a perpetuall witneſſe of Gods wrath, the ouerthrow of Sodome and Gomorrhe, where there is now a Lake deſcribed in the ſecond Chapter of the booke next before this, a countrey that was once marueilous pleaſant and fruitfull, and wherein were faire Cities and Seigniories. *Abraham Ortelius* in his deſcription of Ireland, maketh mention of a lake called Erne, which in times paſt was but a fountaine: but by reaſon of the execrable villanie of the Inhabitants of that Countrey, who lay with beaſtes, God being angrie cauſed the ſame fountaine to grow to ſuch abundance of waters, that it drowned all the countrey, where one may ſee yet at this day (for proofe of this iudgement) when the skie is cleare, and the aire calme, Steeples of Churches that ſhew heere and there within the water. *The Authour of Nature* (ſaith *Sylueſter Gyrald*) *hath iudged, that the earth polluted with ſinnes diſhonouring nature ſo ſhamefully, ought not to beare any longer neither thoſe inhabitants of old time, nor any that ſhould ſucceed them.* *Camden* writeth, That this lake hath thirtie miles in length, and fifteene in breadth, is inuironed with thicke woods, and ſo fruitfull in fiſh that the fiſhermen find fault with the abundance thereof, becauſe it breakes their nets. Holland, Friſeland, and Zealand haue receiued often hurts by theſe inundations of the ſea, which haue ſwallowed vp and ſpoiled a great deale of land, with great loſſe of people and cattell, the tokens whereof appeare in thoſe parts yet at this day.

Pierius lib. 25.

Gen. cap. 7. & 8. Gen. cap. 19.

In his great Theatre of the world.

In the deſcription of Ireland

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the strange force of certaine Princes. Memorable Histories and Discourses concerning Gyants.



Vlius Capitolinus and other Historians report, That the tyrant *Maximinus*, who murdered and succeeded that good Emperour *Alexander Severus*, was so big, that hee conteined eight foot in height, and his thumbe was so great, that hee wore his wiues bracelet vpon it for a ring: he was so strong, that with his hands he drew carts and waines full loaden; with a blow of his fist he strucke out a horses teeth, and with a blow of his feet crushed his thighes; hee crumbled stones of Tuph betweene his fingers; hee cleft young trees with his hands: so that he was surnamed *Hercules Anteus*, and *Milo* of Croton. Whatsoeuer the cause was, when he was chosen Emperour by the souldiers (as *Herodian* saith) for his prodigious stature, militarie force, and direction in battels: he was so hated of a great many for his crueltie, that they called him *Cyclop*, *Busyris*, *Scyron*, *Phalaris*, *Typhon*, and *Gyges*: for he made account (saith *Capitolinus*) that hee could not maintaine himselfe but by violence and murders. There was neuer crueller beast in the world: he stood altogether vpon his force, as if it had been impossible to kill him. To be short, thinking himselfe almost immortall because of his gyant-like stature and force, a certain Comedian defied him couertly one day in certaine verses pronounced in the open theatre before a huge companie of people, the substance of which verses was this:

The Elephant is big, the Lion of great might,
The Tigre cruell fierce; and yet by nimble sleight
We see them oftentimes destroid and made away.
What one cannot atchieue, ten or a hundred may.
Then though thou dost not feare the force of one alone,
Yet feare the powerfull hand of many ioynd in one.

But what was spoken in sport, befell to him in earnest: for, hauing besieged and furiously assaulted the citie Aquilea, because the citisens defended themselues, and repulsed him couragiously being growne more cruell, and welneere mad to see himselfe receiue the foile (like wild beasts that wax furious when they feele themselues hurt) hee fell a mawling of his souldiers; who, not able to endure such indignities, killed the tyrant together with his sonne. *Trebellius Pollio* writeth of *C. Marius*, a Cutler by his first occupation, and who in time of *Gallienus* was chosen Emperor by the souldiers, that there was not any man that had stronger hands to strike and to thrust than he had: so that the veines of his hands seemed as if they had beene sinewes: with his fourth finger called the Ring-finger, or Physicke-finger he staied a cart drawne with horses, and drew it backward: if he gaue but a fillip to the strongest man that then was, hee would feele it as much as one of vs should a blow vpon the forehead with a hammer: with two fingers he would wrest and break many strong twisted things. After he was created Emperour, the first day was spent in ceremonies; the next day he entred (as it were) into his charge; the day following he was kild by a souldier that had bin his seruant, & had wrought with him in his Smithey, who when he gaue him the blow, *This is with the sword* (quoth he) *that thy selfe hast made*. *Antonius Pondus* in one leafe of his discourse vpon old moneys and coines, representeth for a rare thing the image of this three dayes Emperour, in a coine hauing this superscription, IMPERATOR CAIVS MARIVS, PIVS, FELIX, AVGVSTVS.

In the life of the thirtie Tyrants.

Antonie le pois.

A man

A man might apply to this Emperour the flout that *Cicero* bestowed vpon the Consull *Vatinius*: namely, that his gouernment was strange and verie prodigious, for there was neuer seene in it, Spring, Summer, Harueſt, or Winter.

But seeing we are falne vpon the speech of Sinewes, I will enlarge it a little with other more ancient examples. Certaine it is, That the Sinewes make most in that which belongeth to corporall force; and *Solinus* saith that the thicker they are, the stronger the bodie is; adding, That *Varro* had obserued for an example of wonderfull force, that a Samnite fencer named *Tritanus*, was of such a making that not onely his breast but his hands also and armes were furnished with Sinewes both longwise, acrosse, and side-wise; so that without any paine, & with the least blow, he ouerthrew all those that durst encounter him. Also, that this fencers sonne, a souldier vnder *Cneus Pompeius* set so light by an enemie that challenged him, that he ouercame him with blowes of his bare hand, and with one finger tooke him vp & carried him away to *Pompeis* campe. We read also, That *Milo* the Crotonian was exceeding strong, beyond all mens conceit: for, with a blow of his fist he slue a bull, and hauing dresst it, eat it himselfe alone the same day. For examples more late, *Flauius Vopiscus* writeth, That the Emperour *Aurelian* was of a verie high stature, and marueilous strong: and saith after an other Historian called *Theoclius*, that in the war against the Sarmatians, *Aurelian* slue with his owne hand in one day eight and fortie of his enemies: and that in diuers daies togither he ouerthrew aboue nine hundred and fiftie: so that in praise of him certaine jygges were made which the yong lads vsed to sing vpon festiuall daies, the foot of them was this;

Cap. 4.

A thousand, thousand, thousand, we
We haue a thousand done to death:
By one a thousand mangled be,
We haue a thousand reau'd of breath.
A thousand yeares may that man raigne,
By whom a thousand men are slaine.

Againe,

None how great so ere he be
So much wine at home doth see;
As this prince hath drawne blood
From his hapleſſe enemies
That in armes 'gainst him did rise,
And his sou'raigne might withstood.

The same *Aurelian*, when he was Collonell of the sixth Legion (called *Gallica*) at Mentz, made such hauock of the Franci who forraged ouer all the countrey of Gaule, that hauing slaine with his owne hands seauen hundred of them, and sold three hundred at Port-sale, they made a song of him which had for burden these verses in effect,

At one time did we by fine force,
A thousand and a thousand men
Of French and Sarmats quite vnhorse.
Let Persians come by thousands then,
I will them ouerthrow perdy,
These are my pastimes verily.

We find in the holy Historie, songs of ioy made in the praise of valiant men, especially of *Saul* and of *Dauid*; which songs were (by many ages) before those which the prince of this world made in fauour of his seruants and followers.

Now

Now, not to ſtand vpon the fabulous Hiſtories of the men warriers and women warriers of times paſt, wherewith ſome giddie heads haue poiſoned our anceſtors, feeding them with lies, and robbing them of the truth; that which is related of the valiant *George Caſtriot* prince of Albania, ſurnamed of the Turkes *Iſchenderbeg*, that is, lord *Alexander*, becauſe of his valiant exploits; ſeemeth worthie (in mine opinion) to goe before all other hiſtories of that ſubiect. *Martin Barlet* of Scodra hath ſet foorth at large the braue atchieuements of this prince. *Paulus Iouius* hath gathered a briefe of them in his diſcourſe of Famous men, where he ſaith, That *Caſtriot* neuer refuſed battell, neuer ſhewed his back to the enemie, neuer was afraid of any danger he was in, was neuer hurt but once and that a little in the thigh, though he had made continuall war with two moſt mightie Emperours of the Turkes, *Amurath* and *Mahomet*, of both which he endured the charge; and (which is more) ouerthrew in ſet battell ſeauen Baſhaes, their lieutenants; put their armies to flight; and at euerie time had the ſpoyling of their camp. *Paulus Iouius* addeth, That this prince ſlue in ſeuerall conflicts with his owne hands two thouſand Turkes: *Barlet* writeth, three thouſand: neuer vſing to giue but one blow where he ſtruck. And whereas his Cimiter was verie great and maſſie, he handled it with ſuch force and nimblenеſſe, that he neuer ſpent blow in vaine, but it fell ſo right, that either he cleft them aſunder whom he met with, or cut them in two by the waſt, or whipt off their head, and ſometimes all the top of their ſhoulders withall, ſo ſtrong and ſo expert was he in fighting. The Turkes that eſcaped his hands, talking before their Sultan of the prodigious force of *Caſtriot*, rauiſhed with admiration all thoſe that heard them: in ſo much as *Mahomet* himſelfe deſired to ſee the Cimiter managed by that mightie arme and extroardinarie force, becauſe it was thought to be made of ſuch temper that no iron harneſſe could reſiſt the blowes which it gaue. The ſword was ſent vnto him to Conſtantinople, but the force remained behind in the arme of *Scanderbeg*. For the reſt, he was in ſuch eſteeme becauſe of his valour, that the Turkes after his death being poſſeſſed welneere of all Albania, went to ſeeke out his tombe, and hauing found it did their deuotions to the ſame, honoring the memorie of that great prince ſo far, that they opened the monument, and tooke out his bones, which they ſhared among them with greater care than they would haue done any riches: euerie one of them thinking that he ſhould proue inuincible in war, and guarded againſt all hurts if he carried about him any little bone of this renoumed warrior. *Barlet* reporteth this memorable thing of him beſides; that when he entred the battell, and was in the hotteſt of the fight, among other notes of the change of his countenance this was obſerued, that his nether lip would cleaue it ſelfe, and thereout would come abundance of blood; which alſo would appeare in him ſometimes out of the fight, when as in handling matters of State he fell into a choller more than was accuſtomed. This valiant prince was taken out of the world by a feauer, in the 63 yeare of his age (which to many great perſons is climactericall and fatall) the 32 of Ianuarie *Anno* 1466, after he had reigned 24 yeares.

To this example we may ioyne that which *Thomas Fazel* and *Clement Marius* of Arezzo report of *Galeas* or *Galeot Bardaſin* a gentleman of Catana, That he grew from time to time to ſuch a heigth and bigneſſe of bodie, that he exceeded all other men how great ſoeuer, from the ſhoulders vpward; being withall ſtrong and mightie according to his ſtature: ſo that he was a man compleat in that regard, being too hard for all other men in leaping, throwing the ſtone, toſſing

In the firſt Decad of the Hiſt. of Sicilia, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

toſſing the pike, and in iuſting. Moreouer he was exceeding valiant, nimble and bold; a braue fighter both a foot and a horsback; his taleneſſe no whit hindring the triall of his valor. For, being armed at all points, his Caske on his head, holding a Iauelin in his right hand, and the pommel of a ſaddle with his left, he would ſpring into the ſeat without putting foot in the ſtirrup or hauing any other aduantage. Sometimes he would beſtride a great Courſer vnbrideled, and hauing giuen him the carriere, would ſtop him ſuddenly in the midſt of his courſe, by ſtrayning him onely with his thighes and legs. With his hands he would take vp from the ground an aſſe with his load, which commonly weyed three kintals. He ſtruggled (in the way of paſtime) with two of the ſtrongeſt men that could be found, of which he held one faſt with one arme, and threw the other to the ground keeping him vnder with his knee; at laſt he puld downe the ſecond, and neuer left till he had them both vnder him, and then bound their hands behind their backs. Being before Plombino, a citie whilom belonging to the Florentines, with *Alphonſo* king of Arragon and Sicilia who had beſieged the ſame; three horſemen enemies found him a part from all other, and ran vpon him: but he turning his horſe gaue one of them ſuch a whirret with his ſword-hilts, that he felled him from his horſe to the ground halfe dead: and then running with a carreire at the ſecond, he takes hold of his middle, makes him forgoe ſtirrups and ſaddle, and throwes him downe headlong: to the third he giues ſuch a ſound blow with his elbow, that he was faine to ſaue himſelfe by flying away. He fought in ſingle combat twice in Italy, and twice in Piemont, & was alwaies victorious. Hiſtorians report that *Tamerlan* Emperor of the Tartarians was of a verie high ſtature, and ſo ſtrong, that holding a bow of the greateſt ſize at that time in one hand, he drew the ſtring with the other ſo firmly (which ſcarce any other man could haue don) that he made it paſſe beyond his eare; and ſetting vp a braſen morter in the place of the white, ſhot ſuch a mightie ſhoote, that he made a hole thorow it with his arrow. We read the like almoſt in *Herodotus* of a king of the Macrobians, a people of Ethiopia. Many are yet aliue that know how ſtrong and mightie *George* of Fronſperg, Baron of Mindelhaim of late memorie, was. There is a booke printed and publiſhed in the German tongue contayning his memorable deeds. And albeit *Paulus Iouius* handleth him but hardly as an enemie to the Pope, yet extolleth he his force and valour. For after he hath ſet foorth the good ſeruices that this Baron many and ſundrie times did to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, namely in the battell of Bicoca and of Pauia (where king *Francis* was taken priſoner) and in other places, hauing fought valiantly to the laſt in fifteene ſet battells, and in more than twentie skirmiſhes; he addeth theſe words: George *was ſo mightie and ſtrong, that if he held out the middle finger of his right hand, he would therewith remooue the ſtrongeſt man out of his place, ſate he neuer ſo faſt. He ſtopt a horſe ſuddenly that ran with a maine carreire by onely touching the bridle: with his ſhoulder he would eaſily ſhoue a cannon whither he would: he marched much oftner a foot than a horsback; and when he walked, he neuer could find ſouldier how yong or nimble ſoeuer, that out-went him.* It had beene often marked, that the ioynts of this Barons fingers ſeemed as if they had beene of horne: And it was a thing generally knowne, that he brake with eaſe a twiſted rope of a reaſonable bigneſſe; that without any adoe he wreſted a horſe-ſhooe a ſunder with his bare hands. Such was the force of *Potocoua*, a gentleman of Poland, Collonel of the Coſaci, who of late yeares at the inſtance of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador and by the ſufferance of *Stephen* king of Poland was beheaded in the aſſembly of the States of *Varſouia*. *Iohannes Leonclauius* writeth;

That

See *Paulus Iouius.*

In the ſupply of the Annals of Turkie.

That this gentleman was of ſuch ſtrength, that he would as readily with his bare hands breake horſe-ſhooes new out of the forge, as he would haue torne leaues of paper, or other ſuch like thing eaſie to be broken.

Theſe examples ſhew vnto vs, that our age hath brought foorth men comparable for ſtature, force, and valour, with the men of old time. But of all thoſe that haue bin yet named, none can equall the Gyant *Ænother*, borne in Turgaw, a village of Sueuia, who bare armes vnder *Charlemaine:* for he felled men as one would mow hay, and ſometimes broached a great number of them together vpon his pike, and ſo caried them all vpon his ſhoulder, as one would carie birds ſpitted vpon a ſticke: thus writeth *Auentinus* in the Hiſtorie of Bauaria. I know very well, ſome are of opinion that *Rowland* the ſonne of *Berta*, ſiſter to *Charlemaine* (who, when his armie was ouerthrowne by the Sarazins through the treacherie of the Gaſcoines, died with labour and thirſt) was a Gyant: which they thinke they are able to prooue by the armed ſtatues of huge greatneſſe that are to be ſeene in the market places of many cities in Saxonie, for a badge of libertie, and are at this day called *Rowlands:* And yet I haue heard ſome men worthie of credit affirme, That king *Francis* the firſt deſirous to know if that which was bruted of *Rowland* were true, cauſed his tombe to bee opened, in the which were found his bones and his bow all rotten; but his complete armour, though all ruſtie, yet whole: that the king did put on the ſame armour, which fitted him ſo well, that it appeared plainly that *Rowland* was not greater than king *Francis*, who though he were of a good heigth, yet was not much bigger than a man of a meane ſtature. Indeed there are [illegible]ne at Wormes and other cities ſtanding vpon the Rhine, bones kept in Arſenals and other publike places, which are ſaid to bee of thoſe Gyants of yore. But I haue heard many diſpute and make a doubt, Whether they were bones of men or of fiſhes. I haue alſo ſeene at Pouzol in Italie, bones of a wonderfull bigneſſe and length, with an inſcription of certaine Latin verſes, fathered vpon *Pomponius Latus*, the effect whereof is this: *Lib.4.*

Thou, Paſſant, that dooſt ſee with wondring eye
Theſe bones of mightie Gyants that heere lie,
And wouldeſt know how Tuſcan *had them heere,*
Liſten awhile, and I will make it cleere.
When Hercules *th' Iberians had ſubdude*
and was come hither, he the Typhons *rude*
Expelled hence, that would haue ſtolne his ſheepe,
And with his arme did wound and pierce them deepe.
But they diſperſing were purſude amaine;
Whom he with Club and Bow put to ſuch paine,
That they fell to the ground, and where they lay
In diuers graues their corps he did conuay.
Let then Poſteritie this token beare,
That ſhee is borne of Anceſtors that were
The greateſt in their time for ſtrength and bone
That were on earth, but Hercules *alone.*

Let vs graunt that much of that which they write of Gyants is fabulous: yet what ſhall wee ſay to that which *Thomas Fazelus* reporteth of Gyants, and of their originall, and what bodies and bones of theirs hee ſaw (as hee writeth) of monſtrous bigneſſe found in Sicilia? He ſaith, he ſaw in his houſe ſome of the teeth of thoſe prodigious bodies that weighed foure ounces apeece; and that *Lib.2. Decad.1. of the hiſt. of Sicilia. Cap.1.*

ſome were found that weighed fiue ounces: alſo, that the bodies of theſe Gyants were of eighteene, twentie, two and twentie, fiue and twentie cubits: that ſome of them had a skull as large as a hogſhead that holds foure hundred pints or meaſures of wine at Paris. *Antonius de Torquemada* in his firſt iourney, and *Iohn Chaſſanion* in his Recuell of Gyants, haue written many things anſwerable hereunto, which it is needleſſe now to ſpeake of more particularly. There haue been in old time Gyants in England, as *William Camden* reporteth in the deſcription thereof, in verſes after an ancient Poet to this effect:

There Gyants whilome dwelt, whoſe clothes were skins of beaſts,
Whoſe drinke was blood, whoſe cups to ſerue for vſe or feaſts
Were made of hollow wood, whoſe beds were buſhie thornes,
And lodgings rockie caues to ſhelter them from ſtormes,
Their cloſets hollow rocks: their hunting found them meat,
To rauiſh and to kill (to them) was pleaſure great:
Their violence was rule, with rage and furie lead
They ruſht into the fight, and fought hand ouer head.
Their bodies were inter'd behind ſome buſh or brake,
To beare ſuch monſtrous wights the earth did groane and ake.

We read in the holy Hiſtorie, in the Bookes of *Geneſis*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomie*, *Ioſua*, *Iudges*, *Samuel*, *Chronicles*, and other, That both before and after the flood there were huge Gyants: among the which, *Goliath* (ſtricken downe with the ſling of *Dauid* vnarmed, but aſſiſted by God) is not to bee reckoned the leaſt. We may iudge of his ſtature by the deſcription and conſideration of his armor. The ſtorie ſaith, That his height was ſix cubits and an hand-breadth: which were no great matter compared with the cubits that are now. But there is no doubt to be made, but that the cubit was proportionable to the men that liued in thoſe dayes: and the learned Expoſitors coniecture, that this Gyant was twice higher than the talleſt man that liueth now adayes. He was armed with a Brigandine of braſſe that weighed ſix thouſand ſhekels: he had boots of braſſe vpon his legs, and a ſhield of braſſe vpon his ſhoulders, and the ſhaft of his ſpeare being like a weauers beame, weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of yron. Six of the ſtrongeſt men that liue now would find themſelues occupied to carie this furniture, beſides the helmet of braſſe that was vpon his head, and the ſword by his ſide. Some make him leſſer, to wit, nine feet of the kings meaſure, or twelue at moſt: but it was impoſſible he could beare ſuch a weight of armour as he is deſcribeth with (of many kintals now) if he had not been much taller. That *Dauid*, a young boy of a low ſtature ſlew him, is an act miraculous; whether we reſpect the age, the ſtature, the arme, the weapon and effect of the blow, or whatſoeuer followed thereof. *Philo Iudæus* imagineth, that *Dauid* ſhewed to *Goliath* when he was fallen to the gronnd, the Angell of the Lord called *Ceruihel*, hauing rule ouer ſtrength, who aſſiſted him; and that *Goliath* ſeeing him, ſaid, *Thou art not hee alone that haſt kild mee, but he rather that ſtands by thee, whoſe countenance is not like the countenance of a man.* The ſame *Philo* offereth alſo to prooue, that *Dauid* and *Goliath* were couſins, which hath no reſemblance of truth. We may gheſſe likewiſe, that *Og* king of Baſan was of a huge ſtature, by the deſcription of his yron bed, nine cubits long. So the Iſraelites (as their ſpies reported) being compared with the Anakims, ſeemed as Graſhoppers. Where it is ſaid, That of the ſonnes of God, and of the daughters of men (that is, of the race of the holy Patriarchs, and of the wicked ſucceſſors of *Cain*) there were Gyants borne: they are called by *Moſes*, *Nephilim*, a word that ſignifieth violent people, and that make others afraid.

2. *Sam.* 17. 4, 5, 6

In his Antiquities of the Bible.

Deuter. 3. 11.

Numb. 13. 34.

Geneſ. 6. 4.

afraid. Some translate it Apostatas and Recreants, who reuolting from the obedience of the true God, from the instructions of the Patriarchs, from the doctrine of the true Church, and giuen ouer to their owne corrupt affections, made no conscience to pollute themselues with all manner of impieties, wrong-dealing, and filthinesse: for like as those leaud women had turned aside their husbands from the true Religion, so did they corrupt their children by meanes of detestable instruction, so that finally they became Atheists, sold to all violence and wickednesse. We read also in the books of the Pagan Wonders, things almost incredible of Gyants, whose bodies were found to bee twelue, two and twentie, and thirtie cubits long. And S. *Augustin* saith, that hee saw vpon the hauen side at Vtica, a cheeke-tooth so great, as being cut into peeces of the bignesse of ours, it would make an hundred such. In the same place he sheweth by two verses out of the twelfth booke of *Virgils Æneis*, speaking of *Turnus* (who tooke vp a great stone to throw at *Æneas* head, so heauie, that twelue men in *Virgils* time would haue had much adoe to haue lifted it from the ground) that there were in old time many bodies of Gyants found in that place. *Homer* had before said the same with *Virgil* in the sixt booke of his *Ilias*. And *Plinie* writeth, That in the Isle of Candie there was an earth-quake, which opened a mountaine, wherein was found a bodie six and fortie cubits high, standing vpright: which some thought was a Gyants called *Orion*, others the bodie of *Cethius*. Historiographers write, That *Orestes* bodie being found by some as they digged in the earth, was about foureteene or fifteene foot long. Saint *Augustin* in the place before alleaged, giueth a reason of this vast greatnesse, saying, That it pleased God, that sometimes men of vnreasonable stature should be borne into the world, to teach vs, that the beautie of bodies, their talnesse, and strength, should not be numbred among the principall good things, considering they are fauours bestowed as well vpon the wicked as the good. To conclude, this vnmeasurable talnesse hath little auailed the Gyants in regard of their saluation, saith *Baruch* in these wordes; *Where are the Gyants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre? Those did not the Lord chuse, neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them.* Many examples haue we in the holy Scripture of Gyants, who relying vpon their owne force, and boasting themselues to be more than the ordinarie sort of men, haue bin accurst and banished from God, because of their pride and violence. This the ancient Poets meant by the *Cyclops*, *Titans*, and other Gyants, which *Iupiter* with his thunderbolts quasht and brought to dust in the Phlegrean fields.

Lib. 15. cap. 19. De Ciuit. Dei.

In his Nat. hist. *lib. 7.*

Cap. 23.

Cap. 3. 26, 27.

CHAP. III.

Of the Sicilian Euensong, and other Massacres of men, not foreseene.

IN the yeare 1281, when *Charles* of Anjow raigned in Sicilia, his souldiers all Frenchmen lying in garrison in the cities, grew so odious to the Sicilians, that they studied of nothing so much as how to be reuenged, and to free themselues from the yoke of the French. The fittest & most resolute for the execution of this businesse, was a gentleman called *Iohn Procyte*, a great lord in the time of king *Manfred*, saith *Paulus Æmylius*; though *Pandolpho Collenuccio* tearme him the kings Physician. This gentleman being iustly prouoked, and resoluing to reuenge himselfe of the wrong done him by the French that had forced his wife; and besides, finding himselfe much fauoured and familiar with the

Lib. 7. of the hist. of France.

Sicilian lords and gentlemen, begins by their counsell and support to build a strange designe for the entrapping of all the French, and abolishing their memorie for euer in Sicilia. To this end, first of all he made a voyage to Constantinople to the Emperour *Michael Palæologus*, to whom he discouered certaine purposes and ambushes of *Charles* of Anjow against him: in so much as (whither it were so, or not) he persuaded the Emperour, that *Charles* aimed at nothing else but to turne away the Greekes from their obedience to him, or to make them rise in armes against him. This foundation laid, *Prochyto* sailed into Spaine to *Peter* king of Arragon, who had married *Constance*, *Manfreds* sister, and made him acquainted with his enterprise against the French, promising in the behalfe of all the Sicilians, if the businesse had good successe, that with the common consent of the chiefe men, *Peter* should be called and agnised king; the rather, for that his wife was lawfull inheretrix to the crowne, and that there was not any neerer than she. Not content with all this, he made two voyages to Rome to Pope *Nicholas* the third, whom he counselled and persuaded by many reasons to promise, That if Sicilia were freed from the dominion of the French, or if they were destroied and made away, that he would inuest *Peter* of Arragon with the kingdome of Sicilia in the right of his wife. All this was so secretly and so cunningly handled in the space of eighteene months, that euer since, all men haue wondered as at some prodigious thing, how it could be, that so high, difficult, and dangerous designes could be concealed among so many people, differing in nation and in humor, without any thing discouered thereof in all that time. The watch-word or signall was, That vpon Easter day, or the Tuesday after, when the bell should begin to toll to Euensong, all the Sicilians should presently take armes, and ioyning togither with one accord, should fall vpon the French throughout all Sicilia. The conspirators hauing this signall, all the inhabitants of the Isle were gathered togither at the appointed houre, with their armes, ran vpon the French, and cut all their throats, without taking so much as one prisoner, or sparing the children or women gotten with child by the French, that they might extinguish the whole race of them. There were slaine eight thousand at that time, and there escaped but a verie small number, who fled into a fort called Sperling, where for want of victuals they were all starued to death. *Fazelus* writeth, That in his time one might see at Palermo in diuers chappels, namely of Saint *Cosmus* and Saint *Damian*, heapes of bones of the French slaine in this Sicilian Euensong. The newes of this butcherie being brought to *Charles* of Anjow, who was then at Rome, troubled him exceedingly: and thereupon he began to say (as *Papyrius Masson* reporteth after *Ricordano* and *Malaspina*, Historians at that time) *O God, seeing thou wilt that fortune should crosse me, grant, that I may lose by little and little that which hath beene gotten in a short time.* That which he wished came to passe: For, though he emploied all the counsells and meanes he could make, yet could he not possibly recouer Sicilia, and euer afterwards had the wind so contrarie (as they say) that he went downe more and more euerie day; the reuolution of worldly affaires being such, as, when aduersitie once taketh hold of one, it ouerthroweth him without all redemption. *Charles* was a prince as wise, valiant, & discreet, as any of his predecessors: but he got nothing for all that. *Paulus Æmylius* setteth downe this Historie of the Sicilian Euensong, as followeth. *A mischieuous conspiracie made and ended vpon the holiest day of the yeare* 1281, *was executed thus: When they tolled in the Churches the first time to Euensong, after the vsuall manner, vpon the sollemne Feast of Easter, the French were surprised, assaulted, beaten downe, and massacred thorowout all Sicilia.* A little after he addeth

In the second Decad of the Hist. of Sicilia, *lib.* 8.

Lib. 3. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 7.

addeth, *I haue set foorth the reuolt of the Sicilians as it is commonly bruted: but some Historians worthie of beleefe, report that the slaughter began first within Palermo. As the citizens were going in deuotion vpon Easter day to a place hard by, called Monreal, the French feigning as if they would search whither any of them woare hidden armor, began to feele women and maides, to put their hands into their bosoms, and offred to groape them vnder their gownes. Hereupon the husbands and fathers transported with rage, began first to throw stones, afterwards ran and fetcht their armes, and slue the Frenchmen. The fame of this execution bruted abroad, the Islanders cut the throats of the French in all other places. The Pope vnderstanding of this insurrection, they of Palermo sent vnto him some of the Church-men, who threw themselues prostrate to his feet with as much acknowledgement of honor and supplication as they could haue made to* IESVS CHRIST *himselfe, euen so far, as they said vnto him these words borrowed out of the mysteries of their Altar,* Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri: *and againe,* Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri: *finally,* Qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. *That is to say,* Thou that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue pitie vpon vs; grant vs peace. *The Pope answered, That they of Palermo behaued themselues as they did that buffeted* IESVS CHRIST, *when they saluted him and called him king of the Iewes: That they likewise for all their faire words, were his enemies in deed.* Thus writeth *Paulus Æmylius.*

So then, after the French were thus rooted out of Sicilia by the cruell pollicie of *Prochyto* & his adherents, the kingdom was restored to *Peter* king of Arragon, and to *Constance* his wife as the lawfull inheretrix thereunto. Afterwards, there was a prouerbe made of this miserable accident, surnamed *The Sicilian Euensong*, renued some foure and thirtie yeares agoe in the Parisian Matins *Anno* 1572, wherein (though for other causes) there was spilt so much Christian blood, that it flowed thorow the streets (like raine water) in great abundance. And this butchering of men, women, and children, continued so long, that the principall riuers of the kingdome were seene couered with murthered bodies, and died with human blood; so that they who dwelt far from the places of such butcherie, abhorred the water of the same riuers, and would not vse any of it a great while after, either for themselues or their housholds, nor eat of the fish taken within those riuers, but cursed and detested many a time and oft the authors and executioners of such monstrous barbarisme. *Agathias* writeth, That *Narses* ouerthrew in one day so many of the Franci in a set battell, that the territories about Capua regorged with humane blood, and that a riuer thereby did ouerflow becaus it was full and couered with dead bodies: Therefore vpon the brinke thereof there was a stone erected with this inscription, AQVAS CASILINI FLVMINIS MORTVIS GRAVATAS SVSCEPIT TYRRHENI MARIS LITTVS, QVANDO FRANCORVM GENTEM OCCIDIT AVSONIVS ENSIS, VBI MISERO HÆC GESSIT MOREM BVLTINO. FÆLIX ETIAM ISTE FLVCTVS, ET ERIT, BARBARICO PRO TROPHÆO DIVTINE ERVCTANS SANGVINEM, that is, *The shoare of the Tyrrhene sea hath receiued the waters of the riuer Casiline loaden with dead bodies, when the Roman sword slue the Nation of the Franci at what time it obeyed the miserable Bultin. Happie is this riuer, and shalbe, which for trophey of the Barbarians shall for a long while send foorth blood.* This slaughter was made in a ranged battell, by an enemie-stranger, who erected a trophey thereof, according to the vse of the ancient militarie discipline. But that murthering in Paris and other places of France, was perpetrated vnder pretence of a marriage; and vpon those, who, trusting to the faith of a king, slept quietly in their beds, without mistrusting of traps or surprises, according to the common saying, *It is easie to deceiue him that thinketh no harme*; and all by

Lib. 2. Hist. *Gothor.*

Iustin. lib. 13.

those, who with their left hand cut off their right. As it fared once with the Macedonians, who rising in armes some of them against other some, by ciuile war, turned their swords (before time drawne against strangers) against the breasts of their fellow citisens, like mad-men that fall a tearing of themselues. What crueltie! what infamie! how great a blemish, which all the water in the world will neuer be able to wash off!

Florus in Epitom. 78. lib. Tit. Liuy.

To compare ancient Stories with these of late time. Once the same confusion with the Sicilian Euensong, appeared, when as by the treason of *Mithridates* many thousands of Romans were surprised and slaine in one day in Asia, by expresse commandement of this king, who by such a cruell deceit meant to let the Romans from escaping away, or from selling their skins so deere as otherwise they would haue done. Besides, he promised recompense to the murtherers, and to the prouinces where the massacres were committed, according to the numbers of the slaine, threatning the people with grieuous punishments that should saue the life of any Roman whatsoeuer. In like sort the Parthians (witnesse *Herodian*) were circumuented and had their throats cut by the commandement of *Antonius Caracalla* the Emperor, vnder the collour of a marriage, at which time this Caytife, careless of his promise solemnely made, fell vpon them that were come (without armes and vpon his word) to honour the marriage of their kings daughter with him, who with readie forces assaulted them, and made himselfe odious and hatefull to that people because of his cruell periurie. Nor did they euer leaue, till they had compelled the Romans to restore the prisoners and the spoiles, and to accept of conditions of peace much to their disaduantage. But there is a certaine miserable slaughter of the Templers, of fresher memorie, and neuer dreamt of, of whom *Gaguin* writeth, That they were accused of Heresie, of Sodomie, of contempt of their Order, of conspiracie against the State, and of other horrible villanies: but many others hold that king *Philip* the Faire (sollicited by Pope *Clement* the fift, and egged on by the false reports of the courtiers to haue store of confiscations) gaue way for men to charge them with crimes, whereby these innocents were put to death. Among the rest, *Papyrius Masson* concludeth his discourse touching the storie of the Templers with these tearmes: *What will the Readers say heere? They must be faine to confesse that this Pope* Clement *the fift, was inclement and cruell; and this king, wicked: for they cannot giue a gentler sentence.* And *Paulus Æmylius*, after he hath also spoken of it, *There are* (saith he) *worthie Authors that maintaine, that* Iames *of Burgundie great Master of the Order of the Templers, standing vpon the scaffold to be burnt, when in the presence of a great number of people he was promised life, so as he would acknowledge that which he had confessed in prison, touching his brothers and himselfe, and craue pardon for it; he spake aloud these words: Being vpon the end of my life, I should commit a great wickednesse to lie; therefore I acknowledge in heart, and declare with mouth in truth and veritie, that I haue committed a great offence against my selfe and mine, for which cause I haue deserued the grieuousest punishment in the world, when as to please those that I should not, and to saue my life in this world, being vpon the rack I charged my Order (that hath done so may good seruices to the Christian Religion) of being guiltie of horrible mischiefes: I desire not the lengthning of my life by adding of a new lie to the old. When he was set vpon the wood, they began to burne the soales of his feet, to draw some confession of crimes from him: but he continued firme in his last purpose, yea euen then also when they laide the fire about his bodie, without shewing any signe of being dismaid.* The like did two other of the principall of the Order, burnt with him, the one whereof was brother to the Dolphin of Viennois. This was (as I haue said) in

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Lib. 7. cap. 5.

Lib. 8. of his Historie of France.

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the time of Pope *Clement* the fift, in the yeare 1311, all the Order of the Templars hauing been condemned at the Councell of Vienna, and adiudged to die. *Haman*, blinded with ambition, with hatred, with desire of reuenge, plotted a massacre greater than all these, and it wanted little of being executed in the time of *Ahasuerus*, as we read in the storie of *Hester*: for by the induction of this prophane, insolent, and ambitious fellow, all the Iewes inhabiting and spread in a hundred seauen and twentie prouinces of the empire of *Ahasuerus* (thought of some to be *Cambyses* the sonne of *Cyrus*; of others, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspis*, father to *Xerxes*) had like to haue beene cruelly murdered with their wiues and children, and their goods confiscate by commandement of the king, wrongfully informed, and wickedly circumuented by this *Haman*, who had appointed the generall massacre of a multitude almost innumerable of innocents, the thirteenth day of *Adar*, which was the twelfth moneth of the Iewes, for that they were accused of Heresie and of Rebellion. But God stirred vp Queene *Hester*, who discouered the falseneſſe of *Hamans* reports, and by her prudence and pietie molified the kings heart to take a iust and an vpright resolution, and by that meanes to saue her people from eminent ruine and destruction.

CHAP. IV.

The horrible desire of reuenge in some men.

ONe day as I went from Rome with my companie, and past through the Marquisat of Ancona, we were to goe through a citie called Terni, seated in a very pleasant and fruitfull valley, betweene the armes of a riuer called the Nar. As wee entred into the citie, wee saw ouer the gate a certaine tablet vpon a high tower, to which were tied (as it seemed to vs at first) a great many Bats or Reere-mise. We thinking it a strange sight, and not knowing what it meant, being set vp in so eminent a place, one of the citie whom we asked, told vs of a certaine thing that had hapned some yeares before. There were (quoth he) in this citie, two noble, rich, and mightie houses, which of a very long time caried an vnreconcileable hatred the one against the other, in so much as the malice passed from the father to the sonne, as it were by inheritance; by occasion whereof many of both houses were slaine and murdered. At last, the one house not able to stay the fire of their violent wrath, resolued to stand no more about murdering one or two of the aduerse house by surprise and treason, but to run vpon them all at once, and not to leaue one bodie thereof aliue. They of this bloodie familie gathered together out of the countrey adioyning (vnder some other pretence) many of their seruants which met in the citie, where they ioyned them to their Brauos (which are swaggerers, Assassins, and hacksters, such as many Italians that haue quarrels keep in pay, to employ them in the execution of their reuenges) and secretly armed them, enioyning them to bee alwayes readie to doe some notable exploit whensoeuer they should be called vpon. Soon after, taking hold of occasion, they march about midnight with their people to the gouernors house, who mistrusted nothing, seaze of his person being a man of authoritie and power, and (leauing guards in the same house vntill they should haue executed their purpose) goe on silently towards the house of their enemies, and disposing their troups at euery street end, about ten of them goe on to the same house (the Gouernour being betweene them) as if they had been the Archers of his guard, whom they compelled to command that speedie opening might be made him, as if he had some

seruice

ſeruice of importance to diſpatch within their houſe: and withall they held a poinyard at his throat, threatning to kill him if he ſaid not that which they had put into his mouth. He, amazed at the death which hee ſaw preſent before his eyes, cauſed all the doores to be opened, a thing which they within made no refuſall of, ſeeing the Gouernour there: which being done, thoſe ten call their complices not farre off, put the Gouernour into ſafe keeping, enter into the houſe, and there moſt cruelly murder man, woman, and child, nay they ſpare not ſo much as the horſes in the ſtable. That done, they make the Gouernour ſet open the citie gates, and ſo depart and diſperſe themſelues into diuers ſecret places here and there among their friends. The wiſeſt of them fled to the next Sea-ports, and got them away far off: but as for thoſe that kept any thing neere, they were ſo diligently ſearcht for, that they were found and drawne out of their holes by the Iuſtices, greatly mooued (as good cauſe there was) with ſuch a horrible maſſacre: ſo theſe wicked offenders were put to death with moſt grieuous puniſhments, and after, their hands and their feet being cut off, were nailed to the tablet which you ſaw (quoth he) as ye entred the gate, on the top of the tower, ſet vp for a ſhew to terrifie the cruell, and to ſerue for a leſſon to poſteritie: The Sun hauing broiled thoſe limbs ſo faſtened and ſet vp, maketh trauellers think (that know nothing of this horrible tragedie) that they be Reeremiſe. We hauing heard this pitifull diſcourſe, with deteſtation of ſuch a furious and cruell deſire of reuenge, kept on our way.

This is an act euery way much to be abhorred: But *Iouianus Pontanus* ſpeaketh of another that ſeemeth more exorbitant, and to be done by raging beaſts, becauſe it was executed by people that call themſelues Chriſtians: it ſurpaſſeth by ods (in mine opinion) the cruell reuenge which the ancient Pagans of Locri in Sicilia tooke of young *Dionyſius* in the perſons of his wife and of his children, becauſe of a great wrong he had done to them in publique: For, after they had (ſaith *Athenæus*) inflicted a thouſand paines and torments vpon theſe ſillie perſons, in the end (for the laſt torment) they thruſt needles into their fingers betweene the fleſh and the nailes, and then cut their throats: after that, they chopt their fleſh into many ſmall peeces, of which they boyled ſome, curſing all thoſe that would make daintie to eat of it: the reſt they grinded, to the end it might be ſwallowed downe in pottage by the poore people; and that which remained they caſt into the ſea: their bones were beaten in morters, and the powder mingled with thoſe horrible meſſes and with the pottage made of mans fleſh. But let vs heare *Pontanus*. *When I was a young lad* (ſaith hee) *I heard my grandmother called* Leonarda *tell (who was a vertuous Dame, and wept full bitterly euery time ſhee entred into this ſpeech) that certaine houſes being in quarrels and deadly hatred, ſome of them againſt other ſome; one of the contrarie partie being taken vnawares, was at the inſtant cut in ſmall peeces by his enemies, who reſerued ſome of his liuer wherewith they made a carbonado, which was cut into morſels, and at a breakefaſt eaten with great ioy by the principall men, who inuited their kinſfolkes to the eating of it. Is there any famiſhed rage of wolues, or cruell violence of a Tygreſſe robd of her young, that may exceed the infamous and furius bruitiſhneſſe of theſe? But to come to the point, after they had diſpatched this horrible carbonado, they ſent for wine, wherewith they mingled ſome of the blood of their enemie, and dranke euerie one thereof, making great iolitie together about this magnificall exploit, with much laughing, flouting, and ieaſting, for a new ſauce to this lamentable meale: for the laſt part of their impietie, they thanked their ſaints and patrons that had fauoured them in the execution of their reuenge, and holding the cups in their hands they made a ſolemne acknowledgement thereof.* The ſame *Pontanus* reporteth ſuch a like ſtorie, the

Lib. 12. cap. 14.

the ſumme whereof is this. *Conrad Trincio*, lord of Fuligno, in the duchie of Spoleto, hearing that the captaine of the caſtle of Nocera had ſlaine *Nicholas Trincio* his brother, for ſuſpition of adulterie; came and beſieged this captaine, and held him ſo ſtreight to it, that he being out of all hope to ſaue himſelfe, firſt cut the throats of his wife and his children, and then threw himſelfe downe from a high tower, that he might not fall aliue into the power of *Conrad*, who ſeeing himſelfe fruſtrated of the meanes to torment him according to his intent, ſet vpon the kinsfolks, allies, friends, familiars, and companions of the captaine, and as many of them as he could take he tortured without all mercie, and after kild them, pluckt out their bowels, chopt their bodies in many peeces, hung vp their quarters vpon the high-waies, their bowels and guts vpon buſhes and places of ſhew for trauailers to ſee: behauing himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that no man can call it reuenge or puniſhment, or tell what name to giue it. Thus writeth *Pontanus*.

Leander in his deſcription of Italy deliuereth a ſtorie that chanced in his time, memorable as well for the crueltie, as for the puniſhment thereof. *Altobel* a citiſen of Tudertum (which ſome call Todi) in the duchie of Spoleto, moued thereunto by ſome occaſion vnknowne, made warre againſt his fellow-citiſens, and ſeazed vpon the citie and ſtate. After which he demeaned himſelfe very cruelly towards little and great: beſides, made out-courſes vpon the neighbor-countreys, ſpoyled and rifled ſome other cities neere to Tudertum; finally, he was defeated and taken priſoner by the Popes armie. Foorthwith, he was bound ſtarke naked to a poſt in the Market-place, to the end, that all they whom he had wronged, might reuenge themſelues vpon him. Thither run the mothers whoſe children he had ſlaine, who like wild beaſts begin to teare his bodie with greedie teeth; others wound and cut him, ſome in one ſort, ſome in another: The fathers, kinsfolks, and friends of thoſe whom he had maſſacred, pulled out ſome his eyes, ſome his heart, others his entrails, not forgetting any point of extreame rigour which they made him not feele. He with a courage deſperatly obſtinat, endured theſe torments conſtantly, ſaying betweene times, That no new thing was happened him, and that of a long time hee had foreſeene within himſelfe this puniſhment: Being dead, they made an end by cutting his bodie into morcels, which (like fleſh in a butchers ſhop) were ſold by weight, and afterwards eaten by thoſe that bought them. A horrible thing to heare, and moſt execrable to ſee.

I will not adde hereunto the report of other reuenges moſt monſtrous and prodigious, the onely remembrance whereof maketh good mindes that ſometimes thinke thereupon, amaſed and forlorne: as is the reuenge of him, who hauing his enemie in his power, after a fained reconciliation many yeares, made him ſpeake ſtrange and blaſphemous ſpeeches, and after ſtabbed him; bragging in the end (Sathan-like) that he had made his enemie looſe both bodie and ſoule. This is to leaue being a man, for to become a deuill. *Lactantius* ſaith, That God not hauing giuen to beaſts the vſe of reaſon, hath prouided them from their birth with naturall defences and helps, to keepe them from danger: But creating man all naked, and ſo weake as we ſee, to furniſh him with wiſdome, he hath (for ſurpluſage) endued him with this pitifull affection, that he loueth, maintaineth, and preſerueth his like, giuing him ſuccours in his neceſſities and dangers. Therfore the ſoueraigne bond of our life is humanitie: which who ſo breaketh, muſt bee accounted a wicked one, and a parricide. He addeth after, If we will reteine this goodly title of man in his integritie, we muſt preſerue humanitie, and maintaine it inuiolable: which cannot be done, but by louing ones neighbour, becauſe he

Lib.6.cap.10.

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is a man as we are. Conſequently, hatred and diuiſion ouerthrow and aboliſh reaſon in a man. And that which *Cicero* ſaith, is true; That man obeying nature, cannot hurt his neighbour. If therefore to hurt a man be repugnant to nature, it followeth neceſſarily, that it is a thing agreeable to nature to helpe and ſerue him. He that doth it not, deſpoiles himſelfe of the name of a man; becauſe the dutie of humanitie wills, that one ſhould aſſiſt a man that is in neceſſitie and danger. But becauſe the reuengefull and cruell are vnworthie to heare the voice of God in the ſchoole of his Prophets and Apoſtles, let vs cloſe vp this diſcourſe with the words of *Plato*, who ſaith, That crueltie throwes the wicked headlong into the bottomleſſe pit of hell, from whence they neuer come foorth. Let theſe wretches once thinke vpon theſe notable words of Saint *Ierome* in his Commentarie vpon the twelue ſmaller Prophets, *As mercie* (ſaith he) *lifteth man vp to God, ſo contrariwiſe, crueltie throweth him downe to the bottom of hell.* Which (it may be) he concluded out of theſe words of *Iames* the bleſſed Apoſtle, *There ſhalbe iudgement mercileſſe to him that ſheweth no mercie, and mercie reioyceth againſt iudgement.* Chap. 2. 13.

CHAP. V.

The fruitfulneſſe of the Kingdome of Naples, and the reuenues thereof.

THe Kingdom of Naples is a moſt pleaſant country, and yeeldeth great contentment to the verie ſtrangers that doe but behold it. It is called the Land of labour, either becauſe it is ſo fat that men husband it with paine; or for that it is worth the labour of tilling, becauſe of the fruitfulneſſe thereof, which is much wondred at. For in that place there is (as it were) a continuall ſpring-time, and almoſt all the yeare long the trees are laden with fruit. *Polybius* ſpake ſo of it in his time, when he ſaid, That the countrey of Campania (which we call the Land of Labour) is moſt excellent and fruitfull in all good things, and marueilous beautifull and pleaſant. *Plinie* and *Florus* were not ignorant thereof. *There is not any prouince in all Italy, no nor in all the world, more pleaſant than Campania* (ſaith *Florus.*) *A man cannot find a ſweeter aire, nor a fruitfuller ſoile, where there is a double ſpring-time: therefore it is ſaid, That* Ceres *and* Bacchus *doe ſtriue there who ſhall haue the victorie. There the ſea is nauigable, calme and verie ſafe. It hath goodly Hauens, as that of Gayetta, and of Miſena; alſo the Baths of Baia, the Lakes Lucrinus and Auernus, which are Bayes or reſting places at ſea: it hath Mountaines abounding with curious wines, to wit, Gaurus, Falernus, Maſſicus, and Veſuuius the imitator of Mont-gibel (or Ætna) in Sicilia. Among the cities vpon the ſea, are Formiæ, Cumæ, Ponzol, Naples, &c.* But with all this noble and exquiſit fertilitie, the inhabitants of the countrey are ſo wicked, that it is ſpoken ordinarily and in a common prouerbe, *Il regno Neapolitano é vno delicato Paradiſo, ma habitato da gli dianoli*, that is, *The Kingdom of Naples is a paradiſe of delights, but inhabited with deuills.* It is certainly affirmed, That the king of Spaine hath ſcarce any yearely reuenue out of all the Kingdome of Naples though it be ſo fertill, but moſt often all is emploied about the entertaining of Spaniſh garriſons which are lodged in the cities, caſtles, ports of the ſea, and fortreſſes of that kingdome, as well to keepe the ſubiects in awe (that are not much vſed to obey a ſtranger) as to ſtop the courſes of the Turkiſh fregats and gallies. For this cauſe there are to be ſeene within Naples three ſtrong caſtles with their captaines and ſouldiers, allowed their ſtanding paies: one neere to the citie vpon a high mountaine, hauing vnder it the Charter-houſe monkes, Lib. 4. Lib. 3. cap. 5. Lib. 8. cap. 16.

monkes, which ſome thinke was builded by king *Robert* ſonne to *Charles* the ſecond, aboue two hundred and fiftie yeares agoe. The other is the caſtle of the Egge, becauſe of the forme thereof, built neere to the hauen. And the third, ſeruing in times paſt for a pallace to the kings of Arragon, is at the hauen, and is called the New caſtle, built three hundred yeares agoe by *Charles* the firſt Earle of Anjow, king of Naples, brother to the king Saint *Lewis*, to ſerue for a couering to the citie and to the hauen againſt the alarums and enterpriſes of Pirats.

A certaine Neapolitan gentleman told me, That there was the like reaſon in the reuenues of Sicilia. Whereupon I asked him, why the king of Spaine was at ſo great charge with a kingdome ſo far from Spaine without reaping any profit, eſpecially ſeeing, that, by reaſon of the diſtance of the places, he was not to looke for any great ſuccours from it, and that it was dangerous to draw the Spaniſh ſouldiers out of the garriſons? For I had marked that no citiſen or inhabitant of Naples, had any entrance into thoſe caſtles, vnleſſe he were well knowne, and well truſted: and when the ſouldiers of the garriſon had opened the gates vnto vs, they enquired diligently if we were all Germans, and whither any Italian, French, or Polack were in our companie. I will tell you (anſwered he) what our king doth: If he haue need of ſome readie money, he borroweth of the States of the kingdome two or three hundred thouſand crownes. They knowing that princes praiers are commandements (according to the old ſaying, the praier of a great man is commandement and force) pleaſure the prince with it, knowing that otherwiſe they muſt doe it perforce; though they are ſure they ſhall neuer ſee pennie againe of that loane. Such helpes or aides are great; and are worth verie neere as much as cleere reuenues. That the anſwere of that gentleman is true, it appeareth by the teſtimonie of *Lodouicus Viues* the learned Spaniard, who writeth, That Italy is neuer profitable for thoſe that poſſeſſe it, but in time of peace, and ſo as there be no debate nor ſtriuing, as whilom Sicilia was to the kings of Arragon. For if there fall any war, the reuenues are not ſufficient to pay the garriſons, but the prince aſſailed muſt be forced to adde thereunto a great deale of his owne. I haue heard (ſaith he) of thoſe that thinke they know it well, That king *Ferdinand* neuer put vp into his coffers ſix pence of all the reuenue of the kingdome of Naples: Contrariwiſe, he was faine to ſend thither a great ſumme of the money that was collected in Caſtile to ſupply the pay of the garriſons. Which ſheweth that France and Spaine drew themſelues drie after ſuch time as they would needs ſet foot in Italy, which is not growne the poorer thereby, ſaue in that which the men of war haue carried from thence, or which they haue ruined and made waſte.

Lib. belli contra Turcas.

CHAP. VI.

Of fraud in falſe ſwearing, and of deceiuing by Oathes. Alſo we muſt ſhun and loath Imprecations.

THe Ancients haue blamed (and that worthily) *Paches* the Athenian captaine, becauſe, That when he had plighted his Faith to *Hippias*, he deuiſed a ſhift to breake his word. This *Hippias* an Arcadian captaine was ſummoned to be in a certaine citie called Notium, there to meet with *Paches* that they might confer togither; vpon condition, That if they agreed not, *Paches* ſhould yeeld *Hippias* ſafe and ſound within a citie of the Arcadians from which he came foorth to the ſaid meeting. *Hippias* being come to Notium, *Paches* gaue order

Thucydides, lib. 3. de bello Peloponneſſ.

order that he ſhould be ſafely kept there; and himſelfe marching ſpeedily with his troupes towards the citie of the Arcadians, enters into it by force, kils all the Arcadians and ſtrangers who neuer miſtruſted any ſuch matter; that being done, he brings back *Hippias* to the ſame citie, and, after he had ſet him within it (according to his promiſe, as he ſaid) he cauſed him to be ſhot thorow with arrowes. But that we may ſee how this villanous ring-worme of Periurie and Treaſon hath crept from *Paches* into other hearts that haue not beene more ſimple, Let vs ſpeake of that which hapned in the time of the Emperour *Lewis* the ſonne of *Arnald*: For, *Abbas Vrſpergenſis* and other Hiſtorians write, That *Hatto* biſhop of Mentz did by the like pollicie ſurpriſe and ruine *Adelbert* Count Palatin of Franconia, who was the laſt of his race. This *Adelbert* was charged to haue ſlaine the Emperours ſonne, and vpon that ſuſpition was ſtraightly beſieged by the Emperour within Aldenbourg, a caſtle ſtrong both by nature and by art, ſtanding vpon a high mountaine neere to Pabeberg: but the Emperour ſeeing that the length of the ſiege did no whit further or promiſe either the taking or the yeelding thereof, he began to wax cold. At which time *Hatto* emploied himſelfe to draw *Adelbert* his coſin by coſining meanes into the Emperours hands, his mortall enemie. He therefore went to *Adelbert*, and made a ſollemne oath vnto him, that as he ſhould carrie him ſafe and ſound out of his caſtle, ſo he would likewiſe bring him back againe, if ſo be that they could not agree by a good treatie. When they were gone a pretie way from the caſtle, *Hatto* making as if he looked vpon the ſunne, began to ſay, That he thought the morning was well ſpent, and that it was a long way to the Emperours campe; and therefore, that it would be beſt for them to returne back againe to the caſtle, and there breake their faſt, and after that they might take their iourney the more at eaſe. *Adelbert*, ſuſpecting no ill, yeelded willingly to the motion, and courteouſly intreated his coſin *Hatto* to goe back againe. So they turne bridle, and after they had broken their faſt they take their way againe. So ſoone as they were arriued to the campe, *Adelbert* was deliuered to the power of the Emperour his enemie, who adiudged him to die: thereupon he calleth for *Hatto*, put him in minde of his ſollemne promiſe, and accuſeth him of treaſon except he ſatisfied his word. *Hatto* anſwered, That he had performed his promiſe, and was acquitted of it, in that he had carried *Adelbert* back againe into his caſtle where they broake their faſt. Well, vpon this perfidious trick *Adelbert* was beheaded by commandement from the Emperour, who ſeaſed vpon Aldenbourg, and vpon all the reſt of this lords Scignorie, in whom all the Noble family of the Counts Palatin of Eaſt Franconia was wholy extinguiſhed. *Albert Crantz* rehearſing this Storie in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie of Saxonie, concludeth thus: When *Hatto* had plaid this wicked part, he withdrew himſelfe from the preſence of *Adelbert*. He is to be called a Traitor, that deceiueth impudently one that relieth vpon his promiſe. And indeed, *Hatto* could neuer blot out this reproach, but he was alwaies after called of the Germans, *Hatto* the Traitor. We read in the Chronologicall collections taken out of *Petreius* his Librarie, that this *Hatto* was carried away by deuils, who threw him headlong and aliue into the burning pit of *Mount-Gibell*, and that a voice was heard in the aire crying, *Sic peccando lues, ſicque luendo rues*: becauſe he had moſt traitrouſly deliuered to death *Adelbert* the Earle of Pabeberg.

Lib. 2. cap. 251.

There is great cauſe therefore why we ſhould commend the integritie of the Romans, who held, That Faith was to be kept euen with enemies: and the publique Faith was in old time had in ſuch reuerence among them, and of ſuch ſanctitie,

ctitie, that they made a goddeſſe of her, and worſhipped her: In ſo much as they had a temple conſecrated to Faith, within which temple, the articles of Peace, of Alliances, and of Truce were confirmed by ſolemne oath, to the end that who ſo ſhould violate and breake them, might ſtand accurſed, and adiudged to the wicked ſpirits and infernall gods. And in particular contracts, there was not any oath more religious and holy, than the oath of Faith: but the authoritie, reputation, conſequence, and dignitie of the publique Faith was had in ſuch eſtimation, that priuat men held not their money no way ſo ſafe, as in the hands of the publique State. Moreouer, the ancient Romans did ſo religiouſly celebrate and ſo highly honour Faith, that they did not onely thinke they had then violated it when they had done any thing againſt the ſame; but alſo they were of opinion, that if they ſuffered others to breake it, they were alſo guiltie of their fault: whereof they made a ſufficient proofe after the battell of Cannes as *Titus Liuius* ſheweth; for *Hannibal* hauing giuen leaue to ſome priſoners to goe to Rome to fetch their ranſome, vpon their promiſe and Faith to returne againe, if they could not treat of an agreement according to the conditions propounded by him: they inuented a ſleight and a treacherie; for being gone a dayes iourney towards Rome, they came backe againe to the campe of the Africans, making as if they had ſomewhat to doe there: and ſo they goe foorth againe the ſecond time, bearing themſelues in hand they were then diſcharged of their promiſe, and thereupon put themſelues within Rome. *Hannibal* ſore diſpleaſed becauſe they condiſcended not to his demaunds, required that the priſoners might be redeliuered to him: whereupon by decree of the Senat they were forced to returne to the enemies campe. Hence it is that wee ſee in many old coines for teſtimonies of Faith kept, two hands ioyned together, with this inſcription, FIDES EXERCITVVM: ſometimes, FIDES LEGIONVM; or elſe FIDES ROMANORVM. Away then with *Lyſander* and his companions, who taking a pride in periurie, ſay, That if the Lions skin be too ſhort, one muſt ſow a Foxes skin to it: or, as the ſame *Lyſander* and *Dionyſius* tyrant of Sicilia was wont to ſay; Children muſt be fetcht ouer with cock-alls, and men with oaths. For this cauſe *Plutarch* ſaith, That it was not the manner of the Lacedemonians to carie themſelues towards the gods, as towards the enemies: but contrariwiſe, the iniurie done to the gods is farre more heinous: For hee that by ſwearing falſely beguileth his enemie, ſheweth that he feareth him, but maketh no reckoning of God. And ſurely, periured perſons plucke from God his wiſdom, not thinking that all things are preſent before him: or elſe argue him of iniuſtice, as if by conniuencie he did beare with the malice and faults of the wicked; whereas we know that hee is a iuſt Iudge, and a reuenger of grieuous offences. The moſt ancient Pagans were not ignorant of this; and therefore the ceremonie of an oath was had among them in ſingular recommendation, as appeareth by the lawes of *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond king of the Romans, wherein he ordeineth, That the Faith giuen, either in reſpect of the publique or of the priuate, ſhould be held and kept: for it is the honeſt bond of humane ſocietie, and the foundation of all right and equitie. The Stoicks ſay, that Faith is deriued of the verbe *facere*, to doe; becauſe all things that are faithfully promiſed, ought to be executed: but perfidie and infidelitie neuer goe vnpuniſhed, but are ouerwhelmed at laſt with ignominie and ſuch other puniſhments.

Lib. 2. Decad. 3.

In the life of Lyſander.

But let vs now come to the other part of our Meditation. Men are ſometimes too eaſie (to giue it no worſe tearme) when as the ſooner to obtaine that which they deſire, or to giue more credit to their words, they ſtick not to curſe,

and cast out strange imprecations against themselues: whereof wee haue a notable example in *Charles* duke of Burbon, who (by report of the lord of Bellay, a graue Historian) requiring of the Milanois a great summe of money to pay his souldiers, and they denying him, because of the former warres and exactions which had drawne them drie; promised them, so as they would helpe him that once, by furnishing the money required, that if after he troubled them with any extortion, he wished and desired of God, that at the first encounter of enemies in battell, or assault of any place, he might be shot with an harquebusse bullet; Or (as *Francis Guicciardin* setteth it downe) hee answered the Milanois thus, That he had brought some prouision of money with him, but not such as was sufficient to content his souldiers, to whom much pay was due: therefore if the citie of Milan would help him with thirtie thousand duckets for a moneths pay, hee would dislodge with his armie out of Milan, and goe to some other place: assuring them, that if before they had beene deceiued vpon the like promises, they should not be so then; because he would neuer goe against his word and his faith, vpon which they might relie with all assurance: and withall, that hee prayed God, if he falsified his promise to them, that his head might bee caried away with the first cannon shot that his enemies should make. The Milanois who thereupon hoped for some exemption (although they were exhausted of meanes, yet set to their last helping hand) gathered the summe demaunded, and furnisht it for the pay of the souldiers. But yet for all that, they were neuer a whit the gentler entreated, the Duke of Burbon, whose faith they implored, giuing them no manner of ease or release. A while after the same Duke marched with the Imperiall armie towards Florence, where not able to doe any thing, he drew straight towards Rome to make himselfe master thereof, where hauing done his endeauour, as he ascended to the breach, he was felled and slaine with an harquebusse shot, either by one of his owne souldiers, or by the enemies. Many thinke (saith the lord of Bellay further) that this befell him by the iust iudgement of God, punishing him for that he had broken his faith giuen to the Milannois. *Arnold Ferron* saith, that vpon his tombe was set this writing: AVCTO IMPERIO, SVPERATA ITALIA, DEVICTO GALLO, PONTIFICE OBSESSO, ROMA CAPTA, CAROLI BORBONII HOC MARMOR CINERES CONTINET: that is to say; *The Empire increased, Italie ouercome, The French vanquished, the Pope besieged, Rome taken, this marble containes the ashes of* Charles *of Burbon*. I know not whether this inscription, which (it may be) was made in haste, and after the souldiers fashion, be yet extant or no: at least wise, *Steuen Pighius*, who reporteth that *Charles* prince of Cleues (to whom he was Schoole-master) was shewed the sepulchre of the said Duke of Burbon; and that likewise of the lord of Lautrec in the citie of Gayetta, saith not, that he had read that which *Ferron* here setteth downe. The taking of Rome by *Burbon* fell vpon the sixth day of May 1527. *Albert Crantz* propoundeth another famous Storie touching imprecations. The Emperor *Frederick* the first, being in Saint *Peters* Cloister in the citie of Erford had occasion to goe to the priuie, some other following him: suddenly the floore that was vnder them began to sinke, and the Emperor had there miscaried, if he had not suddenly taken hold of the yron grates of the window, whereat he hung vntill some came and succoured him. Some gentlemen fell to the bottome, where they perished: among them by name, *Henrie* Earle of Schwartzenbourg, who caried the presage of his death in a common Imprecation, which was this, *If I doe it not, I would I might sinke into a priuie.*

*Lib.*8. of his remembrances.

*Lib.*17. of his historie.

*Lib.*8. of his hist. of France.

In his worke entit. *Hercules Prodicius.*

*Lib.*6. *cap.*45. *Hist. Saxon.*

Touching imprecations ioyned with periurie and false witnesse to the hurt of ones

ones neighbour, they haue a ſpeedie and grieuous puniſhment following them: as we may ſee by the memorable example contained in the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie of *Euſebius*: *Certaine vngratious fellowes* (ſaith he) *not able to endure the graue and holy life of* Narciſſus *Biſhop of Ieruſalem (becauſe they were afraid of his cenſure and diſcipline if they ſhould bee diſcouered) and feeling themſelues guiltie of many hainous crimes; to the end they might preuent him, they deuiſed a plot, and laid a fained, but yet a grieuous offence to his charge. To perſuade the people that their accuſation was true, they confirme the ſame with great imprecations: The firſt ſware, If I lie, I would I might die by fire; The ſecond, If I ſay not truth, I pray God my bodie may be conſumed with ſome cruell ſickneſſe; And the third, If I ſay falſely, would I might fall blind. But for all theſe oathes and imprecations, the godly gaue no credit to their depoſitions, becauſe that both great and ſmall knew very well, that there was no fault to bee found in the life of honeſt and innocent* Narciſſus: *who not able to abide the falſe blames that hee was charged with; and becauſe he had before that profeſſed a ſolitarie life, left the Church, and withdrew himſelfe aſide into the fields, where he liued hidden for many yeares. But the great Eye of diuine Iuſtice ſuffered not theſe leaud fellowes thus to goe away with their villanous wickednes, but they were ſuddenly ouertaken with the curſes which they had wiſhed to themſelues by their lying and periurie: For the firſt was burnt with all his houſhold, by meanes of a ſparkle of fire that in the night took in his houſe; The ſecond was taken with an incurable diſeaſe from the top of the head to the ſole of the foot: When the third ſaw what had happened to his fellowes, the feare he had of the ineuitable vengeance of God, who ſeeth all things to the bottome, made himſelfe confeſſe before all the world that he and his companions had complotted againſt that holy man: and afterwards he ſo afflicted himſelfe for the grieuous fault he had committed, weeping moſt bitterly day and night, that in the end he loſt the ſight of his eyes. And ſuch puniſhment had theſe falſe witneſſes.* *Lib.6.cap.8.*

There is a ſtorie well knowne throughout all Germanie, of an hoſt, who hauing receiued of a ſouldier a budget to keepe for him, wherein was much money, refuſed afterwards to reſtore it, ſwearing, proteſting, and giuing himſelfe oftentimes to the deuill, if euer hee handled or touched it: But in the preſence of a great companie, the deuill caried him away, and he was neuer ſeene after. *Iohn Wierus* ſpeaking of this ſtorie, with another ſuch like, of a certaine woman in the duchie of Meckelbourg. So likewiſe *Panormitanus*, *Iohannes Andreas*, and other Doctors Canoniſts report after Pope *Gregorie* the firſt in one of his Dialogues, how that the deuill caried away a yong child of fiue yeares old, that was wont to ſweare, to blaſpheme, and vſe imprecations. Nor muſt wee forget the ſtorie written by *Ierome Benzo* which is this: *Peter Aluarado* a Spaniſh captaine being hurt in a skirmiſh between the Indians and *Xaliſco*, of which he died ſoone after; his widdow called *Beatrix de la Cueua*, a vaine and proud woman, bare the newes of his death ſo impatiently, that among other deteſtable words which ſhee in her furie caſt out, ſhe did not ſtick to ſay, That God could not haue dealt worſe by her, than to haue taken away her husband. Soone after, behold there fell a great flood of raine, which laſted from the morning of the eight day of September 1541 till the euening, and all that night; the next day ſomewhat late, the Indians ranne to bring word, that they ſhould ſtand vpon their watch, which warning was ſet light by. But about an houre after midnight behold there came ſuch a great deluge of waters, which began to ouerſpread it ſelfe vpon the top of the mountaine, and to roll downe with ſo great a noiſe and violent furie, that it beat downe whole rockes of a marueilous greatneſſe. Theſe rockes tumbling furiouſly downewards, cruſhed all that they met with. While all this was in doing, nothing was heard but fearefull voyces and cryings in the

Lib.4.cap.19.

Vpon the 1. *C. Ext. de delict. puer.*

Lib.2. of the new World. Cap.17.

aire. The firſt houſe that was ouer-borne with this ſtorme, was *Aluarados*, and therein was *Beatrix* his widow then Gouerneſſe of Guatimala, ſwallowed vp, with all her houſhold, ſhut with her in a cloſet, whither ſhe had retired her ſelfe to make her deuotions. All the citie almoſt was at the ſame inſtant drowned. There died about ſix ſcore perſons, women, and men: Thoſe that fled when the noiſe firſt began, eſcaped and were ſafe.

But not to ſeeke for examples ſo far, I will heere inſert that which my brother *Ioachim* the Doctor told me at his returne from a iourney out of the countrey of Heſſe. I ſaw (quoth he) not long ſince in the court of the moſt excellent prince *William* the Lant-graue, a boy dumbe and deafe, ſo wittie, that I could not wonder inough at his dexteritie in executing the commandements that were giuen him: for by a winke of the eie, he conceiued the will of the prince, and of his houſhold. The Lant-graue ſeeing me wondring at the ſight, *You ſee* (ſaith he) *this dumbe boy; his vſe is to declare with a marueilous readineſſe, by the ieſtures of his bodie, and by the motions of his fingers, any new thing he ſeeth done both in the citie and in the court. But beſides all, marke one example in him of Gods iuſtice; This boies mother being accuſed of ſtealing, ſeeing ſhe could not eſcape before men any other way, fell to imprecations: and becauſe ſhe was then great with child, to giue the more waight to her exceſſiue ſpeeches, among other words ſhe ſaid, That if that which ſhe was charged with were true, ſhe praied God that this child when it ſhould come and liue in the world, might neuer ſpeake, but remaine dumbe all the daies of his life. She was taken at her word, as you ſee, bewraying her ſelfe by her imprecations, and adding periurie to theft: and ſo the child hath beene puniſhed for the outragious iniquities of the mother.* I will heere adde another memorable example, which hapned late not far from Noremberg. A certaine gentleman miſerably afflicting his poore tenants, and giuing them ill words with imprecations and curſes, conſtrained them by grieuous taskes of daily labour to build him a caſtle, and as they wrought either vpon that, or any other worke of his, he would neuer call them but his dogs. Now it ſo fell out, that before his worke was ended, he fell grieuouſly ſick: but in ſteed of acknowledging his faults, he held on his wicked courſe, which drew downe the iudgement of God the faſter vpon him, ſo as he became dumbe; and at the time I wrote this Storie, it was certified me, that there was no humane articulate voice could be heard come from him, but a ſound like the barking of a dog. Another example no leſſe ſtrange hapned not long ſince in the court of a German prince nere to Noremberg. A certaine gentleman being charged with ſpeaking ſome outragious words, which he ſtoutly denied; to diſprooue the accuſation begins to ſweare and to make horrible imprecations againſt himſelfe: and among the reſt this one, That if ſuch wrongfull ſpeeches did euer fall from his mouth, he praied God to reuenge it preſently vpon his bodie; and that if God deferred it, the deuill would doe it. He had no ſooner made an end of theſe and the like imprecations, but he fell downe all along vpon his face to the ground, taken with ſuch a ſtrong and violent Epilepſie or Falling ſickneſſe (which he neuer was toucht with before) that they were faine to carrie the wretch away howling out with a terrible voice, to the great amaſement of many Courtiers that ſtood about him, and ſo ſhut him vp in a chamber, where he lay ſtill grieuouſly ſick when I made this preſent Meditation, iuſtly puniſhed for his raſh impietie.

Touching Imprecations of parents againſt their children: many examples we read of the wrath of God ſhewed both of old, and in our time. For the Lord hath not commanded in vaine, that children ſhould honour their parents, adding a faire promiſe to the obedient, and his heauie curſe to the oſtinate and diſobedient.

disobedient. One may see yet at this day within Friberg a citie of Misnia in Saxony, the marks of the place where within the ground there stood a wild vntameable yong-man for many yeares but lately past, and could neuer be drawne out aliue, till at the last he died of the plague. His father being much prouoked to anger against him, made an imprecation that this vngracious child might neuer stir out of that place where he stood. *Rodericus Sancus* produceth another example of an older date, touching *Alphonsus Henriques*, sonne to *Henrie* Earle of Lorraine, who shut vp in close and straight prison his mother *Theresia* daughter to *Alphonsus* the sixth king of Spaine, because she had married her selfe to her father in law. She made an imprecation against her sonne in these tearmes: *Because thou hast chained me by the legs, and hast taken that honour from me which thy father left me, I pray God that thine enemies may put thee in prison, and that thou maist see thine owne legs broken, as thou hast tied mine with iron chaines.* Which happned to him within a while after: For when *Alphonsus* had begun war against *Ferdinand* king of Leon, as he would haue gon out at the gate of a citie called Pacon, to run to the skirmish which was verie hot, his leg was hung in the bar of the gate, and there broaken, and he offring to goe on further, was defeated and taken prisoner. *Easius* writeth, That in the time of the great dearth which was in Austrich in the yeare 1348, a girle praying her mother somewhat importunately to giue her some bread, the mother carried away with anger and griefe, made an imprecation, saying, *I would thou mightest not eat these ten yeares.* After which time the maide was ten whole yeares without eating any thing, but susteined and refreshed her selfe with a little water which she dranke, and that verie seldome. *Iohn Wierus* setteth downe a memorable Storie that hapned in Gelderland about the yeare 1575; A certaine captaine bearing armes for the king of Spaine, was married to an honest gentlewoman, whom he vsed vnworthily; and hearing that she was with child begins to cast out imprecations against her, and to say vnto her, I will stab that yong deuill that thou hast in thy belly. Within a while after, she was deliuered of a sonne, who from the wast downeward was of a good shape, but the vpper part was all couered ouer with red and black spots, the eies in the forehead, the mouth round, black, and ougly; the eares long like a hounds, two little crooked hornes on the crowne of his head, which would be as red as blood so soone as one toucht them.

In the Hist. of Spaine, *part.* 1. *cap.* 14.

In the Genealogie of Austrich, *lib.* 2.

Lib. 4. *cap.* 18.

For good cause therefore doth *Plato* thinke, that there is not any thing so much to be feared as the curses of the father against the child. But to them that be good, the contrarie doth happen, as we see in *Isaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioseph*, in *Tobias* and his sonne. Which I will enrich with a memorable narration contained in the Historie of Sicilia written by *Thomas Fazel*. The citie of Catana is famous (saith he) for the pietie and buriall of two brothers, whom the citisens call *Anapias* and *Amphinomus*; they of Syracusæ (who striue about the natiue place of these two yong men) call them *Emanthias* and *Griton*. It chanced that Ætna (now Mount-Gibel) did once burne with such furie, that setting many houses a fire, it fired (among the rest) the house wherein these two yong mens parents were, so feeble and worne with age, that they were not able possibly to stir out of the place. Whereupon these yong men ran home, and tooke vp vpon their shoulders, one the father, the other the mother, and carried them with speed out of the house thorow the middest of the fire, where, because the burden was heauie, and they could not goe but softly, the neighbours held them for lost among such and so many flames burning of euerie side. But they going on with their charitable charge, maugre the imminent danger, it hapned (verie miracu-

Lib. 7. *de Legibus.*

Lib. 3. *cap.* 1. of the first Decad.

miraculously) that being readie to passe thorow the middest of a great burning that had gotten much way, the flames suddenly parted asunder and without anoying either these honourable porters, or their venerable burdens, let them passe along, and then presently shut togither and reunited themselues as before. The yong men being had in recommendation for this miracle, were honoured after their death with a tombe built most sumptuously and king-like, by the citisens of Catana, to preserue for euer the remembrance of this deed. And to that end, they called this tombe, *The field of the charitable*, and dedicated vnto them a yearely holyday in remembrance of their pietie. *Pausanias* reporteth, that in his time the same was celebrated in great pompe. Which may serue to teach vs, that the true God hath shewed to the poore Pagans by a singular miracle, that children ought with the danger of their liues to haue care of them by whose meanes they came into the world, and to releeue them by all meanes, to the end they may not draw their curse vpon them. Now, as these two Sicilian brothers are worthie of perpetuall memorie, becaus of their singular loue towards their parents, yea, and deserue that all men should blesse them for euer: so, of the other side, we may see at Verona a tombe-stone represented by *P. Appian* in his Antiquities, full of horrible imprecations, to the perpetuall infamie of certaine vngracious children. The Contents whereof is this.

Lib. 9.

D. M.

MITRIVS PIVS DIVES IAM HABES DECREPITVS ET MENDICANS LVCE CARENS A TRIBVS LIBERIS ET DVABVS LIBERTABVS EXPVLSVS SITI PERII. SACRVM MIHIMET CONSTITVI. HIC HVMATVS SVM CINERES ET OSSA. HOS NATOS RENVO. IN HOC VT REQVIESCANT NOLO. SOBOLEM NEGO. PRIVO POSTEROS. OMNES ME LEGITOTE ET SINITE. VIXI ANNOS. CXXV. MENS. III. DIES II.

That is to say,

I Mitrius *the meeke and the rich, now dull, decrepite, begging, blind, expulsed by three children and two free-women, am dead with thirst. I haue my selfe made my sepulchre. Here lie my ashes and bones. These children I renounce, I will not that they should rest in this sepulchre. I denie that they are issued from me. I disinherit them. All you that passe by, reade this, and leaue me. I haue liued six score and fiue yeares, three moneths and two daies.*

To end our Meditation, They do wisely that wish well to others and to themselues: they (contrariwise) very ill, that being transported with malice and furie, take pleasure in Imprecations. For this cause, the wisdome of *C. Fundanius*, and *T. Sempronius*, Ediles, is commended; who condemned in a great fine the daughter of blind *Appius*, because she had made certaine rash, vnciuill, and wicked wishes, as *Gellius* reporteth after *Atteius Capito*: for she going out of the Theatre, where she had beheld the playes, and being much pressed with the throng of the people, which droue her one while of one side and another while of another, complaining that she was vnworthily vsed, and that shee had taken hurt, began to say; *What would they haue done to me, and how much worse should I haue beene handled and trod on, if* P. Claudius *my brother had cast away the Fleet with that great number of Roman citisens that were in it? Surely, all the world would now haue fallen vpon me, and ouerwhelmed me. I would my brother had liued yet, and were to haue had*

Lib. 10.

the

the charge of carrying another armie into Sicilie, and cast away this rascall companie that hath handled me thus ill. *Plutarch* commendeth (and not without cause) a religious woman, that could neuer be brought to curse *Alcibiades*; saying; *That shee was commanded to blesse, and not to curse.* The like did king *Lewis* the twelfth alleage, when newes was brought that the Pope had excommunicated him: But yet (quoth he) the Pope was appointed to pray to God for vs, and to wish vs good, and not ill. It were to be wished, that this deed of the deuout woman in *Alcibiades* time might bee pondered and thought on by ambitious and desperat spirits, that now adayes swarme vpon the face of the earth, who neuer leauing to vomit out curses and imprecations against themselues, and furiously to wrong other men, are wont to gaine the fauour of the great, and insinuat into the grace of the people, by blowing and crying as lowd as euer they can, without knowing or vnderstanding what they speake, being transported with an ostentation meerely vaine and intollerable. If they were vncased of these armes of straw wherewith they braue it out so much euery day, and whereon their credit and reputation depends, a man could neuer see fellowes more miserable; for they would haue nothing wherewith to maintaine or set foorth that sufficiencie and grauitie which in fond wise they maske themselues withall. They are fellows (to vse *Quintilians* words, when he taxed *Cassius Seuerus*) which, contemning the order of things, treading modestie vnder foot, building vpon an impudent kind of counterfeit speech, are neither able to weild the armes that they boast of, nor knowing how to assaile nor defend, instead of fighting, charge their enemies with outrages and slaunders. The Popes likewise that are now adayes, should doe well to take foorth this lesson taught by that worthie king *Lewis* the twelfth, and not giue themselues so much to cursing of princes as they doe: *For* (as *Papyrius Masson* saith) *in times past, their excommunications being seldome vsed, galled the consciences of those that feared such prickes of the spur: but when they made their Bulles common, like litter (as they say) men little regarded them.* And not without cause: for we admire that which is seldome seene, and despise triuiall and ordinarie things. Therefore we may say with *Lactantius*, *That the error of those men is incredible and vnspeakable, who hauing embraced some opinion, and growne obstinate therein, condemne all other opinions as false and vaine: and thereupon arme themselues to fight, without either vnderstanding that which they must maintaine, or knowing that which they can confute; but runne themselues tooth and naile against all that which others shall bring that are not of the same opinion.*

In the life of *Alcibiades.*

Lib. 7. cap. 7.

CHAP. VII.

Strange kinds of punishments.

Plutarch in the life of king *Artaxerxes* speaketh of a kind of punishment most horrible and cruell, by which one of his domesticks named *Mithridates*, was put to death. *They take* (saith hee) *two troughs made of purpose, so euen, that the one is neither longer nor broader than the other, and he that is to bee punished, is laid vpon his backe into one of them, and then couered with the other: after, they are both fastned together, yet so, as the feet, hands, and head lie without them, by holes made for that purpose, all the rest of the bodie being couered and hid within. Hee hath meat giuen him as much as he will eat, and if he will not eat, they constraine him to eate by force, pricking his eyes with needles: and when hee hath eaten, they giue him to drinke honie mingled with milke,*

milke, and they powre thereof not onely into his mouth, but also vpon his face, turning him so that the Sunne striketh euermore into his eyes, in so much as his face is continually couered with flies: and for that he doth within these troughs all the needs that a man eating and drinking is forced to doe, with the filth and rottennesse of his excrements there engender wormes, which eat into his bodie; And when they see that the patient is dead, they take off the vpper trough, and find his flesh all eaten by this vermin, euen to his verie entrails. Mithridates *then, after he had languished in this miserie the space of seauenteene dayes, died at last with horrible and grieuous paine.* Thus saith *Plutarch.* Reading oftentimes this vnusuall and barbarous kind of punishment, I haue wondered with my selfe, what mooued *Artaxerxes*, a prince otherwise very mild, to suffer that *Mithridates* his faithfull seruant (though I am not ignorant, as *Papyrius Masson* hath obserued, that the hatred of kings is most vehemently discouered towards them to whom they haue shewed most feruent affection, and that they keepe no measure at all in their passions) should be by his commaundement, or at the solicitation of his mother *Paryſatis*, made away with such a lingring and cruell death, without any reason, saue that, hauing drunke too much (by the policie of a craftie Courtier) he was prouoked to speak freely, and to boast of his valor absurdly: as it often hapneth, that they who haue caried themselues faithfully & couragiously in some businesse, thinke they haue the more libertie to discourse thereof: for whosoeuer seeketh out punishments that are intollerable, cruell, and without measure, and is not content with those that are lawfull, but giueth place to a bruitish furie, and prouoketh himselfe thereunto like women; hee seeth not (saith *Stobæus* after *Themistæus*) that he opposeth himselfe outragiously against all right and reason, to the end he may oppresse such as are like himselfe: for he is ignorant of the principall, and that which hee should know, being to iudge the guiltie, to wit, that the death which was ordeined by the first Law-makers against offenders, was not inflicted vpon them as an euill, but for the last refuge, and in stead of a remedie for those that cannot otherwise be deliuered and vnfettered from their malice; to the end, that (at least) by such a meane (seeing it cannot be done any other way) they may be set free from the bond of iniquitie, and may not be any longer the seruants thereof.

Lib. 2. of the hist. of France.

Serm. 44. De Magistratu.

But I left wondering at *Artaxerxes* when I considered I had read in Histories, that diuers aspiring men, suspecting that they of their owne side had them in contempt, haue often-times vsed strange cruelties, for the desire they had to secure themselues in their Emperie. This is confirmed by the Apophthegme of the Emperour *Mauritius*, who, hauing dreamed that one had deliuered him to a soldier named *Phocas* to be slaine, and therupon asking his brother in law *Philippicus*, Who this *Phocas* was? as the other answered, That he was a captaine of a hundred men, a coward, but ambitious: He is then a murtherer, replied *Mauritius*. Which sheweth, that this kind of people arme themselues with violence and craft, peecing the foxes skin with the lions hide, if it fall out to be too short: So the holy Scriptures (saith Saint *Augustin*) calleth deceiuers, Foxes: and those that are afraid at anothers valour, fearefull. *Thucydides* the Historian obserueth the same, saying, That Deceit is villanous in all men; but more shamefull in the great than open violence. Now there are some Tyrants of this rancke so cruell, that a hastie death vpon those whom they would destroy, was reckoned of them for a benefit. *Suetonius* is a good witnesse hereof, who saith these words of the Emperor *Tiberius: Hauing imprisoned some, he not only tooke from them the solace of studie, but also all meanes of talking and conferring. Called to defend themselues, and to plead their cause, some killed themselues in their houses, knowing they should bee condemned,*

In Psalm. 88. Lib. 4.

In his life.

and

and deſiring to ſaue themſelues from torture and ignomie: Others before the Iudges drunke poyſon, and falling downe halfe dead, were caried away in that plight to priſon. A little after hee addeth; *They that were willing to die, were conſtrained to liue.* And *Tiberius* eſteemed death ſo light a puniſhment, that hearing how a priſoner called *Caruilius* had preuented it, he cried out, *Caruilius hath eſcaped my hands.* Taking a view one day of the priſoners, as one of them ſaid, *I beſeech your Maieſtie I may die:* he anſwered him, *Thou art not yet in my fauour.* His ſucceſſour *Caligula* (witneſſe the ſame Hiſtorian) would neuer endure that any ſhould be done to death, but lingringly, and (as it were) with little ſtrokes, and by diuers fits, hauing alwayes this commaundement to the executioners of his cruelties at his tongues end; *Strike ſo, as hee may feele death.* The ſame Emperour cauſed a certaine Officer or Ouerſeer of the Fencers and Hunts-men to bee whipt for certaine dayes together with yron chaines, himſelfe being preſent, and would not ſuffer his deaths-blow to bee giuen him, till the ſtench of his braine all rotten forced him to it. *Paulus Iouius* witneſſeth, That the tyrant *Achiolin* held the ſame courſe, whoſe crueltie was ſo ſtrange and extraordinarie, that if the Hang-man had haſtened the execution of an offender, hee was himſelfe executed: for he willed that the life of a patient ſhould be lengthened in the torments by ſmall ſpaces of time, and that euery minute he ſhould feele ſome new paine. *Lib.1. of famous men.*

But to returne to our purpoſe. *Plutarch* wiſely noteth, That *Artaxerxes* thinking hee was deſpiſed of his ſubiects, had the principall men in ſuſpicion, and tranſported with choller, put many of them to death whom he feared. And I pray you, What aſſurance can there bee in the life of Tyrants? what loue? what good will to make account of? All things are there ſuſpected and full of care: Friendſhip is quite baniſht from thence. Who can loue him whom hee feares, or of whom he thinkes he is feared? For as the ſame *Plutarch* ſaith, *The feare which Tyrants procure themſelues, is the principall cauſe of the murders they commit: Contrariwiſe, their aſſurance maketh them peaceable, gentle, and void of ſuſpition.* Weſee that the beaſts which cannot be tamed, are very fearefull, and ſtartle at euery little noiſe: but the generous endure to haue themſelues handled, becauſe their confidence maketh them the willinger to truſt others. Whereunto the Poet *Claudian* aymed in theſe verſes: *Panegyr. 4. Conſill. Honorij.*

Who makes others to feare, himſelfe tormenteth moſt:
This ill doth Tyrants haunt, that they enuie the great;
The hardie they deſtroy; and yet they ſigh and fret
Amidſt their ſtrongeſt Guard, and in their greateſt Hoſt,
Their Caſtles fortified, their poyſons ſtrong and rare,
And all becauſe their ſoules with feare tranſpierced are.

For which cauſe *Xenophon* bringeth in one deſcribing (among other miſeries that the Tyrants endure) theſe alſo: *I feare companie, and I feare ſolitarineſſe. I feare any that come without guards, and I feare the guards themſelues, whom I would not ſee without weapons by my ſide, and I miſtruſt them if they bee armed.* Therefore *Cicero* ſaith wiſely, *That there is no fitter thing to maintaine and keepe riches, than to be loued: nor any thing worſe for the keeping of them, than to bee hated.* The Poet *Ennius* writeth well, that In his Dialog. entit. *Hiero.* In his bookes of Offices.

Whom men doe hate they feare; and whom they feare,
They wiſh that ſoone hee cleane extinguiſht were.

Auant therefore feare and violence, the bands of ſtraw, not of diamond (as a Tyrant

Lib. 1. of Clemencie.

Tyrant of Sicilia pretended) to keepe a kingdome sure. For, as *Seneca* saith to *Nero*, *The good will of the subiects to their prince, is a fortresse impregnible. What can be better than to liue with the generall wish of all? Who will enterprise vpon his life, vnder whom Iustice, Peace, Assurance and Dignitie florish; vnder whom the State groweth rich and aboundeth with all manner of good things?* *Plinie* the yonger had the same consideration, saying; *The house of a prince is safe, when it is guarded and kept with loue and good will, not with crueltie and care. For experience teacheth vs, That a princes innocencie is his surest guard, his vnapprochable fortresse, his vnassaultable bulwarke, and that he hath no need of any other fortresse. He that shall not be enuironed with loue of his subiects, getteth nought by making himselfe feared of them: because armes waken men, and make them run to armes.*

In his Panegyr. to Traian.

A certaine vertuous and sage Prince of Germanie, in the time of our fathers, wisely obserued this document: For when as at an Imperiall Diet the other princes gloried in the rich meanes, as in their great treasures and goodly reuenues, his answer was, That he had a small countrey, but abounding with all sorts of commodities; that his best richesse was the loue of his subiects, which he found so great, that if he went a hunting, and wandred out of his way, and were alone in vnknowne places, he feared no ambushes, but without any care could sleepe safely and quietly in any of his subiects houses. Therefore the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, a prudent and a good Prince, said wisely to his sonne *Commodus* and to his friends, in the speech he made to them a little before his death, registred by *Herodian*; *Heapes of siluer* (saith he) *doe not satisfie the sensuall lusts of tyrannie: bands of guards cannot defend the Prince, if they whom he gouernes loue him not, and be not affectionate to him: For euermore they raigne long and peaceably that imprint in the hearts of their subiects a respectfull loue towards them by their gentle carriage, whereas they prouoke them by their cruell deportments.* *Plutarch* seemeth to regard this, when he bringeth in *Aratus* saying to *Philip* king of Macedonia: *There are in Candie great store of forts; and many castles placed vpon mounts raised high about the leauell of the earth within the countries of the Bœotians and the Phocians; There be also many places of wonderfull strength in the territories of the Acarnanians, as well within the land, as along the sea-shoare; of all which thou hast not taken so much as one by force, and yet all of them doe willingly embrace thy commandements: It stands robbers in hand to trust in rockes, and to seise vpon high steep-places; but a king cannot haue a stronger fort, nor better fortified, than the loue and faith, and good will of men: That, and nothing else, hath opened to thee the sea of Candie; that onely hath let thee within Peloponnesus; these are the meanes that haue made thee in so yong yeares to be chosen captaine ouer some, and made absolute lord ouer others.*

Lib. 1.

In the life of Aratus.

To returne againe to the punishment of the Persians: In the time of *Iulian* surnamed the Apostata, *Marcus* bishop of Arethusa was handled almost after the same sort: For after he had beene first imprisoned in certaine caues vnder ground, he was afterwards deliuered to the youths of the citie that they might punch him with bodkins: finally being annointed with brine and honnie, and shut in a cage, he was hang'd vp in the sunne that the flies and the waspes might eat him aliue: which torment (saith *Suidas*) he endured with an inuincible courage. We read, That in the time of our fathers the like almost was done. For the duke of Limbourg deceasing without issue, the duke of Brabant and the earle of Gelders stroaue about the succession, each of them pretending right to the dukedome. When they could not agree, they fell to armes: at last the duke of Brabant woon the victorie in a battell, and tooke among other prisoners the bishop of Collen, who followed the partie of the Earle of Gelders. This bishop

In his Recuell of Hist.

biſhop after he had beene priſoner to the Earle of Haynalt the ſpace of ſeauen yeares, was ſet at libertie vpon certaine conditions which he accepted: and being readie to returne home he praied the Earle that he would honour him ſo much as to conuoy him in his countrey. The Earle willingly condeſcended, and hauing brought him almoſt to Collen, not miſtruſting any thing, he ſaw himſelfe vpon a ſudden incloſed with a troupe of horſemen which tooke him and deliuered him to the biſhop, who lockt him vp in a priſon where he ended his daies. And the more to vex and torment him, the biſhop cauſed an iron cage to be made and anointed all ouer with honney, which was laid out into the ſunne the Earle lockt within it. The Turkes at this preſent vſe almoſt ſuch a kind of puniſhment. For they cruelly put to death both the innocent and guiltie for light faults, ſpitting them vpon ſtakes, and ſo letting them ſtand in the ſunne to the mercie of the flies for the greater increaſe and continuance of their torment. Many thouſands of Chriſtian Greekes not long ſince were butchered with ſuch horrible puniſhments, for hauing made a little bold inſurrection for the recouerie of their libertie after a moſt hard ſeruitude, what time the Chriſtians defeated the Turkes armie at Lepantho. And ſince that againe, two Chriſtians being accuſed at Conſtantinople before the Cadi (which is the Iudge or Prouoſt of the citie) for hauing mocked the impietie of the Mahumetans, and extolled the Chriſtian Religion, were both executed with moſt cruell puniſhments. For the one called *Nicholas* the Greeke, was ſtript ſtarke naked and laide vpon long nailes or ſpits of iron, where being pierced thorow in many places of his bodie, he languiſhed miſerably a long time. The other called *Lucas*, borne at Mitylene was flaied aliue, and died in moſt grieuous torment. So they dying in defence of the Chriſtian Religion, acquired the immortall crowne of Martyrdom. We may heere adde that which *Gonzala Ouiedo* writeth, That the offence which was moſt condemned, and moſt ſeuerely puniſhed of the Indians which inhabited the Iſland Hiſpaniola, was theft: ſo that whoſoeuer was taken with it, was ſet aliue vpon a ſtake, and there ſuffred to languiſh till his end. In the time of *Iuſtinian*, certaine people called Slauins, which oroſſed the riuer Tanais to inuade the territories of the Roman Empire practiſed the ſame kind of puniſhment vpon their enemies, ſaith *Procopius*. Now then, let vs goe and complaine of Nature (as ſaith *Valerius Maximus*) for that ſhe would haue vs ſubiect to many ſharpe diſeaſes and diſcommodities, and let vs grudgingly beare the frailtie of our condition deſtitute of ſtrength and continuance. We complaine without cauſe; for as much as mankind, the diſciple of crueltie, hath deuiſed ſo many puniſhments to ſpoile and ruin it ſelfe.

P. Iuſtinian lib. 15. of the Hiſt. of Venice.

Lib. 5. cap. 3. of the Hiſtorie of the Indians.

Procop. lib. 1. of the War of the Goths.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the inordinate deſire to Raigne.

AFter the death of *Selim*, the ſonne of *Solyman*, Souldan of the Turkes, in the yeare 1582, there were to be ſold in Germanie certaine pictures cut in braſſe, wherein were to be ſeene the coffins of *Selim* and of his ſonnes apart the one from the other, adorned with diadems and coſtly curtaines. At the commandement of *Amurath* the third (who afterwards ruled the Turkes a long time as eldeſt ſonne to *Selim*) the other ſonnes his brethren were put to death, and afterwards buried after the royall manner with their father, and laide in the ſame ſepulchre, to aſſwage by that meanes the hainouſneſſe of the murther.

For

For *Amurath* who ſucceeded his father, following the horrible and deteſtable cuſtome of thoſe Barbarians cauſed fiue of his yonger brethren to be ſtrangled in his preſence. And it is giuen out for certaintie, that when he ſaw the bow-ſtring put about the neck of the yongeſt to ſtrangle him, whither his loue to the yong boy mooued him, or his conſcience prickt him becauſe of ſo many parricidiall murthers, he wept moſt bitterly. In like manner, and in the ſame yeare, *Iſmael* ſecond ſonne to *Techmas* king of the Perſians or of the Parthians, put to death ſo many of his brethren as he could get, and all the princes or great lords that he had in ſuſpition: but about ſix moneths after, his owne ſiſter killed him with poiſon. Such murthers though they be had in deteſtation, and that worthily, yet I doe not thinke they are new or ſtrange with thoſe, who blinded with ambition account not any thing diſhoneſt or vnlawfull, ſo as by putting the ſame in execution they may bring themſelues to aduancement. Theſe are men diſrobed of all vertue and honeſtie ſaith *Gaguin*. Great men that deſire to ſtretch themſelues out, that ſo they may be made greater, ſpare neither kinsfolks nor friends. The proofe hereof is ſeene in *Antoninus Caracalla*, who hauing ſlaine his brother *Geta* in his mothers lap and betweene her armes, when one gaue him counſell that he ſhould make his brother a god, and thereby mitigate the outragiouſneſſe of that ſo execrable murther, anſwered, *Let him be among the gods, ſo he be not among men.* So great an enemie is the deſire of ruling to pietie and right! Whereunto we may apply that which *Lucan* the Poet ſaid long agoe:

There neuer yet was Faith among the partners in a Crowne,
Nor can the greatneſſe of this world brooke any but her owne.

So we ſee many brute beaſts that (like cruell and tyrannous men) liue by prey, and are ſo fell and fierce through their rauenous nature, as they cannot abide that their yong ſhould euer goe with them a hunting, nor haue their part of the prey. Agreeable whereunto *Plinie* writeth, That the birds whoſe clawes are crooked, goe not foorth by flocks, but prey euerie one for himſelfe. In a word, it is not for nought that Hiſtorians repeat this barbarous ſaying ſo oft, *That no Kingdome is maintained without parricidiall or domeſticall murther.* *Amurath* followed the example of his great grandfather *Solim* ſonne to *Baiazet*, who tranſported with a furious deſire of raigning, had not the patience to ſtay till the death of his father, but made him be poiſoned by a Iew-phyſition: and after (to leaue not one ſtanding that might quarrell with him for the crowne) deſtroied his brethren, their children, and kinsfolke. Moreouer, being in war againſt the Mammelucks, he was afraid leaſt (in his abſence) his onely ſonne *Solyman* would haue iuſtled him out of his place, as himſelfe had done his father *Baiazet*: wherefore he attempted to kill him, as ſome ſay, and to that end preſented him with a robe died and ſteeped in the iuice of moſt poiſonfull hearbs. *Solyman* had the like miſtruſt of his ſonnes: for in the yeare 1552, his eldeſt ſonne *Muſtapha* returning victorious from the Perſian war without any companie (for that his father would not ſuffer it, hauing giuen him his Faith) was receiued of all the armie with ſuch ioy and generall applauſe, that *Solyman* not able to beare with the honour that was done to his ſonne, commanded that he ſhould be preſently ſtrangled in a withdrawing chamber, and after made the dead bodie be laid out in the ſight of the Ianiſſaries, and this to be proclamed thorowout all the campe, *That there muſt be but one God in heauen, and one Emperour* (Solyman) *vpon earth:* with which proclamation the armie being terrified, was quiet and made no ſtirring at all. Two daies after, the yongeſt ſonne of *Solyman* was poiſoned, becauſe vpon the newes of his brothers death, he had giuen a ſigh. The third fearing

Ioan. Leonclauius in his ſupply of the Annals of Turkie.

Lib. 1. of the Hiſt. of France *cap.* 3.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 19.

fearing his father fled to the king of Persia, from whence he was presently sent for by ambassages, and at his returne beheaded, onely *Selym* remained, whom his father threatned with death, if he left any competitor aliue. This is the perpetuall custome in the race of the *Othomans*, and among the Turkish Souldans, namely, that all their children pretend Succession, but onely one remaines aliue. After the death of *Saladin* the Souldan of Ægypt, all his sonnes to the number of nine (except *Noradin* preserued by the valor of his friends) were put to death by *Saphadin* his vncle, who would haue made himselfe Souldan. This *Saladin*, the conquerour of the East, and the terrour of the Christians, died in the yeare 1352, saith *Iaques Meyer*. It is therefore well said by the Lord of Busbecke Embassador for the Emperour into Turkie, *That no creatures in the world are more miserable than the sonnes of the Turkish Souldan: because if one succeed him, all the rest must needs die.* For the Turkes cannot suffer any competitor in the Empire, and especially the Ianizaries. And if it happen that one of the brethren remaine aliue while the other raignes, the Ianizaries neuer lin importuning him that is raigning, to haue their pay increased: And if hee denie them, suddenly they flocke together and crie, *Let thy brother line, God saue him, and keepe him for vs*; which is all one, as if they did alreddie appoint him Emperor: so that the Turkish Souldans cannot liue in peace, so long as they haue any brother.

Lib.7. of the Annals of France. In his Iournall of Constantinople.

Such murders were practised long before this in the Courts of the kings of Asia. *There is not any thing so sacred which the great men of this world will not violate, if some aduantage may grow vnto them thereby*, saith *Papyrius Masson*. Of infinite examples hereof, let vs produce some few. *Plutarch* writeth, that king *Deiotarus* had a great many sonnes, and desiring to leaue his kingdome and all his estate to one of them, with his owne hands he slew all the rest; doing therein like the Vinedressers, who when they see a stocke cast foorth too many branches, cut them all away, and leaue but one, to the end it may be so much the stronger and bigger. *Iustin*, speaking of *Horodes* king of the Parthians (who had caused his brother *Mithridates* to be kild in his presence) when his sonne *Pacorus* was slaine in a set battell, and all his armie hewen in peeces by the Romans (ouer whom *Ventidius* commanded) and that the newes of this bloodie ouerthrow was brought into Persia; *Horodes* (who but a little before had receiued intelligence that his sonne had forraged Syria, conquered Asia, beaten the Romans and put them to flight) fell into such an extreame melancholy when he vnderstood of his sonnes death, and the losse of his armie, that he became frantike: many dayes together hee would not see any bodie, nor take any sustenance, nor speake one word; so that hee seemed as one fallen dumbe. After many dayes, when griefe had (as it were) broken open the floud-gate that stopped the torrent of his speech, he begins to call *Pacorus*, without saying, seeing, or hearing (as he thought) any other but *Pacorus*, to whom he would speake as being present, and would offer to sit neere, and after all would weepe most bitterly, complaining that hee was gone away. After a long time of sorrow, another care tooke hold of the poore old man; for of thirtie sonnes that he had, he knew not which to chuse for his successor in the kingdome. Many concubines that had brought him all these children (each of them desirous to preferre her owne) neuer left importuning *Horodes*. But the destinie of the kingdome was such, (the kings whereof, made it as it were a solemne custome to be parricides) that *Phrahartes* the wickedest of them all should be appointed and established king: who for his first exploit kild his father, as if he would not haue died of a naturall death, and after massacred all his other brethren. And yet being not content with so many murders, and also

Lib.2. of the Annals of France.

Lib.42.

knowing that the great Lords and principall Officers of the kingdome hated him, becauſe of his continuall villanies, he cauſed a ſonne of his growne to mans ſtate to be put to death, fearing leaſt they would haue made him king. Of this barbarous and cruell tyrant we may ſay that which *Polybius* reporteth was left in writing touching *Ariſtomacus*, That hee was a tyrant begotten of tyrants: and can a man ſay worſe? for this name conteineth in it the ſeeds of all crueltie, together with all the vices that may be imagined. The very people of Iſrael were peſtered with this diſeaſe: witneſſe *Abimelech*, baſtard ſonne to *Gedeon*, who ſlew his ſeuentie brethren in one day, and plaid many other tragicall parts regiſtred in the Hiſtorie of the Iudges, that hee might make himſelfe king. But the end was moſt wreched for him, for he ſlew himſelfe like a deſperate wretch as hee was. The furious and tyrannicall ambition of *Abſolom* (whoſe hands were alreadie imbrued in his brother *Ammons* blood) ſet him in the way of playing the parricide, by driuing out his good father *Dauid*, to raigne in his place, after he had lien with his concubines, and polluted himſelfe with execrable inceſts. His brother *Adonijah* caried away with the like deſire of raigne, backt by *Ioab* the Generall, and *Abiathar* the High Prieſt, attempted to take from his brother *Salomon* both his crowne and his life. But we will returne to prophane ſtories. *Artaxerxes* a moſt mightie king of the Perſians, did wiſely auoid the ſnares which his owne ſonne *Darius* had laid for him, to make himſelfe king, hauing not the patience to wait for his fathers deceaſe, who had aſſigned him his ſucceſſor, as *Plutarch* recordeth. Beſides, this king was in his old age conſtrained to ſee his other ſonnes lay traps one for another, and put one another to death, for the deſire they had to raigne. The kings of Æthiopia, or of the Abyſſins (the mightieſt princes of all Africa) called *Negus*, and of which one in our time named himſelfe *Iochan Belul*, that is to ſay, a moſt precious ſtone (ſaith *Franciſcus Aluares*) were of a milder ſpirit: Their manner is, that the lawfull ſucceſſour while hee liues and reignes, ſends his ſonnes, his brethren, and couſins a great way off to the higheſt mountaine of all Æthiopia, there to remaine vnder good and honourable guard, where they liue in all ſafetie, and are entertained and ſerued according to their greatneſſe, but without being able to goe from thence, for that the mountaine otherwiſe very ſpacious at the top, is girt about of euery ſide with ſteepe downe-fals, which it is impoſſible either to climbe or deſcend, ſaue by one little way, and that ſo narrow, as one man can ſcarce goe in it directly forwards, being ſtraitly guarded both aboue and below, to the end that no man may aſcend towards the top, or come downe from thence, without being knowne who hee is, and what buſineſſe hee hath: and this they doe to preuent the ambitions, ciuile wars, murders, and other miſchiefes which couetouſneſſe of raigning doth moſt commonly hatch and diſcloſe. *Aluares* calleth this mountaine Anga, and *Ierome Oſorius* writeth that there be a great many mountaines in Æthiopia which are inacceſſable, ſaue by one ſtrait, where can paſſe but one man at a time, as it were through a wicket: that vpon the top of them are plaines wonderfull ſpacious, wherein are fountaines and ſprings of running water, paſtures, trees bearing moſt daintie fruits, cleere running riuers, beaſts both great and ſmall in many herds, and ſo many hiues of honie, as the quantitie that they yeeld is incredible. It is not lawfull for any of theſe princes to goe out of this mountaine, vntill ſuch time as after the kings death, the Lords and Peeres of the realme call and cauſe to come downe and bee brought to them ſome one of the dead kings ſonnes whom they iudge fitteſt to raigne; and if there bee neuer a ſonne, they chuſe ſome other of the princes of the blood among thoſe

Lib.2.

Iudic.cap.9.

2.Sam.cap.15, 16,&c.

1.Reg.cap.1.2.

Plutarch in his life.

Lib.9. of the hiſtorie of Portugall.

thoſe that are in the mountaine, the reſt neuer ſtirring from thence, to the end that the new king may rule without any competitor, and that enmities and partialities may at no hand diſquiet his eſtate. For experience hath ſhewed that moſt of the people of the Eaſt could neuer ſuffer many maſters and lords at one time, much leſſe a popular gouernment; but they haue euer loued a monarchie, and the commaunding of one alone. Hereof we haue an example in the Iſraelites themſelues, who reiecting the yoke of the Lord, deſired and demanded of *Samuel* their Gouernor, a king, that might conduct them after the manner of other people. *Nicocles* ſaid very well and to good purpoſe, that it was not ynough ſimply to conſider the nature of tyrants, nor why they are either mild or ſeuere: but the manners of the people and ſubiects are to be obſerued, who by their malice enforce their maſters and lords being otherwiſe meeke, to bee cruell and rigourous to them. To which that may be referred which *Alexander* the Great ſaid, *That the gentleneſſe of kings and princes is as much encloſed in the natures of their ſubiects, as of themſelues.* This is confirmed by the notable ſpeech gathered by *Stobæus*, out of the Remembrances of *Serinus*. *Cræſus* being king of Lydia, ſhared the gouernment with his brother: whereupon a certaine Lydian ſaid thus vnto him; *The Sunne (if it pleaſe your Maieſtie) is cauſe of all the wealth in the world: and if the Sunne did not ſhine and warme the earth, there would nothing grow. But if there ſhould bee two Sunnes, it were to bee feared they would burne and conſume all: So the Lydians content themſelues with one king, and hold him for their Sauiour, but they cannot endure two.* The Poet *Homer* was of the ſame mind, making a great perſon (to wit *Vlyſſes*) thus to ſay:

There is no reaſon all wee ſhould bee Kings,
That all wee ſhould commaund ouer all things:
That Policie is beſt of all reputed,
Which is by none but one alone directed.
Then let vs doe as hee ſhall pleaſe to order,
Whom Iupiter *hath made our chiefe Commander.*

1. *Sam.* 8.

Q. *Curtius li.* 7. In the diſcourſe, That the Monarch is the beſt forme of gouernment.

Lib. 2. *Iliad.*

It may bee that *Alexander* the great conſidered the ſame, and that this ſentence came into his thought (for hee made great account of *Homers* Poeſie, and read it diligently; and beſides, he knew himſelfe to be ſuch a one, as it was impoſſible for him to ſuffer a companion) when hee anſwered the Embaſſadors of *Darius*, That the world could not be lightned and warmed by two Suns: and that two ſoueraigne kingdomes could not ſtand together in the world. *Marcus Antonius Zimara* asking this queſtion, Why a multitude of Princes is not good, anſwereth; *That if the gouernment grow tyrannicall, there is leſſe danger to haue one tyrannize, than many.* Againe, *Commonly many tyrants together haue leſſe regard to the common good than if they were in a leſſe number: which cauſeth, that the one being at variance with the reſt, all the Common-wealth is thereby much annoyed: for it is eaſier to make one man encline to good, than many. To be ſhort, when many command, there is no want of enuyings, brawlings, contentions, and riots.* And therefore experience hauing ſhewed, That the royall Throne is too narrow for two, *Ariſtotle* hath truly ſaid,

Q. *Curtius li.* 4.

In his Problemes.

To haue ſtore of Commaunders is but an euill thing;
Let one alone be Maſter, and none but one be King.

Machiauel was of the ſame opinion, affirming that the publike State cannot be builded nor maintained, if it be gouerned by many that haue equall power; and that it is farre more expedient, that all affaires ſhould bee directed and expedited by the addreſſe and authoritie of one alone: conſidering that two or three, the one as great as the other, agree badly together. The ſtudious Reader

may doe well to reade *Herodotus* bringing in the seauen Princes Electors in the kingdome of Persia, consulting, which of the three sorts of gouerment they should accept and entertaine for the managing of affaires, either of *One man alone*, or of *Many of the chiefest*, or the gouerment of *The people*. Albeit that *Buchanan* doe not allow of a Democratie, yet he doth so bind the king to the lawes, as he holdeth that the king is a speaking law, and the law a silent king: In sum, he will haue the King and the States of the kingdome confer togither and decree that which concerneth the publike good. For commonly (saith he) the resolution of all the States togither is safer than that of some of them apart: in some there may appeare some sparkes and parcels of vertues: but these parcels gathered into one bodie make one excellent vertue. The example hereof is seene in the compositions of medicines (particularly in Treacle) to the confection whereof there must goe a great many ingredients hurtfull of themselues, but being blended with some other they make a wholsome counter-poison: In like manner, the heauinesse and dulnesse of spirit in some, the boysterous peremptorinesse in others, is dangerous; but if there be a mingling of these imperfections togither, we see that admirable temperature of humane affaires proceed thereof, which we call a mediocritie or meane.

In his Treatise of the right of the kingdome among the Scots.

CHAP. IX.

By what meanes the forces of the Barbarians, beyond all likeli-hood, haue beene wonderfully increased.

IN the time that *Sisebut* king of the Visigoths compelled the Iewes either to become Christians, or else to depart out of Spain; certain thousands of them came into France to ioyn with their fellowes who before time had inhabited there in great numbers. But *Dagobert* the first of that name, and the eleauenth king of France, thinking what a dishonour it should be for a Frenchman to lodge within his kingdome the sworne enemies of the Christian Religion, which had beene banished by the Visigoths, and so to shew himselfe lesse affected to pietie than *Sisebut*; appointed the Iewes a certaine day, before which they were to void the kingdome on paine of death, except they would renounce *Iudaisme*, and be baptised. They that submitted themselues to the Christian Religion, were preserued in peace: the others (for the most part) chose rather to dislodge and goe away. Some write (saith *Paulus Æmylius*) that *Heraclius* Emperour of Greece gaue aduertisement to *Dagobert* by his Embassadors, that the Christians should looke to themselues, and stand vpon their guards, because of certaine complots of the circumcised: and that it behooued to compell all the Iewes in France to make themselues Christians. Euerie man knew then both in France, and in other countries far remote from Asia, the ancient custome of the Iewes: but few or none could tell of the Mahumetans and Sarazins that were circumcised, who began then but to bud and put themselues forwards. It is reported, That the Emperour *Heraclius*, who alreadie bare an eie to the Sarazins, was aduertised, either by some iudiciall Astrologians, or else by Magicians, that the power of the Mahumetans which was then but in the blade, would one day worke a thousand mischiefes to Christendome. But though the Iewes were sent out of Spaine and France by *Sisebut* and *Dagobert*, yet vnder *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* king and queene of Castile, they haue beene verie shroudly handled, and that within these seauenscore yeares: for there was

P. *Aemyl.lib.*1. of the Hist. of France.

was an infinite number of them put to death, being accused of horrible crimes committed in obloquie and contempt of the Christian Religion: the rest were banished and forced to depart elsewhere. The like hapned in Portugall vnder *Emanuel*, who set downe a time and a prefixed day to the Iewes and Moores, either to be baptised, or to void his kingdome, on paine to be made slaues. These Edicts were made after *Mahumet* had taken Constantinople by assault, and ouerthrowne the Empire of the Greekes. Now, because vpon the spoile and hauock made by the Turkes (the Greekes hauing beene partly kild, partly carried away to be slaues, in diuers places) not only Constantinople, but also all Thrace was almost desolate and waste: *Mahumet* to re-people it againe, published an Edict, whereby he left euerie mans religion free to himselfe paying a certaine yearely tribute. The Iewes, tickled with the fame of this franchesse and libertie (which they could not enioy among the Christians) in great plumps retired into Greece togither with their families and meanes. They say, that there passed into those countries to the number of a hundred thousand persons; and that the Souldan of the Turkes was wont to say, *That he wondred at the little wit of the Christian Princes, that would rather banish to their losse, than retaine for their good, such a great multitude, which might haue serued them for slaues in many profitable affaires, if they would haue kept them aliue*: according to the saying of *Horace*,

If thou a prisoner haue to sell, Horat.
That thou dost thinke will yeeld thee well,
Affoord him life, and kill him not.

The Iewes carried into Turkie diuers occupations and trades, especially the skill to cast artillerie, and other inuentions which those Barbarians knew not before, but since haue made good vse of them, to the great disaduantage of the Christians.

Herodian writeth, That the like befell in times past to the great preiudice of the Roman Empire, though vpon other reasons. For *Pescennius Niger* being ouerthrowne by *Seuerus* in the East, many thousands of men fearing such a Conqueror, passed the riuer Tygris, and retired to the Barbarians, who by that meanes grew more hardie, and got sufficient power to withstand the Romans. Before that, they knew not how to fight but by shooting a far off with arrowes, and in manner of a fore-lorne hope, without any armour, being not able well to handle speare or sword, but couered with light and long garments, would most commonly throw their darts and shoot their arrowes in flying away. But after that some of the Roman souldiers and artificers came to inhabit and lead their liues in those Regions, the barbarous people learned, not onely to weare armour, but also to forge and make the same. For this cause the lawes both ancient and new haue expressely forbidden, That no man should carrie ought to the enemies that may either increase their strength, or make them apt and fashionable for the war. Among which lawes, there is one of the Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, and it is the last in *Iustinians* Code, in the title *de Pœnis*, contayning these words, *We condemne those to loose their liues that shall teach the Barbarians how to build ships, which is a thing to them vnknowne.* Concerning other things which ought not to be carried to the Babarians, they are comprehended there vnder a speciall title, containing two lawes of the Emperors *Valentinian* & *Gratian*, and of *Martian*, wherein there is ordained a capitall punishment, and confiscation of goods to the breakers thereof. Whereunto agreeth the law of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, where it is said, That to learne things forbidden is almost as great a fault, as to teach them. And among other things it is forbidden to carrie gold to the

Lib. 3.

C. de Malef. & Mathemat. In lib. 12. C. de Commerc. & mercat.

Barbarians: but it is permitted to take that away which is found among them so it be handsomly done. Besides all this, there is the Popes Bull, which is called *In Cœna Domini*, by the which euerie yeare on Maundie thursday they are sollemnly excommunicated at Rome that carrie forbidden things to the enemies of the Christian Faith, in these tearmes: *We excommunicate and anathematise all those, which accommodate the Sarazins, Turkes, and other enemies of Christendome, with horses, armes, yron, chaines, and other prohibited things to war withall against the Christians.* All this is expounded at large by *Angelus de Clauasio*, in the Sum surnamed *Angelicall*, vpon the word *Excommunicatio*. The Spaniards haue such like particular lawes in the ordinances of their kingdome, vnder the title, *De las Venditas*, or of sales, in these tearmes; *The Christians must not sell to the Moores, nor to the enemies of our Religion weapons of wood or of yron.* Now though they forbid generally the transporting of weapons to the enemies of the Christians; yet when war is proclaimed, the carrying away of merchandise and victuals is onely prohibited. The punishment ordained for the offenders agreeth with the Common-law; the goods to be confiscate, and the bodie left to the kings mercie, as may be seene in the second Aduise of *Roderic Suares* the Lawier, treating of the transporting of ships and merchandise.

CHAP. X.

The libertie of admonishing and aduising is (for the most part) banished the Courts of Princes.

IT is no mariuell if princes haue need of men that would admonish them frankely, gravely, and sincerely, and that would counsell them truely and faithfully: for as much as there is not scarce any one in their courts, that doth not run after the splendor of their prosperitie, and regard his owne particular profit. We read that king *Antiochus* (he that made war vpon the Parthians) being one day a hunting, was cast from his traine, and after he had a long time crost thorow woods and forests without knowing where he was, he came at the last to a little cottage of clownes, where there was not one that knew him. While they were at supper, they hapned to talke of the king: vpon which theame the king held his hosts so long, till it was far onwards in the night, desiring to vnderstand what his people thought and said of him. These Lownes did not accuse him of any crime, but contrariwise made mention of many vertues of his: onely they found fault, that in the execution of the affaires of his kingdome hee serued his turne of most leaud Officers, vpon whom hee trusted too much, and was not carefull himselfe of the businesses of the State, nor had such an eye thereto as was fitting, but gaue himselfe too much to hunting, without thinking scarce of any other thing. The king made no replie, but on the morrow, when his Guard (hauing followed the tracke of his horse) were come to him with the vestures and ornaments of his dignitie royall, turning toward them he said thus: *Euer since you haue followed me, I neuer heard one word of truth touching mine affaires, before yesternight.*

In the time of our fathers (as we haue beene enformed) liued the good and valiant king *Matthias*, sonne of *Iohn Huniades*, who albeit he gouerned no other countrey but Hungaria, yet was he feared of all the princes of Asia and Europe. This king was well learned, exceeding studious, loued good letters and Sciences with an ardent affection, and to the professors thereof hee gaue great gifts:

yea,

yea, and he caused search to be made in all places for the Bookes of the Ancients, and commaunded to buy them without sparing for cost, to erect a stately Librarie, which afterwards was wasted and spoiled by the Turkes. Among other things he was not ignorant, that the truth and free libertie of speech had but small accesse into the houses of kings and princes: and therefore though he had about him valiant Captaines and wise Counsellers, hee would (for all that) when hee was a hunting, ride away from his traine, and goe to some paisants house, or to some village, where he would passe the night, in questioning (by way of familiar talke) with the poore and sillie people, of the king, and what was thought and said of him, and of his gouernment: by which meanes the imperfections both of himselfe and of his Courtiers, as well in their priuat conuersation, as in the managing of the State, were discouered and made knowne vnto him. The same was practised of yore by *Mithridates*, a stout and warlike king, who for the space of six and fortie yeares held warre against the Romans with diuers euents: for he would depart secretly from his Court in the companie of some trustie friends, and in an vnknowne attire, and would take a suruey of all Asia, obseruing with great care all the prouinces thereof, with the situation of the cities, and would not therein giue credit to the eyes and reports of other men. Therefore the Emperour *Gordian* wrote both wisely and grauely to *Misitheus* his father in law, That that prince is in miserable taking, to whom one dares not tell the truth: for as much as being not able to be euerie where, he must needs learne and allow of that which is told and auerred vnto him by others. *T. Manlius Torquatus* had wisely considered this before him: for when he was declared Consull, he excused himselfe by reason of the indisposition of his eyes: saying, *That the State-Gouernour, or the Generall of an armie, sheweth great indiscretion, who when he is to execute all things by other mens eyes and not his owne, requires all men to relie vpon him both for their goods and liues.* That which entreth into our minds by the eare, doth not stir men so much as that which they conceiue by the eyes, saith an ancient Writer. And the Ciuilians preferre the seeing of a thing before all other proofe.

Iustin. lib. 37.

Capitolin. in the life of the Gordians.

T. Liuius lib. 6. Decad. 3.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures: Quàm quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus. Horat.

But to come to moderne examples appliable to our Meditation: *Paulus Iouius* writeth, That *Francis Galeas* duke of Milan couering to be both loued and feared together, would now and then apparell himselfe like a poore Haberdasher, and would trauell through the countries, cities, and townes that were subiect vnto him; and if vpon the way, or in the Innes he met with any sneaking fellowes, he would of purpose put them in talke of their prince, that so hee might know at large all that was said of him, either good or bad, and accordingly reward or punish his Officers as they deserued. Hee had bestowed within banks vpon the riuers of Po, of Addo, and Tesin, watch-men that should haue an eye to the passengers. Sometimes hee would shew himselfe among them (they not knowing him) and to sound them, would earnestly importune them, yea, offer them money to let him passe ouer though he had no ticket, alleaging, that he had businesse of importance, and that it should be much to his preiudice to goe backe againe. If they did thrust him backe with sharpe words, hee would con them thanke, and bestow a great recompence vpon them, as faithfull seruants and officers: if they did otherwise, and would suffer themselues to be corrupted, they were sure to die for it. Herein he followed *Leo* Emperour of the East, who would many times make triall of the faithfulnesse of his souldiers being vpon their watch, with the danger sometimes of his life. A certaine prince of Germanie hath bin much commended, for that he would be often in disguised manner among shep-

In his famous men.

Luidprand. lib. 1. cap. 3. & 4.

heards,

heards, reapers, plow-men, and such other countrey-subiects of his, of whom he would enquire particularly all that they knew of the behauiour and manners of their lord, what kind of man he was, if he gouern'd mildly, if his Officers did good Iustice, and rewarded the honest and vertuous. Hereupon there came one and asked him, why he, that was of such a noble race and a great prince, would so counterfeit the clowne? *I am faine* (answered he) *to learne the truth from the mouth of poore shepheards and husbandmen; for my Courtiers are all flatterers and claw-backs, seruing for nought else but to please and tickle mine eares.* Wherefore, those kings and princes are commended, and that worthily, not which depend wholy of the will and counsell of another, and which commit all affaires and businesses to their fauorits, and in the meane while doe nothing themselues but follow their pleasures, and seeme vnprofitable; but such as are prouident and carefull, and bethinke themselues of all things concerning the wealth and prosperitie of their subiects. The Emperour *Maximilian* the first, an excellent prince, obserued this well: therefore would he say (as *Paulus Ionius* noteth) *That it was a great shame for a great prince to be ignorant; and a greater shame for him that will command people with the true and excellent reputation of pietie and iustice, to want the graces and vertues that may arme him and make him inuincible against Pride, Wantonnes, and other such vices.* To this *Iohn du Tillet* hath regard, speaking of the allowances assigned to the kings yonger sonnes in France; *Euen as* (saith he) *the heire apparant of the kingdome should neuer haue the reines let loose vnto him; so likewise a great fault it is, if when he commeth to a competent age, he be not trained vp in affaires of State, and inured thereunto by sage and wholsome counsell: for Experience the Mistresse of all Arts and functions, is most necessarie in the charge of ruling well, being the hardest of all other, and such as* Xenophon *holdeth for diuine, and exceeding the capacitie of man. The holy Scripture also teacheth, that it proceedeth chiefly from the spirit of God, and hath need of his grace, and of most carefull institution. Iohn Bodin* is of the same opinion, saying, That to bring vp a prince well, there must be Masters sought that are fit to instruct him in goodnesse and wisedome, and that must haue large rewards for their labour: and they must not only teach him strange languages (a thing heretofore practised vntowardly, and with hurtfull successe) but aboue all they must know how to strike a liuely touch of true Religion into the conscience of the prince: for of all the discourses that are made touching Lawes and matters of State, there is none so excellent, nor that requires greater trauell, than to make a prince comprehend that he is placed in the world to serue God. Vpon this hinge hangs the weale of the State, and of all the lawes thereof. The prince that hath taken forth this lesson, That God is the beholder and Iudge of all his actions, will neuer bee prophane nor wicked: all his subiects will loue him, feare him, frame their liues and manners by his example. Happie may we call the princes and the people that demeane themselues so. Infinite examples might be produced to prooue that there haue been princes who in their childhood haue been well and carefully instructed, by which meanes they haue giuen cause of great hope to be conceiued of them, and of some magnificall deportment in future time: but being growne great, the suggestions of flatterers haue so corrupted them, that there haue not any marks of good education and discipline remained to be seene in them. Let vs therfore make this wish with the learned *Budæus*: *Would God* (saith he) *wee might one good time reteine & embrace firmely with both our armes the truth knowne and apprehended, with as good a heart as we vse to fawne vpon her when shee first presents her selfe before our eyes: shee is either an enemie to vs, or a stranger, or a friend. If wee chance to make the loue of the world a competitor with her, she who abhorreth vaine and perishable things, doth presently*

In the life of P. *Adrian* 6.

Lib. 2. of his remembrances.

In his *Oeconom.* *Psal.* 72. 2. *Pro.* 8. 15, 16. *Cap.* 6. of the Method of Histories.

Lib. 4. *de ass.*

presently dislodge out of our soule, as out of a lodging where she hath no more to doe, giueth vs the bill of diuorcement, and biddeth vs Adieu, leauing vs so miserable an estate as wee imagin a perpetuall abode in our vanitie. Therefore *Flauius Vopiscus* hath left a good saying; *It is demaunded* (quoth he) *what maketh princes wicked? That doth (first of all) too much libertie; next, abundance of all things; then Minions that doe no good, the guard that are readie to execute all cruell and villanous Commissions, the couetous Chamberlains, the foolish and detestable Courtiers; finally (which cannot bee denied) the ignorance of the affaires of State.* In the life of *Aurelian.*

It is reported that king *Lewis* the XI. said once, That his kingdome and his court abounded with all things, but one. And as one of his fauourites asked him, What that was? The Truth, answered hee. *Lucas Contil*, a learned Italian, hath enfolded this answere in a certaine pleasant Riddle. *There are some princes* (saith he) *that haue at home with them a certaine woman as faire as possiby may be, whom they reuerence, clothing her in a gowne that trailes vpon the ground: most commonly shee halteth of one foot, sometimes of both: so that they are very sorie when a wind out of the South or North chanceth to lift vp her gowne, and to discouer the imperfection of her feet: for which cause they haue appointed many people that open their mouths as wide as they can to deuoure these winds, euen as Scylla and Charibdis do swallow vp the waters of the sea and all that is vpon them at the hauen of Messina.* Afterwards he expounds himselfe thus: *The condition of princes much enuied of many, is borne vp by power and wisedome, and adorned with great reputation: Truth commonly discouers and shewes the defects hidden vnder the same: the mouthes of flatterers goe about to couer such defaults. For* (as a certaine wise Historian saith) *pernicious flatterie, the ordinarie disease of kings, to whom their fauourites and tale-bearers doe greater harme by whisperings, than the enemie by weapons, doth alwayes beare the sway in their Courts.* Fr. Patric. Dialog. 5. hist. Q. Curtius lib. 8. of the hist. of Alexander.

Thence it comes (as appeares by many examples in Histories) that kings and princes, when they haue executed some thing vpon choller, outragious couetousnesse, or vpon report of flatterers, doe seldome find any bodie that dares reprooue them; or if they be told of it, they are so obstinat in their minds, that they are ashamed to confesse their wickednesse, and to take a course to remedie the same any manner of way. This defect that great Monarch *Augustus* did wisely consider: for being by nature chollericke and reuengefull, he had before-hand willed the knight *Mecænas* (among others) to stand by him when he should see him grow into anger, because he vsed to put him out of it, and to appease him by little and little. It hapned one day, that *Augustus* had a mind to make a beadroll of some that he meant to proscribe and to expose to the mercie of the first that should meet with them: and while he was in this thought, enuironed with such a crowd of Courtiers that no man could get neere him, *Mecænas* apart from all the rest, wrote in a ticket these two words, *Surge Carnifex*, calling him hangman, and willing him to get from thence; and so (as if hee would giue him some caueat of great consequence) hee threw the note into his bosome, to stop him from spilling humane blood: wherein *Augustus* gaue him credit, as he had done in diuers meetings and vpon sundrie occasions before that. Dio in the life of *Augustus.*

Cambyses king of Persia, a cruell prince, and much degenerating from the vertues of the excellent king *Cyrus* his father, was of a contrary humor to *Augustus:* for being one of the greatest drunkards of his kingdome, and being admonished by *Prexaspes*, one of his Minions, to drinke lesse, saying, That drunkennesse was a most filthie vice, especially in a king, whom the eyes and eares of all the world are bent vpon; he made him this answere, That thou maist know how little I am troubled after my drinking, and how I carie alwayes good eyes and steadie hands, Herodot. lib. 3.

hands, I will shew thee a proofe thereof presently. Hereupon he drinkes a great deale more than euer he had done at one time, and greater carowses than he was wont. Being thorowly moistned and full of wine, he made *Prexaspes* sonne to stand at the far end of the hall, and to hold his left hand vpon his head: then bending a bow, he shoots the yong man to the heart, as before he had promised and protested to doe. After which, opening his breast, he shewed the arrow-head sticking within the heart, and turning about to the father, said, How saist thou now? haue I not a steddie hand, and a sure eie? Another Persian lord called *Harpagus* hauing freely told king *Astyages* of some fault, made him so angrie, that the prouoked prince caused *Harpagus* to be serued at the table with the flesh of his owne children, asking him now and then if the meat were well drest. *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* king of Ægypt, hauing married his owne sister *Arsinöe*, it is reported that *Sotades* one of his chiefe Minions reproued him for it in couert but nipping tearmes, as he well deserued: But the king tooke his reprehension so grieuously, that treading vnder foot all former good will, he committed *Sotades* to close prison where he died in miserable languishment. *Herodotus* reporteth that *Demaratus* had better hold of himselfe: For when *Xerxes* commanded him to say his opinion touching the war he was about to make against the Grecians, *Sir* (quoth he) *how will ye haue me speake? Shall I tell the truth, or such things as will please you?* If *Apollodorus*, that famous Architect, who among other workes builded the Pallace, the Chappell, and *Traians* place of exercises at Rome, had carried himselfe so towards the Emperour *Adrian*, the Emperour had neuer put him to death. *Dio Cassius* reporteth, That *Apollodorus* being in exile, *Adrian* sent vnto him the modell and description of the Temple of *Venus*; to giue him couertly to vnderstand, and (as it were) by way of mockerie, that they could make stately buildings without his helpe: Besides, he asked him if he thought the same temple was not built formally, and according to the rules of Architecture. *Apollodorus* wrote back againe, that the temple should haue beene made higher, and more spacious, that it might haue lookt ouer the street surnamed Sacred, and haue beene able to containe the engines that should secretly haue beene set vp therein for the making of sudden and vnexpected shewes to the people vpon the theatre. He added further, that the images were greater than stood with the heigth and roomth of the temple; For (quoth he) if the goddesses should offer to rise and goe foorth, they were not able. This franke answer and censure of *Apollodorus* set *Adrian* in such a chafe and choller for that he had committed faults vnremediable, that he caused this great Architect to be slaine.

Seneca. lib. 3. against anger. *cap.* 15.

Plutarch in his Treatise, how we ought to bring vp children.

Herodot. lib. 7.

In the life of *Adrian.*

Wise and religious was the remonstrance that the king Saint *Lewis* gaue to his sonne and successor in tearmes of this substance, as *du Tillet* hath set them downe: *Carrie thy selfe in such wise, that thy confessors, friends, and familiars may reproue thee freely of the euill that thou hast done, and tell thee of thy sinister dealings.* And (indeed) the nature of man, in that which concernes his pleasures, doth commonly leane to that which hurteth him most, thinking that to be his onely aduantage which he desires to accomplish; and this is the thing that abuseth him. For thereof it commeth, that he cannot see that which is fit for him, and the dangerous waies that he hath trod cannot teach him to mistrust himselfe, nor to humble himselfe, nor to yeeld to that which is conuenient for him. For good cause therefore doth *Arrianus* commend *Alexander* the Great, because he was no lesse readie to repent him of euill, than forward to commit it; *I attribute to* Alexander (saith he) *repentance for his faults, as a gift proper to him aboue all the kings* of

Lib. 2. of the affaires of France.

Lib. 7.

of old time. For many, though they be conuicted of a fault doe iuſtifie it, and hold it a vertue, and thinke, that this wrong reſolution is a groſſe couering of their vice. But I am of this opinion, that to acknowledge and confeſſe ones faults, and to make manifeſt proofe of repentance, is the onely remedie for the fault. For whoſoeuer hath beene offended, is the leſſe mooued, if he that hath committed the fault confeſſe that he hath done euill: and the offended hath good hope that there ſhalbe no more wrong offred him, if the offendor ſeeme diſpleaſed for hauing miſdemeaned himſelfe. Thus ſaith *Arrianus*. King *Lewis* the eleauenth, as quick ſighted a prince as any in his time, was as cunning a maiſter in this trade: He, happning one day to talke verie vntowardly, and ſhewing himſelfe rough beyond all reaſon, tooke himſelfe ſuddenly with the manner, and turning towards the partie whom he had offended; *I know* (quoth he) *that my tongue hath done me hurt, and ſo it hath done me good too ſometimes. At this preſent it were good reaſon I ſhould make amends for the fault it hath committed.* And hauing ſo talked a while familiarly and louingly, he gaue ſome recompenſe to the man againſt whom he had beene ſo carried away with choller beyond equitie. *Philip de Commines* who writes theſe things, faith further; *That it is a faire grace of God for one to acknowledge vice, and to turne his thought to good things. For* (as Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith) *the humble confeſſion of ſinnes is more worth than the proud boaſting of well-doing.* It alſo falleth out ſometimes, that kings remooue from them their faithfull Counſellors, and make no account but of one, to whom they commit the managing of all their affaires: againſt the precept of *Ariſtotle*, who willeth, that for the preſeruation of a State this law ſhould be of force, namely, That the prince ſhould neuer commit his whole authoritie to one man alone, but to many, and to ſuch, as one of them ſhould not dare to encroach vpon another. Thoſe princes that haue repoſed truſt in one man alone, haue ſeldome or neuer made a good hand thereby: witneſſe the example that *Papyrius Maſſon* produceth in theſe tearmes; *In the yeare nine hundred and nineteene* (ſaith he) Charles *remained alone within Soiſſons, being forſaken of the lords and peeres of the Realme, becauſe of* Haganon *of Laon, a man of common ranke, who alone knew all the kings ſecrets, and without whom no matter of importance was done either in the court, or in the kingdome. The credit of this new vpſtart was cauſe of the kings ouer-throw: for the great men could not endure that ſuch a baſe ſcoundrell ſhould be preferred before all the Nobilitie.* It hath beene, it is, and euer ſhalbe a ſhamefull thing to ſee a great Prince attached with this diſeaſe. For he that loueth but one, ſeemes to diſdaine and hate all the reſt: and to fawne ſo vpon two or three onely, is a meere ſeruitude to him that raigneth.

Heere we may inſert thoſe profitable leſſons that are read in the life of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, found (ſaith the Author of that booke) grauen in a tablet of braſſe, in Caldean letters, and brought to Rome by *Lucullus* with the ſpoiles of Aſia, after the ouerthrow of *Mithridates*, and lockt vp with the reſt in the treaſurie there: *He is not a wiſe prince that will draw confuſion vpon himſelfe, to keepe in authoritie the vaſſall that he hath made great; and that will not liue in ſafetie by ſhewing himſelfe louing to all. He is not a wiſe prince that gathereth all in a heape for himſelfe, bringing his ſubiects to powertie. He is an vniuſt prince, that had rather follow the paſſions of one, than gratifie all. Fooliſh is that prince, who ſubiects himſelfe to one, deſpiſing the counſels of all the reſt. That prince is ouer-bold, who to loue and fauour one, maketh himſelfe odious to all others.* This inſtruction may be inriched with the memorable example which *Hugh Falcand* hath left in writing. *William* king of Sicilia aduanced to honour a certaine notarie called *Maion de Bari*, and made him lord High Admirall of Sicilia, and afterwards committed vnto him all the charge and adminiſtration of the kingdome, beleeuing all that he ſaid, without truſting or hearing any

Quem penitet peccaſſe, pœne eſt innocens. Seneca.

*Lib.*2. of the Annals of France.

*Cap.*61.

In his diſcours of the calamities of Sicilia.

any other but him, and would euerie day talke familiarly with him, all accesse being taken away from all others whomsoeuer. This *Minion* alone managed all the affaires of State, carrying the king which way he liked, making him beleeue that the crow was white, telling him lies for truth, and by villanous flatteries clawing the foolish forwardnesse of this miserable prince. The forenamed *Papyrius Masson* in the life of king *Philip* surnamed the Faire, (because he was the fairest of all men in his time, being a prince of a tall stature, well proportioned in euerie lim, actiue, nimble, and marueilous valiant) reproueth this fault in him, That he committed all the administration of publike affaires into the hands of certaine courtiers, men accustomed (quoth he) to regard nothing but their owne priuate commoditie wherby they ouerthrow kingdoms. Let vs adde (for the end) the good counsell which *Francis Guicciardin* (an excellent Historian) setteth down in these tearmes. *Certainely* (saith he) *there is nothing more needfull in great deliberations, and of the other side nothing more dangerous, than to be counselled by another: and this is out of doubt, that counsell is lesse needfull for wise men than for the vnwise, albeit the wise can reape much greater profit by being counselled. For who is of so perfect wisedome, that he can alwaies consider and know all things of himselfe, and in contrarie reasons discerne alwaies the better part? But what assurance hath he that asketh counsell, to be counselled faithfully? Seeing he that giueth counsell (if he be not verie faithfull and well affected to him that asketh it) though he be not carried away with some great and notable interest, yet for euerie small benefit of his owne, or for euerie light contentment, doth most commonly frame his counsell to that which shall fall best for his purpose, or sorteth best to his liking? So that these ends being most commonly vnknowne to him that asketh counsell of another, he perceaueth not (except he be verie discreet) the vnfaithfulnesse of the counsell.*

Lib. 3. of the Annals of France.

Lib. 2. sect. 21.

CHAP. XI.

What Enmitie that ought to be which excepteth against the deposition of a witnesse: and what it is that is called Capitall enmitie.

Per t. 3. testib. l. 1. §. questionū. De Question. & Authent. de testib. §. si Vero quis dicat. Gl. in l. aduocati. C. de aduoc. diuers. iud.

WHosoeuer is but meanely read in the Ciuile law, knowes that the deposition of an enemie is of no force. Now, although the lawes that speake of this point be cleere and euident, yet the interpreters dispute what and how great the cause of this Enmitie should be. For some say it is sufficient for the reiecting of a witnesse to alleage, That the cause is of consequence, or concerns all their wealth: because now adaies money is as much to many, as their blood and life. Others are of another minde, and in the end conclude, that the deciding thereof should be left to the arbitrement of the Iudge, especially in ciuile causes. For in criminall, where the enmitie is tearmed Capitall, the Germans haue the Imperiall constitution of *Charles* the first, in the criminall ordinances of the Empire, article 26. It seemeth to me that this question might be more easily resolued by the lawes, if we tooke good heed to the custome obserued among the ancient Romans, which *Iacobus Raeardus* a Ciuilian of late time doth demonstrate by most plaine and euident proofes: as himselfe also maintaineth, hauing produced many notable examples gathered out of *Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, Sidonius Apollinaris*, and other ancient Authors. In his Commentarie of the diuers rules of the law, he expoundeth this custome as followeth: If you aske (saith he) what it is that we call Capitall Enmities; know that the custome was among the Romans, that if there fell any great quarrells among them, they sollemnly renounced all friendship, and declared themselues enemies

Lib. 15. cap. 15.

Regula 10.

enemies plainly and openly. Theſe enmities ſo proclaimed, were called Capitall, becauſe from thence forward it was as much as a mans life came to, according to the ſaying of *Arnobius*, That the Gentiles tooke occaſion to enter into deadly quarrels and enmities vpon the leaſt diſcontent that was offered them. Let vs adde hereunto that which *Seneca* the Oratour writes of one of his time, That he agreed not very well with his wife; but when ſhe was dead, he ſhewed that he had bin her capitall enemie: ſo when any one repented that he had been ſo bold and familiar with another, as to haue made him his hoſt, and to haue lodged in his houſe, the cuſtome was to ſay, *I refuſe to lodge with thee*: to the end hee might not violat the right of hoſpitalitie: as appeareth by *Ciceros* ſaying, of one that being greatly fallen out with *Sthenius* renounced this right at his hands, and went and lodged in another place. And *Titus Liuius* writeth, That *Badius* a citiſen of Campania did ſolemnly leaue the right of hoſpitalitie of *Quintus Criſpus* the Roman, and renounced the ſame in preſence of the two armies, that he might afterwards aſſault him as his capitall enemie. This amitie of perſons that were taken into other mens houſes (the Innes now vſed being then vnknown) was reputed moſt holy, and ſometimes was contracted openly. For which cauſe the Pagans ſurnamed *Iupiter*, *Xenius*, that is, a Lodger, or vſing hoſpitalitie, called vpon by gueſts againſt thoſe that violated ſo holy a rite. In like manner, friends called him *Philius*; and companions, *Etereus*; and kinſfolke, *Omognius*; and brethren, *Fratrius*; and allies, *Enorkius*: that is to ſay, Friend, Companion, Kinſeman, Brother, Confederat: as *Budæus* hath learnedly obſerued.

Lib. 2. *contra Gentes.* *Lib.* 10. of his declamations

In his 3. inuectiue againſt *Verres.* *Decad.* 3. *lib.* 5.

Moreouer, the Auncients had this cuſtome, that the friends that were abroad wore certaine tokens or marks, as brooches, or peeces of gold or ſiluer, which they kept carefully and mutually, being giuen by one of them to another, that ſo this right of friendſhip and hoſpitalitie might paſſe to their children, who bringing their fathers tokens, therby made themſelues knowne to their friends, and were receiued of them: but when they would renounce this law, they brake thoſe tokens. In this ſenſe *Tacitus* ſaith, that he which renounced friendſhip, forbad withall the other from comming any more to his houſe. *The Emperour* (ſaith he) *hauing ſent letters to the Senat, affirmed, that the Ancients were wont, when they brake amities, to forbid him whom they reiected, to ſet his foot any more within their lodging.* And *Clemens Alexandrinus* witneſſeth, that this renouncing was made ſometimes by the publike crie of an Herauld; and ſometimes priuatly by an Officer ſent to his houſe that was to be renounced: for, ſpeaking of one that made ſuch a denunciation, *He ſent* (ſaith he) *a Sergeant to renounce the amitie which hee had of a long time entertained; not that he repented himſelfe of it, but becauſe he doubted ſome change in his friends condition or ſtate.* We read in many hiſtories, that our anceſtors (I mean the moſt famous) demeaned themſelues ſo: for they held it a fault to offend any man in word or deed, till they had firſt denied the right of amitie, and of familiar conuerſation; but when that was done, they held it lawfull to aſſault one another with the greateſt hoſtilitie they could: as alſo at this day kings and princes ſend by their Heraulds letters of defiance to thoſe whom they reſolue to make warre vpon. There are certaine Imperiall Conſtitutions, importing that no man ſhall aſſault another by way of hoſtilitie, except hee haue giuen him warning three dayes afore: as is to be ſeene in an Ordinance of the Emperour *Fredericke*, inſerted in the Chronicles of *Abbas Vrſpergenſis*, and of the Emperor *Albert*, annexed to the end of the Right of the Fees of Saxonie. The ſame is alſo repeated in the Conſtitutions of the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, gathered together in the Panchart, commonly called the *Golden Bull.*

Vpon the law *ſolet.* §. *quantũ ad Xenia. de offic. Proconſ.*

Lib. 5. of his Annals.

Lib. 3.

CHAP. XII.

The enmities betwixt kinsfolks and friends are most bitter and deadly.

ALbeit that wise and gentle men, calling this saying to mind, That Enmities should bee of a short lasting, and Amities immortall; when they are prouoked, doe so temperatly discouer their discontent and hatred, that in the meane time they cut not away by the root all hope of peace and reconciliation, for as much as wee see sometimes a renewing of friendship betweene such as haue beene sworne enemies: yet notwithstanding the case is otherwise with men that are wicked, enuious, and prowd, who imagin that their grace and authoritie cannot stand, except they dispraise and calumniat others: feeding vpon such their malice, as the Salamander seemes (in some mens opinions) to liue by the fire. To this (I take it) the counsell of the Ancients tended, saying, That we must not trust a reconciled enemie, but with warinesse: for it hath bin seene by experience, that the assurance of reconciliation betweene enemies, whetted and exasperated one against another (I speake of natures cowardly and reuengefull, not such as are noble and heroicall) is most commonly weake and slipperie; becausse it seldome falleth out that the suspition of ill will is abolished by a kisse of the hand, an embracing, or such like ceremonious reconcilement soone after the beginning of the quarrell. And indeed (as *Thomas Fazell* saith) the root of the seeds of rancor being thrown into mens hearts, and which suddenly cleaue thervnto, is not easily plucked away: contrariwise, as men doe with ease fall from loue to hatred, so they returne not but with great difficultie into the former friendship: and it is a rare thing to see, that the mind once possessed with spite, should shew it selfe void of passion towards that partie by whom it hath beene offended: and doth not commonly reenter into such familiaritie with his enemie, as before time was vsed betweene them. *Antoninus* surnamed *Diadumenus*, warned (after the Pagan manner) his father *Macrinus* of this in a letter which hee wrote vnto him, to this effect: *Father, me thinks you haue not followed your owne nature, in that you haue saued the liues of some condemned of treason, in hope that they will be more faithfull to you, for sparing them, because they haue heretofore beene your familiar friends; which is a thing that neither ought to bee, nor can be: for first, it is impossible that they should loue you, hauing conceiued displeasure against you; secondly, they are the more cruell aduersaries, in that hauing forgotten they were your familiar friends, they haue ioyned hands with your mortall enemies, &c.* This is the opinion of *Diadumenus*. But the soreſt and durableſt enmities appeare among them that haue been once vnited together in the matter of Religion, and then come to dispute, and fall away: for there is nothing that ioynes men faster together than one kind of beleefe, and that disioynes them more, than disagreeing that way. From whence this true Prouerbe proceeded, That euerie Apostata is a persecuter of his Order, or of those that hee hath abandoned: whereof wee shall speake more fitly in another place.

Decad. 2. of the hist. of Sicilia. Lib. 3. cap. 2.

Lamprid. in his life.

C. Accusatores in 2. & gl. ibi. 3. q. 5. Didac. Couar. c. 18. nu. 3. in prac. que.

To returne where we began: By the ciuile Law, he that hath reconciled himselfe, is not held for a competent witnesse and iudge, where a little before he was an enemie; seeing it is a doubtfull matter, whether there remaine not still some relicks of hatred in his heart: but there must be some pause till friendship may be consolidated by effluxion of time, and all prints of priuat grudge forgotten and wiped away. Hereof it commeth, that *Cicero* in many places of his Oration for *Annæus Milo*, saith, That reconciled enmities ought to be held suspitious. Among other points, I will note these; *I haue alwayes beene of opinion* (saith hee) that

that amities ſhould bee entertained verie religiouſly and faithfully, eſpecially ſuch as men knit againe after they haue beene ſome while in diſcord: for if, while the friendſhip laſted entire and ſound, there were ſome neglect of dutie, that is excuſed by alleaging that it was not well thought of, or (at the worſt) that ſome bodie was rechleſſe: but if after the reconciliation a fault be committed, that is not accounted friendſhip contemned, but violated; and in ſtead of tearming ſuch tranſgreſſion, retchleſneſſe; it is called vnfaithfulneſſe. Therefore Saint *Ierome* made a fit proteſtation of himſelfe, ſaying; That he was a ſincere friend, and would not carie a ſtone in one hand, and offer bread with the other. And in another place he admoniſheth friends which after ſome diſagreement are reconciled, to ſhun euery light ſuſpition, for feare it be thought they doe that of purpoſe which ſhall eſcape them vnwittingly. Whence we ſee it oftentimes commeth to paſſe, that the quarrels which haue hapned among great friends, are enflamed more and more, and grow vnreconcileable, eſpecially when outragious words fall betweene. Theſe wounds are ſuch, as neuer ioyne together (or very ſeldome) but the ſcar will remaine: ſo farre is it off, that they may bee cloſed by gentleneſſe or kind dealing. The reaſon is, that as euery naturall thing degenerating from its kind, paſſeth into another kind much worſe than if nature had brought it foorth: (witneſſe the ſerpent called Hydra or Natrix, that is to ſay, watriſh, or ſwimmer; of which *Mathiolus* maketh mention in his Herbal, after *Nicander* and *Aëtius*; who hauing abandon'd the water his cuſtomarie element, to dwell vpon the land, becommeth more dangerous than before, and is named *Cherſydros*, that is, liuing by water and land) ſo friends after they are growne enemies vſe to hate one another deadly. This doth the Authour of *Eccleſiaſticus* intimate in theſe words, *Who ſo caſteth a ſtone at the birds, fraieth them away: and he that wrongeth his friend, breaketh friendſhip. Though thou dreweſt a ſword vpon thy friend, yet deſpaire not, for there may be a reconciliation made. If thou haue opened thy mouth againſt thy friend, feare not, for there is ſome compoſition behind; prouided, that no iniurious and proud vpbraiding, no reuelation of ſecrets, or traiterous wound be mingled therewith: for ſuch iniuries ſet friends far aſunder.* Cap. 22. 20, 21, 22.

And this is not onely ſeene to happen among ſtrangers that are ioyned together by the onely bond of friendſhip (of which there is a notable example of late memorie in two excellent captaines, the great *Sforce*, and *Braccio de Montona*, which two, *Paulus Iouius* calleth two thunderbolts of warre; who at firſt being tied together in a brotherly loue, bare vnder their armes a like courage, and a like hope, vntill being ſeparated by ambition and pride, they became enemies, and in many a battell ſet one vpon another, and attempted to kill one another, it being a thing impoſſible euer to reconcile them together:) but alſo this lamentable miſchiefe falleth ſometimes among neere kinſfolkes: a thing obſerued by the Ciuilians, and among others by *Baldus*, That enmities hapning among kinſfolkes could not bee dermined by interceſſion of friends, nor any other meanes, but by the ſwords point. Then (on the contrarie) highly are the Ælians to bee commended, of whom we read in *Plutarch* this that followeth: *Touching* Paulus Æmylius *daughters*, Catos *ſonne married the one, and* Ælius Tubero *the other, who was a very good man, and bare himſelfe out more valiantly in his poore eſtate, than any other Roman: for there were ſixteene neere kinſfolkes, all of the name and race of the* Ælians, *which had but one little houſe in the citie, and a ſmall poſſeſſion in the countrey, wherewith they maintained themſelues, and liued all together in one houſe with their wiues and a many little children. Among which wiues was (as I haue ſaid) one of the daughters of* Paulus Æmylius, *borne vnto him after he had been twice Conſull, and had twice triumphed; who for all that was no whit aſhamed of her husbands pouertie, but admired his vertue, for* In his famous men. *In l. cum oportet C. de bon. quæ liber.* In the life of *Paulus Aemyl.*

which he was poore: whereas, brothers and kinsfolkes now adaies, if they be not seuered one from another by distances of climats, or except some riuers diuide them, or walls bound and keepe their inheritances in seuerall, and some great void spaces be betweene them, neuer lin warring and iarring, and raysing sutes one against another. Iustin the Historian hath another good example of brotherly loue. As *Artamenes* and *Xerxes* the sonnes of *Darius* were entred into variance about the succession in the kingdome after their fathers death, who had preferred the yonger before the elder: so far was it off that their cause did make a quarrell betweene them, that *Xerxes*, who obtained it, did no whit lift himselfe vp aboue his brother, and *Artamenes* who was put by it shewed no token of discontentment: but contrariwise, while the cause stood vndecided, they sent presents one to another; feasted one another merrily without treason or suspition; and (at last) the cause was ended verie simply and without any adoe. In those times brethren shared kingdomes between them with far more moderation, than they would now adaies a patrimonie of a small value. They behaue themselues now as *Plutrch* saith they did in his time, as is before alleaged out of the life of *Paulus Æmylius*. But though there be many examples both ancient and moderne to this purpose, I haue thought good to make speciall choice of one out of *Titus Liuius* touching two neere kinsmen that were Spaniards, to adde to this Meditation. Corbis *and* Orsua *brothers by one father being at variance whither of them should be the lord of a citie called Iba, resolued to determine their quarrell by the sword.* Corbis *was the elder. The father of* Orsua *had this citie after* Corbis *was borne, by the death of an elder brother of his.* Scipio *would haue taken vp the matter in peacefull sort, and haue ended all quarrels betweene them: whereto they would in no wise condescend, each of them saying to those of his kin, that they would neuer accept other Iudge among the gods or among men, but the god* Mars. *The elder was the stronger, and the yonger being in the Aprill of his age, the fiercer; each chusing rather to die with the sword in his hand, than be subiect to the other: and for that it was impossible to cure them of this rage, they were as a spectacle and good lesson to the Roman army, shewing, how great an euill, desire of ruling is among men, as we haue before prooued by some examples.* Corbis *more nimble and valliant had soone the mastrie of the violent and vndiscreet rashnesse of* Orsua. To this example let vs ioyne that of two other brothers, *Polynices* and *Eteocles*, sonnes to *Oedipus* king of Thebes, set foorth by a great many ancient Authors, because of the vnreconcilable hatred of these two princes. After they had kild each other in the combat, as their bodies should haue beene burnt, they were kept asunder by the fire which would not receiue them together, as *Statius* and *Lucan* say, but they were faine to be burnt apart the one from the other.

Lib. 2.

Decad. 3. lib. 8.

In this great and weightie question, Whether the sonne of the elder sonne ought to represent his deceased father, and succeed his grandfather, rather than his vnckle, the grandfathers yonger sonne? the Ciuilians alleage that which hapned vnder the Empire of *Otho*. When such a difference was fallen betweene the Vnckle and the Nephew, touching the succession of this Nephewes grandfather; and friends not being able to arbitrate the matter, the Emperor ordained that the quarrell should be decided by combat. They came to the fight, and fought two seuerall times in a close place; where the Nephew was alwaies Conqueror, and so the sword determined the sute. There is another notable but lamentable Storie recorded by *Bernardin Scardeon*, touching two brothers of a verie ancient house, called *De Limino*, borne in Padua. We read (saith he) that in this family there were once two brothers, who being on a Sommers day in the countrey, went abroad after supper, talking togither of many things. As they were

In the description of Padua, li. 3. class. 13.

were ſtanding and gaſing vpon the ſtars that twinckled in the skie being then verie cleere, one of them began in meriment to ſay to the other, would I had as many oxen as I ſee ſtars in yond firmament. The other anſwers him preſently, And would I had a paſture as wide as the firmament, and therewith turning towards his brother ſaith vnto him, where wouldſt thou feed thy oxen? marrie in thy paſture, quoth his brother; but how if I would not let thee, ſaid the other? I would (quoth he firſt) whither thou wouldſt or no. What (replies the ſecond) in ſpite of my teeth? yea, (anſwers the other) whatſoeuer thou couldſt doe to the contrarie. Hereupon their ſport turnes to outragious words, and at laſt to furie, the one ſtill offring to be louder than the other; that in the end they drew their ſwords, and fell to it ſo hotly, that in turne of a hand they ran one another thorow the bodie: ſo that the one fell one way, and the other another way, both weltring in their blood. The people of the houſe hearing the buſtling ran towards them, but came too late, and carrying them into the houſe, they both ſoone after gaue vp the ghoſt. *Petrus Iuſtinianus* reherſeth another Storie almoſt as freſh, and no leſſe lamentable. An extraordinarie chance hath of late hapned (quoth he) in the confines of Toſcane. *Iohn* Cardinal *de Medicis* ſonne to *Coſmo* duke of Florence, a yoong prince of great eſtimation, got vp a horsback to ride a hunting, accompanied with two of his brethren *Fernand* and *Cartia*, attended with ſome others. Their dogs hauing followed a hare a long time in the plaine field, at the laſt kild her. The brothers thereupon began to debate about the firſt hold, each of them attributing the honour thereof to his hounds. One ſpeech drew on another, and from bare words they fell at laſt to girds. The Cardinall not enduring to be light ſet by, and being of a hautie nature, gaue his brother *Cartia* (who expoſtulated with him) a box on the eare. *Cartia* carried away with choller drew his ſword, and gaue ſuch a thruſt into his brother Cardinals thigh, that he preſently died. A ſeruant of the Cardinals in reuenge of his maſter gaue *Cartia* a ſore wound: ſo that with the veniſon, they carried home to duke *Coſmo* one of his ſonnes dead: and for *Cartia*, his wound was alſo ſuch, as within a while he died of it. Thus for a matter of nothing the father loſt two of his ſonnes in a pittifull and fearefull ſort. Theſe are the words of the Hiſtorian: out of which we may gather, that as a ſparke which ſcarce maketh any ſhew, when it findeth fit matter, kindleth ſo great a fire that it conſumeth Rampiers, Forts, Cities, Forreſts, and Prouinces: Euen ſo the leaſt contention that is, doth often-times enkindle ſuch hatred, that thereof commeth quarrelling, then bitterneſſe and vnreconcilable enmitie, which conuerts to ſecret malice the mother of horrible rancor, & that brings foorth in the end execrable murthers, if the matter by wiſe friends be not in time taken vp & ordered. Not without cauſe therefore doth the wiſe *Soloman* ſay, *That the beginning of ſtrife is as when the water breakes open a dike: therfore flie contention before thou be entangled with it.* Prouerb.17.14.

In the Hiſt. of Venice, lib.14.

But not to dwell vpon examples of other nations, in our time the ſame had like to haue hapned betweene two princes of the Empire, both of one blood, if ſome ſtrange accident hapning betweene had not beaten downe the blow of their violent purpoſe. For our age hath not wanted wonderfull and (almoſt) inexplicable differences, which ſometimes haue had euents altogither vnhoped and vnlooked for. And for that the Storie is knowne to few, I haue thought good to incloſe it in this chapter, as it was deliuered to me by a perſonage of authoritie, who had of a long time frequented the courts of Princes. Some indiſcreet Courtiers (whoſe names I will not here ſpecifie) hauing ſowne great diſſentions betweene the two famous princes *George*, and *Albert* (who was ſonne to

Casimir Marqueſſe of Brandenbourg) preuailed ſo far in the end that theſe princes hearts were diuided, whereof enſued a diuiſion of lordſhips betweene them, and diuers contracts to that effect were conceiued. Thereupon it fell out, that the Marqueſſe *George* (a wiſe prince, and who alwaies carried an eie to *Albert* his couſin-german, that he might traine and faſhion him in matters) found that ſome went about to abuſe the vehement nature of this yong prince, ſo that by their abbettings he tooke ſuch reſolutions as tended nought elſe but to troubles and confuſions: therefore *George* being led with an heroicall diſdaine, and neuertheleſſe giuing the bridle beyond moderation to his anger, vnderſtanding that *Albert* was come to Newſtad, reſolued with himſelfe (without acquainting any bodie) to write a letter vnto him, the contents whereof was; That albeit he ſaw himſelfe traduced many waies, and that *Albert* did diuers things both againſt honour and dutie, yet he would not moone war againſt him, to the ruin of their innocent ſubiects, who knew not what ſuch contentions meant; but had rather (old as he was) preſent the combat to *Albert*: wiſhing him, if he were a noble prince, to be vpon ſuch a day in a forreſt not far off (which hee named) all alone on horsback, with ſuch armes as befitted a prince: that (for his part) he would not faile to meet him then and there alone, in like furniture; in which place without arbitrators, they would determine their quarrels by armes: adding, that *George* would there with a merrie heart oppoſe his white beard againſt *Alberts* red which then began to bud, & trie who ſhould be the better man. This letter faſt ſealed he giues to a page of his, a yong gentleman of Poland, to carrie to *Albert*, charging him to deliuer the ſame to none but himſelfe. The page willing to obey his lord, prouides forthwith for the iourney. But as he was readie to take horſe, another page his companion, handling vndiſcreetly a piſtoll that was charged, let it goe off, and therewith kild the poore Polonian page: About whom the princes letters were found; which comming to the hands of his Counſell, and his intent being diſcouered, they wrought ſo with him, that by their counſell, and vpon conſideration of the miſaduenture that might happen, he changed his opinion. The other page, who by retchleſneſſe had committed ſuch a murther (and therefore was ſhut vp in a dungeon, the princes anger being appeaſed) got his pardon through the interceſſion of the Counſell. This happned in the yeare 1541.

We haue ſpoken of ſtrange and enormous cruelties: but there fall out grudges ſometimes betweene the children and the parents far more execrable, and (as it were) in deſpite of nature. Whereof we haue a notable example reported by *Trithemius*, of *Frederick* Earle of Pfinten, who in the yeare 1233, after he had beene long time detained in ſtreight and hard impriſonment, was at the laſt cruelly murthered by his owne ſonne. We find almoſt the like Storie in *Philip de Commines*, ſet out thus: There was a yong duke of Gelderland called *Adolf*, who had married one of the daughters of *Burbon*; He committed a moſt facinorous fact, for he tooke his father priſoner one euening as he was going to bed, and carried him fiue German leagues a foot, without hoſe or ſhooes, in a verie cold weather, and then caſt him into a dungeon, where he ſaw no light but at a little loop-hole, and kept him there ſix moneths. Vpon this there aroſe great war betweene the duke of Cleue (whoſe ſiſter the ſaid priſoner-duke had married) and this yong duke *Adolf*. The duke of Burgundie offred many times to accord them, but could not doe it. At the laſt the Pope and the Emperor ſet themſelues earneſtly about it; and the duke of Burgundie was enioyned vpon great penalties to take duke *Arnold* out of priſon; which he did; for the yong duke durſt

In his Chronicles.

Lib. 4. cap. 1.

durſt not but deliuer him, becauſe he ſaw ſo many great men buſied about that matter, and beſides feared the power of the duke of Burgundie. I ſaw them both (ſaith *Commines*) in the duke of Burgundies chamber many times, and in a great aſſemblie of Counſell, where they pleaded their cauſe: and ſaw the good old man offer the pawne of Combat to his ſonne. The duke of Burgundie deſired very much to make them friends, and fauoured the young man, and offered him the title of the gouernment of Burgundie, and the countrey of Gelderland ſhould haue remained to him, with all the reuenue thereof, ſauing a little citie ſtanding neere Brabant (called Graue) which the father ſhould haue had, with the reuenue of three thouſand florins, and as much in penſion: ſo the whole ſhould haue bin worth to him ſix thouſand florins, with the title of Duke, as reaſon was. I was appointed among other (ſaith *Commines*) to carie this word to the young duke: who anſwered, *That hee would rather caſt his father into a well headlong, and himſelfe after, than yeeld to ſuch an agreement, and that it was foure and fortie yeares that his father had beene Duke, and that it was now time for himſelfe to bee Duke: but he would willingly leaue him three thouſand florins yearely, vpon condition hee would neuer ſet foot within the duchie*, with other ſuch words, fooliſh ynough God knowes. This happened iuſt at the time when the king tooke Amiens from the Duke of Burgundie, who was then with theſe two that I ſpeake of at Dourlans, where he was much troubled, and thence departed vpon a ſudden to retire to Heſdin, and ſo forgat this buſineſſe. This young Duke put on him a French ſute, and got him away with none but two in his companie, to goe into his owne countrey. As he paſſed by a hauen neere to Namur, he paid a florin for his fare; a Prieſt ſaw him, and had a ſuſpition of him, and ſpake to the Boat-man, who beheld him in the face that had paid the florin, and knew him: ſo he was taken and caried to Namur, where he continued priſoner till the death of the duke of Burgundie, and then the Gantois ſet him at libertie, and had a mind to match him by force with her that was afterward Dutcheſſe of Auſtrich, and caried him with them before Tournay, where being but meanly accompanied hee was miſchieuouſly ſlaine by the iuſt iudgement of God, who ſuffereth not any wickedneſſe to goe long vnpuniſhed.

It is moſt true which is commonly ſaid, *That loue doth deſcend more than aſcend:* by meanes whereof one father doth maintaine with leſſe labour ten children, than ten children can maintaine one father. We will enrich this prouerbe with a notable ſtorie that hapned whilom at Gant, where it is yet to be ſeene grauen in braſſe. A certaine father and his ſonne being condemned to die for many heinous facts by them committed: the Earle of Flanders deſiring to know in whether of the two the naturall affection of the one to the other was more vehement, promiſed to ſaue his life that would cut off the others head. But at the laſt the father hauing perſuaded his ſonne with many reaſons (who yet had a long time denied to do it) was woon to performe the executioners office, and to behead his father. Alſo the Imperiall lawes ordeine, when ſuch two muſt bee put to the racke, that the ſonne ſhould firſt goe to it, but in the fathers preſence or with his priuitie: becauſe it is a thing in nature, that the father doth more feare the torments of his ſonne, than the torments of his owne bodie: and ſo conſequently, being more tortured with the paine which he ſeeth prepared for his ſonne, than with any other paine which himſelfe can be made to endure, he is the more eaſily brought to confeſſe the truth. To come neerer yet to our firſt purpoſe, *Cornelius Nepos* magnifieth (and that worthily) *Pomponius Atticus*, of whom he writeth he had heard, That hauing at the age of threeſcore and ſeauen yeares

L. Iſti quidem de eo q. met. cauſ. iunct. gloſſ. in verbo magis, & §. fi. Inſtitut. de noxal. act.

yeares buried his mother that was ninetie yeares old, he neuer had been troubled with reconciling himselfe vnto her, and had neuer fallen out with his sister almost of the same age that he was of: meaning, that it was a greater thing that he was not troubled with reconciling himselfe, than that he had not fallen out: for hee neuer had offended his mother; but if there were any falling out betweene him and his sister, it proceeded not so farre as to quarrels and enmities, which neuertheless are oftentimes too frequent and too bitter betweene brothers and sisters.

Not to speake of Christians, who are commanded expressely of God to honour their fathers and mothers, the very Pagans haue adiudged to most grieuous punishment the children that are cruell, rebellious, and vnthankfull. Such was *Platos* law, which I thought good to insert heere, becausе it is worth the remembring. *If any honour not his father and his mother as hee ought, and loueth them not aboue his owne children, his grand-children, and himselfe, to please them with all manner of duties and seruices by obeying their wills and commaundements; let him bee brought by his father, or by some other to the three Elders of the Colledge deputed for the keeping of the lawes, and to the principall ouerseers of mariages. Let them looke into this offence; and after they haue diligently sifted out all that dependeth thereof, let them represse the children that carie themselues vndutifully. If they be but young, let the males till they be thirtie yeares old bee chastised with rods and imprisonment; and let the women till they bee fortie yeares be punished likewise. If after this age these children continue careless of their parents, and deale hardly with them, let them bee brought to the generall Counsell of the whole people, and of all the assemblie let there bee some Elders appoynted to enquire of the fact. Afterwards, let him, whom the Iudges shall condemne, bee punished with a more grieuous punishment than any criminall offender is bound to suffer. If the father growne old, and troubled with the violent dealing of his children, cannot complaine to Iustice; let euery free man that shall haue notice of the fact, bee bound to report it to the Magistrate, and let him bee held for a wicked person if hee doe it not, and let it be lawfull for euery man to accuse him for a villaine. If a slaue disclose the matter, let him bee made free, whether hee bee in the power of the parents offended, or of the children offendors, and let him bee set free by the Magistrat, without paying any summe for his freedome: If he be some citizens slaue, let the citie pay his master the price of the slaue, and commaund that hee be set at libertie: let the Magistrat take order that the Information be no way preiudiciall to the Informer.* Theſe be *Platos* lawes; to which we will adde for the end an ordinance of king *Clotarius*, and it is the xxxv. among those of the ancient Germans, of this tenor: *If any Gouernor haue a wicked and rebellious sonne, which either by his owne follie, or deboished by seditious fellowes that would trouble their countrey, offereth to rise against his father, and taketh armes to make warre vpon him, his father being still in Office, and hauing the meanes to doe the king seruice by leading an armie, strong to mount a horsebacke, and to execute the kings Commissions: if his sonne seeke to dishonour him, and to take his charge and place from him, let him not obtaine his purpose. If his father ouercome him, and can apprehend him, let him haue the power either to banish him the prouince, or to confine him within such a countrey as hee shall thinke best, or to send him to the king, disinheriting him of all his goods, because he hath done that against his father which he should by no meanes haue done.*

Lib. 11. de legib.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Why Bacchus *is made wearing hornes in his forehead. And of the ſundrie ſorts of being drunke.*

Bacchus is painted commonly with hornes: and certaine friends diſputing thereupon, the queſtion was, Why in old time, and now, Painters and Imagers haue ſet out this *Bacchus* moſt often with hornes in his forehead, who (they ſay) was a man of warre, but neither deformed nor horned? Some ſaid, that becauſe *Bacchus* was thought by the Pagans a god, they drew beames about his face, being a thing made crooked and ſharp-wiſe like hornes, which the ignorant libertie of Painters hath alſo giuen to *Moſes* the holy Law-giuer, whoſe face did ſhine at his returne from talking with the true God: for beames and hornes are both one word among the Hebrewes, as *Pierius* ſaith. Others were of opinion, that *Bacchus*, after the cuſtome of the Indians, had curled and knotted his lockes like hornes, as the Curteſans of Venice doe alſo weare theirs. And *Virgil* calleth theſe hornes by the name of creſts, ſaying,

In his Hieroglyphicks.

Æneid. lib. 12.

—— *The hornes of a red creſt.*

Where he meaneth the haires frizled and faſhioned in ſuch ſort, as one would ſay they were hornes, and the Greekes alſo giue them that name: alſo for the word To ſhaue, they vſe the verbe *Kourein* (from whence it may be are deriued *Corona* and *Cornua*, which are Crownes and Hornes:) and they will haue theſe curling knots (eſteemed ſo much in thoſe times) to be hornes; witneſſe the pictures of king *Lyſimachus*. In the like dreſſing are the Armenian Prieſtes and others to be ſeene at this day, as *Lilius Gyraldus* hath learnedly obſerued in his Hiſtorie of the Pagan gods. The Indians and Arabians haue yet ſtill this cuſtome (as they that trauell thither ſay) that when they goe to the warre, they make hornes of their locks, and thinke to make their enemies afraid with thoſe perriwigs ſo fantaſtically framed. Some would maintaine, that ſage Antiquitie meant by ſuch painting to diſcouer the nature of drunkards, who when they haue their lading of wine, are wont to bee more bold and venturous than ordinarie, vndertaking ſometimes things, which they would not dare to thinke on being ſober. By this laſt opinion, hornes ſignifie an outrecuidance and ridiculous brauado, which laſteth but for a fit: for ſuch fellowes, who (for the moſt part) haue neither cloake nor ſword, that cannot ſhew prouiſion for one good meale, and poſſeſſe neither fire nor hearth, being ſworn enemies to husbandrie and readie money, ſo ſoone as they haue a little wine in the horne, are little Kings, Generals of armies, builders of cities, giuers of milions of pounds to thoſe and to theſe. This is the fume of the wine, which paints in their heads ſuch Chimæras, and fils their braines with theſe idle diſcourſes. So ſaid a Poet, that after drinke

Lib. 8.

Baſil. in his ſermon of Drunkenneſſe.

—— *the poore man taketh hornes.*

And *Horace* ſpeaking to the wine, ſaith thus:

Lib. 3. Ode 21

Thou bringeſt Hope and Strength againe
To minds oppreſt with care and paine;
So arming the poore man with Hornes,
That hee feares not the frownes and ſtormes
Of angrie Kings; nor yet the harmes
Of Souldiers gliſtering all in armes.

We may here inferre that which the ſame *Gyraldus* alleageth out of *Porphyrion*, That hornes are aſcribed to *Bacchus* and to ſome others, becauſe Drunkenneſſe

Vpon the 2. booke of the verſes of *Horace.*

nesse bringeth foorth pride and furious violence, signified by the hornes. To this purpose *Festus* an ancient Grammarian said, that hornes haue beene added by painters and image-makers to the images of *Bacchus* who is thought the inuenter of wine, because drunkennesse maketh men readie to push like bulls when they are angrie. *Horace* seemeth to meane as much in these verses,

Lib. 2. Epist. 5.

Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit:
Spes iubet esse ratas: in prælia trudit inermem:
Sollicitis animis onus eximit: addocet artes:
Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum? That is,

What doth not Drunkennesse atchieue? things hid it brings to light:
Makes hope cock-sure as any thing: the naked driue to fight:
Dischargeth minds of burd'nous cares, and plaies the doctor right.
Full Cups doe make the stammerer excell in eloquence;
The poore-man free and careless though he starue with indigence.

Thus we see how they haue tricked *Bacchus*, called otherwise *Dionysius*, and *Liber*, that is to say, Free; giuing him other names that represent the effects of drinking too much; as Furious, and Mad, because they that drinke wine or other drinke that maketh one drunke beyond measure, become mutinous and quarrelsome; as *Athenæus* brandeth them, saying, That wine doth hurt those that drinke too much of it, and maketh them to require things vnreasonable. The same Author saith in another place, That some considering the effects of drunkennesse haue compared *Bacchus* to a Leopard and to a Bull; because wine makes those to become furious that take of it excessiuely. All which superstitious antiquitie would represent by the Thyrse or Iauelin that *Bacchus* carried, the point wherof was wrapped about with yuie: which signifieth (after the interpretation of *Macrobius*) that the furious fits of drunkennesse are to be brideled with the reines of patience: For the yuie branch doth naturally wreath and wind about that which it embraceth; and the heat of wine doth commonly carrie the drinkers to actions sauoring of rage. *Lilius Giraldus* in his Historie of the gods doth likewise obserue, that the Argians worshipped *Bacchus* vnder the name of *Bugones*, that is, the sonne of an Oxe; and many Greekes haue surnamed him *Bulls-head*, holding that he was the sonne of *Proserpina*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* report. They haue also nick-named him Bull, and haue giuen him hornes. *Diodorus* is of opinion that hornes were attributed to *Bacchus* (who is the same that the Ægyptians call *Osiris*) because he was the first that yoaked oxen to plow with. In another place he holdeth that *Dionysius* or *Bacchus* hath beene represented hornie, because he was the sonne of *Ammon*, who (by report) had the head and hornes of a Ram.

Lib. 14. cap. 1.

Lib. 2. at the beginning.

Lib. 8.

Lib. 5.

Lib. 4.

Now although the aforesaid coniectures be not without some learning: yet (me thinkes) the opinion of the aboue-named *Athenæus* is not to be reiected; who thinketh (by report of *Pomponius Lætus*) that *Bacchus* was painted with horns, for that, when the Ancients would set cock in hoope, and ful-gorge themselues with wine, they were wont in steed of bolls and goblets to be serued with great hornes to drinke carowses in. *Athenæus* writeth, That *Philip* king of Macedonia, when he would feast his familiars, did vse to drinke to them out of a horne. It may be that they were these goblets of king *Philip* (or other such like) that were carried in shew, when *Paulus Æmylius* triumphed, after the taking of *Perseus* the last king of Macedonia. For *Plutarch* writeth, that he had men (among others)

In the life of *Valentinian*.

Lib. 11. cap. 8.

others)that carried cups of siluer,bolles and goblets made in fashion of Cornucopia,and other pots to drinke in, all verie beautifull to looke vpon,as well for their hugenesse, as for the singularitie of the grauing and embossing that was about them. The same *Athenæus* describeth also the customes of the Athenians and others,that vsed hornes of gold and of siluer in their feasts. *Cæsar* saith,That the Dutch-men sought verie narrowly after the hornes of wild Oxen,the brims whereof they set with siluer, and made vse of them as goblets, when they met at their great feasts. *Cornelius de Kempt*, in his booke of the beginning, scituation,qualitie and spaciousnesse of Frizeland,writeth, That the Frizelanders both in old time and now,were and are serued in their sollemne feasts, with certaine great and long hornes (in steed of cups or goblets) which hold a great deale,and are garnisht with siluer at the edges,at the ends,and in the midst. *Athenæus* thinketh,that the cup or boll to drinke in was named of the Greekes Krater, as who would say *Kerater*, a word deriued of *Keras*, which signifieth horne. There be that haue brought from the furthest Regions of the North to Noremberg, such great hornes grauen verie artificially, vpon which are read Gothish rhimes,and besides they are tipt and garnisht with gold and with siluer. I haue beheld them with great delight for the rarenesse in a merchants house that traded into those countries,who told me that yet at this day those Northren people tooke greater pleasure to drinke in such hornes than in any other vessels, and they neuer rise from the table till they haue so soundly knockt their heads with those hornes, that they grow almost mad with it. *Olaus Magnus* witnesseth the same in his Northren Historie.

In the life of *P. Aemylius.*

Lib. 6. de bello Gallico.

Cap. 20.

Lib. 13. *cap.* 38.

Hereupon we may fitly obserue, That the force of making drunke doth not consist onely in wine taken beyond measure, or in beer and ale,or other forcing drinke made of graine or fruits, which ouercasteth the braine with fumes, and troubleth,dimmeth,and woundeth reason; but also,that there be some people which both heretofore and in this our time haue willingly and by other means prouoked a furie or madnesse,continuing some houres. Whereof we haue an example in the ancient Thracians, who in their feasts vsed to walke about the harth,and to cast into the fire certaine seeds of hearbs,the smoke wherof would make them drunke and fall a sleepe. The Babylonians would put fire to certaine fruits of trees,and after would draw in the smoake, which wrought so in their heads,that they neuer left laughing, singing and dancing,so long as the operation of that vapour lasted. In our time we see the same among the Turkes,whom the Alcoran of *Mahomet* forbids the vse of wine: They often take Opium; also another pouder named of them Maslach, (which some take to be hemp-seed, others the seed of furious Night-shade)& prouoketh drunkennesse exceedingly. The vse of the Opium of white poppey (chiefely in such as accustome themselues thereunto) maketh them rather mad for the time, than sleepie and senselesse. *Bellon, Nicholai, Thenet*, and others that haue trauelled into the East, speake largely of this Turkish practise; and *Wier* hath made a reasonable long discourse thereof in his Commentarie of the Impostures of deuils. The Historie of Scotland writtten by *Buchanan* containeth a memorable example of the effect of Nightshade, a venimous and stupefying herbe, which aboundeth in Scotland: for with the helpe thereof and by the craftinesse of the Scots,the armie of *Suenon* king of Norway was surprised and hewen in peeces. The victuals that were brought to the campe being infected with this herbe, the Norwegians, who were besides loaden with wine, grew so drousie that their enemies defeated them, and slue them all sleeping. Moreouer, there is Darnell which groweth most

Alexander *ab Alexandria, lib.* 3. *cap.* 15.

Lib. 3. *cap.* 18.

Lib. 7.

moſt commonly among good Corne; If the ſame be grinded and made into bread, it makes them that eat of it, drunke: The husbandmen euerie where almoſt can report many examples thereof. This graine is verie rife in Italy, where they call it Imbriaca, that is, making drunke; and they make thereof a
Lib. 3. cap. 17. diſtilled water that is good for ſome diſeaſes. Of this Darnell *Wier* maketh mention, and telleth a pleaſant Storie of a certaine woman that was a little too niggardly, who hauing hired threſhers to worke a good many daies; that ſhe might find them the better cheape, tooke darnell and made it be grinded, and after mingled it with Rie-meale, & ſo baked bread of it. After the threſhers had eaten of it, they began firſt to feele a dazling in their eies, & ſo to turne round like men out of their wits: and after being not able to beare themſelues vp, they fell all along vpon the ground, where inſteed of threſhing the old womans corne, they did nothing but ſleepe and ſnoare. They vſed this ſo often, that after ſome daies ſhe perceiued what the cauſe was, and after fed them with good bread that ſhe might be the better ſerued of them.

The like may be ſaid of the Simple or ſhrub called Tabacco brought out of the Weſt Indies, of which there be many plants to be ſeene in diuers gardens of Europe. I will ſet downe that which *Ierom Benzo* writeth hereof, as an eie witLib. 1. of the Hiſtorie of the New world, cap. 26. neſſe, who affirmeth that this wonderfull drug doth grow chiefely in the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, from whence it was firſt brought into Europe. *There are found in thoſe Iſlands* (quoth he) *as alſo in ſome other countries of that New world, certain little low trees, almoſt of the bigneſſe and faſhion of reeds, that haue leaues like thoſe of the walnut tree, and rather greater than leſſe. The people of the countrey where it is vſed, make great reckoning of theſe leaues: and the verie ſlaues that the Spaniards haue brought thither out of Barbarie haue them in great eſtimation. When the ſeaſon ſerues for the gathering of them, they lay them in heapes, and hauing bound them in little bundles or ſheaues, hang them in the ſmoake. There they leaue them till they be verie drie, and when they will vſe of them, they take a leafe from the ſtalke of their great baſtard corne (which we commonly call Turkie-wheat, or Sarazin-wheat) together with one of thoſe Tabacco leaues, and fold them vp together like a coffin of paper, ſuch as Grocers make to put ſpices in, or like a ſmall Organ pipe: then putting the one end of the ſame coffin to the fire, and holding the other end in their mouthes, they draw their breath to them. When the fire hath once taken at the pipes end, they draw foorth ſo much ſmoake, that they haue their mouth, noſe, throat, and head full of it: and as if they tooke a ſingular delight therein, they neuer leaue ſupping and drinking till they can ſup no more, and thereby looſe their breath and their feeling. There be among them that take ſo much of it, as their ſenſes being all ouercome and made drunke with the fume, fall downe flat to the ground as if they were dead, and there lie without ſenſe or feeling moſt part of the day or of the night. Some others that be a little more diſcreet, content themſelues with ſwallowing downe ſo much as will ſerue to make their head dizzie, and no more. But I doe not thinke that the deuill of hell can vomit out an infection more penetratiue, or ſtinking than that is. When I trauelled the Countries of Guattimala and Nicaragua, I ſhould no ſooner enter by chance into the houſe of one of thoſe Indians, that had taken of that hearbe (which in the Mexican tongue is called Tabacco) but ſuddenly there would come ſuch a ſharpe and piercing ſmell of that right infernall ſmoake, and take mee ſo by the noſe, that I was forſt preſently to depart from thence and goe to ſome other*
Decad. 1. lib. 9. of his Hiſt. *place.* We may alſo remember that which *Peter Martyr* a Milannois writeth, where he ſetteth downe diuers things concerning this plant, or of another much like it, the vapour whereof paſſing by the noſtrills to the braine, maketh thoſe Iſlanders grow (as it were) mad, and they thinke that the houſes wherein they dwell are turn'd vp-ſide downe, and that the people goe with their head downe-

wards,

wards, and their feet vpwards. He calleth this hearbe that so maketh drunke and ouerthroweth the sences, *Cohobba.*

CHAP. XIV.

Of Drunkennesse, and of the euils that come thereby.

A Friend of mine told me not long since, how at the mariage of a Dutch gentleman not farre from Noremberg, there had been a prise and a reward propounded to the waiters at the feast that should drinke most wine. Many hauing laid about them couragiously with blowes of glasses, at the last there was one that caried away the prise, who in a few houres had swallowed downe eighteene measures of Noremberg, which amount to the sixth part of a pipe of wine, and more. And though such detestable and drunken trickes are not to be tollerated in a well gouerned State or kingdome, (much lesse among those that are called Christians, and that it is greatly to be feared they will draw down a sudden destruction vpon Germanie) yet for all that a great many, not of the common sort, but euen of the principall and cheefest of the countrie, thinke that it is a great honour to them, and they are esteemed valorous, when they haue strength ynough to emptie many goblets of wine. They remember not the warning of the wise Auncient, saying, *Shew not thy valour in wine.* As if hee should say, Shew not that thou canst drinke much: He addeth immediatly, *for wine hath destroyed many.* But how can it be otherwise now, seeing we haue lost the true names of things, and vertues are become vices? Or as a learned man of our time complainingly saith: All villanies are now adayes borne with, whereas in former times men were ashamed to sinne; but now vice is counted more excellent than vertue. But the Apostle Saint *Peter* reckoneth Drunkennesse, Gluttonie and drinkings, among the filthie lusts of the Gentiles, and willeth Christians to flie such excesse. The Prophet *Esay* in one of his Sermons sheweth, that drunkards shall not remaine vnpunished: *Woe vnto them* (saith he) *that rise vp early to runne after drunkennesse, and to drinke carouses vntill night. The viol, harpe, timbrell and pipe, and the strong drinke are in their feasts: but they regard not the worke of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. Therefore my people is led into captiuitie, because they had no knowledge: and the most honourable among them are men poore and famished, and the multitude of them is dried vp with thirst.* And a little after he addeth: *Woe vnto them that are mightie to drinke wine, and to them that are valiant to poure in strong drinke.* In this sense the Prophet *Amos* vpbraideth the Gouernors of Israel, *That they drunke wine in basins, and sung to the sound of the Instruments, but no man was sorie for the affliction of the Church.* *Ioel* propoundeth the same doctrine, saying, *Awake yee drunkards, and weepe: howle all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine; for it shall bee pulled from your mouth: yea, a nation commeth vpon my land, mightie, and without number, &c.* Also the Apostle Saint *Paul* wrote to the Christians in these tearmes; *Bee not drunke with wine wherein is excesse, but be ye fulfilled with the spirit.* Vpon which place Saint *Ierome* writeth, *We cannot bee full of wine, and of the spirit together: for the Apostle hath set these two opposite the one against the other, it being impossible we should serue at once two masters. Who so is fulfilled with the spirit, is indued with wisedome, gentlenesse, modestie and chastitie: who so with wine, bewraieth himselfe to be foolish, furious, impudent and filthie.* Out of these places we may gather, how temperat, honest and sober the feasts of Charitie of the Ancients and first Christians were. *Tertullian* is a good witnesse here-

Ecclef. 31.25.

1. Pet. 4.3.

Cap. 5. vers. 11, 12, 13.

Verse 22.

Cap. 6. 5, 6.

Cap. 1. 5, 6.

Ephes. 5. 18.

Apologet. ca. 39.

of, who ſaith, *There they eat ſo much onely as will ſerue to baniſh hunger, and then drinke ſufficient for temperate and chaſte people. The meale begins and ends with prayer. They talke ſo, as if God ſate in the middeſt of them to heare what they ſay. When they come to waſhing of hands, and the candles are ſet vpon the table, then ſome body wils euery one to ſing a Pſalme, and to repeat ſomewhat that hee hath learned out of the holy Scriptures, or as he can ſay of himſelfe. When they goe foorth, they gad not vp and downe, or play the wantons: but they know that they are to ſpend the night alſo in prayers, and carie themſelues as thoſe that are fed and watered with holy leſſons and inſtructions.* S. *Auguſtine* ſaith very well, *That the Drunkard is ſwallowed vp of the wine that hee taketh, is hated of God, deſpiſed of the Angels, mocked of men, trodden downe of all. The drunkard confoundeth nature, looſeth grace, is depriued of glorie, and falleth into eternall damnation.*

Lib. de penitentia.

Wiſe (though ſuperſtitious) Antiquitie perceiuing that wine taken vnmeaſurably is one of the principall enflamers of wickedneſſe and miſchiefe, was of this opinion, that the ſigne *Virgo* abhorreth the vine. And *Orpheus* ſaith, that a man ſhould beware of planting a vine ſo long as the Moone is in that ſigne: becauſe the Virgin hateth the vine. Antiquitie alſo ſeeing that wine maketh drunkards moſt commonly to ſtutter, ordeined, that milke ſhould be offered to *Mercurie*, and not wine; thereby to ſhew the ſweetneſſe of eloquence: for which effect there was dedicated to him in Rome a ſtreet ſurnamed the Sober. Now as drunkenneſſe and all other exceſſe deſerueth reprehenſion, and the riotous incurre the blame of thoſe that bee good and honeſt: ſo it is not without cauſe that *Plutarch* attributeth inuention and eloquence to the moderate vſe of wine. *There be ſome* (ſaith he) *that haue a prettie inuentious wit, which yet before meale is but dull and heauie; contrariwiſe, hauing drunke, they are like frankinſence, and hauing taken heat, they begin to caſt out a vapour: becauſe the wine baniſheth feare, a paſſion that is an enemie to deliberations: alſo it quencheth many other groſſe and degenerating affections, vnfolding and bringing into open view ill will, enuie, grudgings, the right linings and furres of the ſoule: and by the words of him that hath taken his liquour, diſcouering all ſorts of thoughts in the mind. Beſides, wine putteth forward the libertie of ſpeech, and the truth, without which things all knowledge and wiſedome are bootleſſe and to no purpoſe.*

In his Table-talke.

The learned *Adrian Iunius* hath taken occaſion from hence to repreſent *Bacchus* like a young boy, hauing wings vpon his ſhoulders with this motto, VINVM INGENII FOMES: meaning, that wine taken moderatly, aſſwageth ſorrow, maketh the mind nimble and cheerefull, like birds that mount into the aire by the helpe of their wings, as *Pauſanias* an ancient Greeke Author ſheweth. Of this ranke of drinkers was *Bonoſus* a Spaniard (whoſe father was of England) had in great honour with the Emperor *Aurelian*. *Iohannes Auentinus* after *Flauius Vopiſcus* reporteth, that when ſometimes Embaſſadours ſent out of Germanie came to the Emperor, this *Bonoſus* was appointed to drinke carowſes with them, to the end they might be made drunk, and ſo by that gentle torture be brought to confeſſe the ſecrets of their Princes and Lords: as for him, the more hee drunke, the leſſe he foltred in his talke, and wine made him more holding and diſcreet. Worthily therefore doth *Plinie* ſay, That there is not any thing ſo good for the force of the bodie, as wine, nor any thing ſo hurtfull as the pleaſure of drinking too much.

Emblem. 34.

In Laconicis.

Lib. 2. of the Annals of Bauaria.

Lib. 4. cap. 15.

In this Meditation I remember what *Herodotus* writeth of certaine Æthiopians, called *Macrobij*, dwelling in Africa towards the South ſea. King *Cambyſes* hauing vnder the name of an Embaſſie ſent vnto them ſpies, who caried certaine preſents, namely a purple cloake, a chaine, gold bracelets, precious oyntment, and a tunne of Phœnician wine, the king of the Macrobians taking the cloake

in

in his hand, and hauing vnderſtood of the Embaſſadors what it was, he ſaid vnto them, That it was the part of deceiuers to be delighted with painted garments. Afterwards they came to the chaine and bracelets, to their price and faſhion, whereat the king did nothing but laugh, and thinking they had beene chaines to chaine priſoners with, ſaid, That he had ſome that were much ſtronger, and ſhewed to the Embaſſadours many people faſt fettered with heauie chaines and manicles of gold: and for the oyntment, hee made as little reckoning of it, as of the cloake. But for the wine, enquiring how it was made, hee tooke great pleaſure in drinking of it: after hee enquired what *Cambyſes* fed vpon, and how long the Perſians liued? They anſwered, that their king did liue of bread, and declared vnto him how it was made, and that the longeſt time a Perſian liued was foureſcore yeares. To this the other made anſwere, That he wondered not that men liuing of mud remained ſo little while in the world, where yet they would continue leſſe but for that good drinke, to wit, the wine. This *Herodotus* writeth of the Macrobians of Æthiopia. The Weſt Indians (part of which are ſubdued by the Caſtilians) are not ſo barbarous, but they haue alwayes preferred the Spaniſh wine (after they had once taſted it) before all other liquor. *Benzo* hath theſe words: *Of all the commodities that haue been caried out of Spaine into the Weſt Indies, there is none which the Indians haue more gladly embraced, than the Wine. Indeed they make a kind of wine with their Maiz and other fruits: but they ſay themſelues, that all their wines and drinkes neither comfort the ſpirits, nor warme the ſtomacke, nor make a man ſleepe ſo ſoundly as the wine of Caſtile doth.* *Lib. 3. cap. 17.*

To come againe to Pot-skirmiſh; I will heere adde what Saint *Baſil* thinketh of ſuch riotings. *The Deuill* (ſaith he) *is the Iudge and ſtickler of this combat: the priſe of the victorie, is ſinne: for he that ſwalloweth downe moſt wine, is hee that carrieth away the priſe; but truely the glorie of ſuch fellowes is nought elſe but ſhame. They ſtriue mutually together, and reuenge themſelues vpon themſelues. Who can comprehend or expreſſe the villanies that theſe companions commit? In all their behauiour there is nothing but confuſion. The vanquiſhed and the vanquiſhers are as drunke the one as the other, &c.* In his Sermon of drunkenneſſe. *Plinie* deteſting the manners of drunkards, ſaith, There be ſome that lay about them in talke, and cannot refraine from ſpeaking things that enter againe into their throat, which bringeth deſtruction to a great many. The Grecians haue repreſented that by the ſurname of *Liæus* which they haue giuen to *Bacchus*, called in the ſame ſence by the Latins *Liber*. *Plato* writeth, that for the finding out of the diſpoſitions of young men, bankets were ſometimes permitted, wherein they drinke carowſes and healths, that thereby the young men might diſcouer their affections, and ſhew foorth that which they kept moſt ſecret in their thoughts. Alſo in times paſt (to conferre ancient Hiſtories with moderne) theſe skirmiſhes of drinking healths were vſed among the Pagans, but to their confuſion: witneſſe *Plutarch*, who reporteth, That after the buriall of *Calanus* the Indian Gymnoſophiſt, *Alexander* inuited many of his friends and Captaines to ſup with him, where hee propounded a crowne for a priſe to him that ſhould drinke moſt. There was one called *Promachus*, who dranke to the quantitie of foure *Brocks of wine, and ſo woon the crowne which was worth an hundred and foureſcore pounds: but he liued not aboue three dayes after: and of the reſt that played at *Who drinkes moſt?* there died one and fortie, by reaſon of a great cold that came vpon their drunkenneſſe and vpon their wine, as *Chares* the Mitylenian hath left written, who addeth in his Recuels alleaged by *Athenæus*, that *Alexander* ſet this match in fauour of the Indians, who loued wine paſſing well. Furthermore, drunkenneſſe doth not onely bring death, as we haue Lib. 14. In the life of *Alexander*. *The word cõmeth of *Brochꝰ* being a meaſure leſſe than *vrna* by a gallõ and a pottle: *Vrna* conteins 2 gallõs, a pottle, a quart, a quarter of a pint, and an ounce Engliſh: ſo the quantity that he drank, was 5 gallons and a pint, beſides the odde ounces.

now shewed, but also destroieth the sense. For that which the Latins call *Temulentia*, is and signifieth no other thing, but a voluntarie furie, wherewith drunkards are taken after they haue drunke too much. They haue also called wine *Temetum, quia tentat mentem*, because it trieth or shaketh the mind and members of the bodie. Whereunto *Virgill* alluded saying, That wine

Lib. 2. Georg.

Laies fetters on mans feet, and manacleth the tongue.

Cap. 14. de Viris illuster.

Which *Plinie* the yonger confirmeth by a notable example, saying, That king *Antiochus* was kild at a banquet by his Minions, because he would force them to drinke beyond their will. Whereupon the Interpreter addeth; *This example sheweth, that wise men haue not said without cause, that drunkennesse is a voluntarie Frensie which turnes to a plaine Furie, if a man hold on drinking the space of some daies.* It was also the saying of Saint *Ambrose*, That *Drunkennesse transformed men into neighing horses, who with their feet would ouerthrow all that they should meet with.* *Maximinus* the Emperour was so deepely plunged in Drunkennesse, saith *Eusebius*, that he became mad, commanding things when he was drunke which he greatly repented of when he was sober againe.

Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. *lib. 8. c. 16.*

Saint *Augustin* writing to the Virgins, defineth Drunkennesse as followeth; *It is the mother of all mischiefe, the matter of offence, the roote of crimes, the spring of vices, the whirl-wind of the braine, the ouerthrowing of the sense, the tempest of the tongue, the haile of the bodie, the wrack of chastitie, the losse of time, a voluntarie rage, a shamefull languishment, the filthinesse of manners, the shame of life, the staine of honestie, the plague and corruption of the soule.* For this cause they that be drunkards are branded with fixe markes which may distinguish them from those that are not: lifting of the shoulders and armes; shaking and reeling of the bodie and feet; stuttering of the tongue; aking of the head; folly and amasement; after which ensue the Quinsie, Lethargie, Apoplexie, and other diseases which take such hold of them that they are not able to speake. To this the opinion of the Ægyptians is answerable, who held, that the vine sprang vp of the blood of the Giants that was spilt in the earth, for which cause wine contained in it Folly and Drunkennesse, saith *Pierius*. These effects of Drunkennesse haue beene also obserued by the Orator *Isocrates*, who counselleth him that wise is to flie the custome of drinking more than is fit. For we see (saith he) that it fareth with the mind that is couered with the fumes of wine, as with a chariot that hath no guide, which rolleth here and there at hap-hazard: Euen so the mind depriued of reason falleth into many errors. *Athenæus* inricheth this sentence with a notable pleasant Storie. *Certaine yong men* (saith he) *hauing their mazerds well heated with drinking, were growne so infatuate and senseless with the wine, that they bare themselues in hand they were sayling in a galley sore tossed with waues and winds in the maine sea. They thereupon entred into such a folly, as they cast out at the windowes into the street, the beds and all the stuffe that was in their chamber: because they thought the Pilot had told them that they must needs lighten the vessell, if they would auoide shipwrack. And when many came running and carrying away, euerie on somewhat of the things that were cast out (as it were) at random, and that this drunken crew neither all that day nor the night following could be brought againe into their right wits, there were some captaines that went into the house, and there they found these drinkers vomiting so extreamely as if their hearts would haue come vp, they were so sea-sick, and so giddie-headed. The captaines asked them what they were a doing; they answered, that the tempest had so beaten them, that to saue their liues they were forced to cast their lading ouer-boord. The captaines standing amased at such rogueries one of the drunkards (the eldest of all) said vnto them, As for me noble Tritons (he tooke them for sea-gods) feare hath made me throw my self vpon this bed, to be so much the safer in the bottom of the*

Lib. 53. of his Hieroglyph.

In his Remonstrance to Demonicus.

Lib. 2.

the veſſell. The captaines pittying the madneſſe of the poore fellowes, aduiſed them that thence forward they would drinke leſſe wine, and ſo left them. Grammercie (anſwered the yong men:) And (quoth one of them) if after this ſtorme we euer come a land, doubtleſſe when we are in our countrey, we will acknowledge you (among the other ſea-gods) for our ſauiors, ſeeing you haue appeared vnto vs as Patrons to ſaue and preſerue vs. Euer after, this Houſe was ſurnamed the Galley.

Seneca ſaid verie well, That wine immoderately taken troubleth the mind, and is nought elſe but a voluntarie Furie which maketh a man dull, hurteth the braine, burieth and ouerwhelmeth the vnderſtanding. Therefore, ſome haue had reaſon to tearme this familiaritie and acquaintance which many contract at a table, *Glaſſe friendſhip*. Indeed it falleth out, that when we drinke one to another, we ſeeme courteous and great friends: but at our awaking when the wine is diſgeſted, all this ſtraight alliance that ſeemed ſo vndiſſoluable flies away with the fume of the wine, or rather growes diſtaſtfull and loathſome, and ſometimes is turned into furie. This I haue obſerued ſometimes in my countrey-men Rutters neere Straesbourg; when ſome of them went to ſerue the French king, others bare armes for the prince of Condey, both ſorts where they might haue beſt pay. They when they ſhould meet by chance in one houſe, after they were well whitled, were either brothers, or coſins, or allies, but at the firſt encounter they would kill one another. I will not forget to inſert here (for concluſion) that among the other goodly pictures, and ridiculous redoubtable rellicks which the ancient Pagans were wont to carrie about in their proceſſions, was the image of *Manduce*, which had long hanging chaps, and a mouth (ô heauenly wide!) open to the verie eares, and would keepe ſuch a cracking with her teeth, that women and children durſt neuer ſtand neere it. This was the right repreſentation of that coſining fellow *Phago*, deſcribed by *Flauius Vopiſcus*; who ſaith that this king of Gluttons did eat in one day a whole wild-boare, a hundred loaues of bread, a ſheepe, and a roaſted pig, and drunke as much wine as a herring barrell will containe. Of this race of people were certaine Philenes or Philocotoniſts, as *Athenæus* tearmeth them (as one would ſay great ſwillers of wine, and friends to great goblets) that wiſhed to be transformed into whales, ſo as the ſea might be turned into daintie wine, to the end they might tumble themſelues therein ouer head and eares, and drinke their belly-full at their eaſe. Certes ſuch men (if we may ſo call theſe pierced hogſheads, or bottomleſſe-barrells) deſerue to haue ſet vpon their tombes the Epitaph of a certaine ſmell-feaſt, which is extant at Rome without the Gate Capena, where the ancient Romans for the moſt part had their monuments: which Epitaph goes thus; HEVS, HIC SITVS EST OFFELIVS BVBALVS BIBVLVS, QVI DVM VIXIT, AVT BIBIT AVT MINXIT. ABI PRÆCEPS. It agrees well with a drunkard. *Lilius Giraldus* ſetteth out the Epitaph of *Timocreon* the Rhodian, being to this effect, That after he had eaten and drunke his fill, and reuiled people all that euer he could, he was there buried. The latin verſes are theſe:

In the life of *Aurelian.*

In the Hiſtorie of the Poets.

MVLTA BIBENS, TVM MVLTA VORANS, MALE DENIQVE DICENS
MVLTIS, HIC SITVS EST TIMOCREON RHODIVS.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Militarie Discipline of the Turkes and Christians. And of the puissance and impuissance or weakenesse of the Turkes.

MAny great and wise Captaines haue written of the Militarie discipline of the Turkes, who haue atchieued so manie victories, & gotten so much ground in Europe, not so much becausе their Armies are composed of troupes & forces without number, but becausе they can be obedient, can skill to prosecute their point, can fight manfully in plaine fields, can assaile and defend places couragiously, can liue soberly and peaceably one of them with another. All which proceedeth from the strict discipline to which they are inured euen from their child-hood. I haue heard that great Captaine *Lazarus Suenda* discourse more than once of the meanes and addresses to hinder that vigilant enemie from gayning any further ground in Hungarie and Croatia, and from proceeding any further towards Germanie. His opinion was, that the same consisted more in war defensiue than offensiue, or in the hope of being able to recouer the places that are lost. That we should not onely fortifie the frontiers with victuals, armes, souldiers, and all other things requisite for the bearing off, and putting back of an enemie: but also assure the garrisons of an vndoubted hope of succor and helpe, if they shalbe pressed with any long or hard siege. For no place (quoth he) though neuer so strong and well fortified, can long hold out against a powerfull enemie, if the besieged be once destitute of hope of reliefe; becausе it is impossible but at length their courages will faile them, and so they will yeeld to a composition.

There be three miseries (saith another valiant and fortunat Captaine) that discourage many a worthie man from going to the wars. The first is, the sacking and killing of innocent persons, that neuer did harme to any. The second is, the Villany and licentiousnesse of souldiers. The third, is Ingratitude, when such as haue deserued best, are most commonly cast off and reiected. We may ioyne to this, as the cause of all, the contempt of Militarie discipline, wherby it falleth out that they who are appointed for the guard and defense of a countrey, doe spoile and ruin it as much as they that are hired to commit all hostilitie. Another miserie may be this, the discord of Christian princes, a thing so well pleasing to the Turkes, that they entertaine it by all deuises and meanes they can, sparing no money nor labour whatsoeuer, to hinder vs from ioyning our forces and counsells togither. For all men of any vnderstanding agree in this, That if Germanie alone (without speaking of other Christian countries) were vnited in agreement, it hath sufficient store of men, treasure, canons, victuals, and other necessarie things to represse the violence of the Turke, and to driue him out of Europe. But that is a thing more to be desired than hoped, considering the manifold lets that oppose against so holy a worke. But that this disagreement is well knowne, and much pleasing to the Turkes, it appeareth sufficiently by the oration of the Cardinall *Bessarion*. I will relate (saith he) the Apologue which all men know, and was rehearsed by the Sultan *Mahomet*, when one of his Councell went about to dissuade him from making war vpon the Christians. It is to be feared (these are the words in effect of that Counsellor) that the Christians hurried with our armes will all agree to war vpon vs out of a common charge. *Mahomet* answereth, Remember, that once the wolues hauing heard newes that a great crie of hounds were comming against

againſt them, whereat they began to be afraid: one of the eldeſt among them got him to the top of a hill hard by to diſcouer the comming of the hounds; and perceiuing that they were of a diuers and ſundrie haire, though otherwiſe a great number, he came downe very ioyfully, and leaping and skipping called to his companions, that they ſhould be of good cheere; for (quoth he) our enemies are ſo variable, and their faſhions and purpoſes ſo differing, that it is impoſſible they ſhould euer agree to ſet vpon vs all at once: and if they come ſome and ſome, we will eaſily worrey them, and eat them vp. Not much vnlike to this was that compariſon which *Imbraim* the Turkes Embaſſador made, ſaying, That the hearts of the Germans were like a beaſt with many heads, and more tailes: this beaſt being ſtirred, and offering to goe through a hedge, her diuers heads ſought euery one a ſeuerall hole to paſſe through; whereupon it neceſſarily followed, that neither the bodie nor the tailes could ſtirre, but were hindred from going either forwards or backwards: But the Sultan his maſter might be compared to a mightie beaſt, hauing one head and many tailes; which beaſt if it put the head into a hole, the bodie and the tailes muſt follow readily without let or ſtay. By both which tales they meant nothing elſe, but the diſſention of the hearts, and the diſtraction of the forces of Chriſtian princes; and contrariwiſe, the concord and vnited power of the Turks.

One *Hippolytus de Colli*, an excellent man, writeth thus of the Turks militarie diſcipline. It is thought that at this day the Turkes haue the aduantage of all other people, for keeping their rankes, and for ſubmitting themſelues to the diſcipline of warre: for they practiſe it ſo ſeuerely, and ſo iuſtly, that in this behalfe they are thought to ſurpaſſe the Grecians and the Romans. One ſhall neuer heare of any quarrell or fighting among them: the leaſt offence with them is death. They willingly obey their Captaines without flinching, or turning their backes, though it ſtood vpon their life. A man ſhall neuer heare any noiſe or crie in their campe; and though there be an infinite number of people, one would ſay there were not one perſon, ſo great and admirable is their ſilence: at the leaſt ſigne either of hand or eye, they are readie. They ſwimme ouer deepe riuers, clamber vp high rockes, watch and faſt long, neuer a woman or wench among them. When they are marching, they doe hurt to no bodie, for which cauſe the husbandmen neuer runne away when any of the ſouldiers come at them, nor doe they leaue the plough, or forſake their houſes, ſeeing they feare no danger or violence of that ſide. If any of them ſteale or filch ought, he is hangd for it: as a Ianizarie was, who tooke and drunke ſome of the milke that a countrey-woman was bringing to ſell at the market, without paying for it; being accuſed before the Iudge, and denying the fact, he was hangd by the feet, and ſtrained by the middle with a rope, which made him caſt vp the milke, whereupon hee was foorthwith ſtrangled to death by the Ordinance of the ſame Iudge.

Iohannes Leonclauius hath written a diſcourſe ſhewing how and by what means the Turkes are ſtrong, and how they are weake. The pillars of their power are theſe: Firſt, they glorie much in their ſuperſtition, and in the agreement that is among them for the maintaining thereof, and call themſelues *Muſulmans*, that is, *hauing the true beliefe*, as if there were no Religion in the world ſaue theirs, which is indeed but an impious and bruitiſh opinion. They boaſt much of their vnitie in opinions and ceremonies, in all places where their power is extended vnder the authoritie of the Mufti, or chiefe Biſhop. Secondly, the libertie which they graunt to the Chriſtians of commerce and trafficke into their countries, with-

seruants to the Gouernors of the prouinces, & to the Counsell, who rule them at their pleasure, so that now they serue but for a shadow and a cifer. Sixthly, they haue of a long time dispenst with themselues for breaking the publike Faith sollemnly promised; men without shame, noted of extreame wilfull perfidie, and right disciples of *Machiauel*, whereof the Historie of Hungarie (among other) might furnish notable examples: as also their owne Historie, especially within these two hundred yeares. None, either great or small, Christian or other, hath had any recourse to them for fauour, succour, or reliefe, but he hath repented it first or last. In a word, This Turkish court is a Rock, against which an infinite number of ships haue beene dasht and wrakt. Seuenthly, to their cautelous treacherie they haue ioyned a desperate impudencie, seconded with bloodie floutings, with terrible despightings, with murthers and massacres, and next with an insolent hatred of their owne subiects and vassals, yea of their Tributaries whom they handle like slaues, vilifying and scorning them most vnworthily, a thing well knowne to the Vayuods of Transyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia: For, they durst neuer come neere the Turke to kisse his hand, till they had put off their hats, and couered their heads with the turban of the Bolucbassars, who are the captaines of the Ianissaries, apparelled like Free-booters and men of no qualitie. Their perfidie towards the confederats is in this sort: In striking leagues, they receiue, and promise to receiue at a certaine time, certaine presents of the same confederats, saying, That they must not come to the great lord and his principall officers, but with their hands full; such a present they call *Dost luct*, that is, *The honourable guift of a friend:* but among themselues they name it *Haratzum*, that is, *Tribute:* and after that, they doe not expect it modestly as sent from friends, but exact it shamefully as comming from Tributaries. Eightly, to the contempt of God and men, they ioyne a couetousnesse, the basest that one can imagin, especially among the greater sort, with whom all things are vendible: in so much as a man may say, That Turkie would soone change her master, if she could finde a buyer. Ninthly, their counsell seemes to be composed of men of great authoritie; but they are all seruile wits, inconstant, and turning with euerie wind. They desire nothing, but to applaud their master, and his principall Counseller; and if any Bassaes be in credit (as *Hebraim* and *Siman* haue beene in our time) there is nothing spoken but what pleaseth them: so that it is commonly seene, that the will of one or two in that Soueraignte, giueth the motion to all affaires both of war and peace. Tenthly, their arrogant ouerweening will spoile them: For that head and those members doe so presume of their forces, as they thinke nothing impossible for them. From hence proceed those sudden deliberations and violent executions that we read of in their Histories, whose beginnings are by them qualified holy, iust, necessarie, easie to prosecute, done purposely, confidently, and with little charge: But time discouereth that all the same were builded vpon nothing but rashnesse, that there was nothing but profanitie, iniustice, and ambition in their thoughts: That (according to the prouerbe) they embarkt themselues without bisket, hoist sailes at all aduenture, and ran headlong against the next Rock, to their owne shame, with infinite losse, without all profit or pleasure: And this the war with Persia (among other) hath plainely shewed. Eleauenthly, for a more speciall testimonie of their insatiable couetousnesse, their countrey is molested with great and rough exactions: and euerie day they inuent new, abolishing by little and little all priuiledges and exemptions, so that they, who in former times were free, finde no longer franchise nor assurance. Twelfthly, so many disorders, and an infinite

infinite number of other, which it is needlesse now to touch, make the Ianissaries, Spahilars, and other men of war, the Priests, Turkes and others to murmur, complaine, mutin now in one prouince, now in another against the Sultan, whom they hate and curse not onely because of all this, but especially for that they see nothing but appearances of greaten confusions in the gouernment both publike and priuate: which disposeth them to a marueilous commotion and insurrection, when the time of Gods iudgements vpon that Empire shall begin to shew it selfe.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Turkes Ianissaries.

HIstorians are of diuers opinions touching the name, order, and first institution of them. We will follow the opinion of *Leuiclauius*, who attributeth the first beginning and institution of the Ianissaries to *Murat* the first, after he had conquered *Andrinople* about the yeare 1363. Then did the Sultans of the Turks begin to take for themselues (and so haue continued euer since) the fifth part of all the bootie taken in war; and, as if the same had beene done by some Oracle and Diuine commandement, there was a custome brought in, That out of the slaues, the faireſt boies should be chosen out for the Sultan, which being so chosen and culled out were carried to the court of *Murat*, and there presented to him: and then caused them to be transported into Natolia, and to be distributed among the Turkes, there to be trained vp in armes, in labour, and in learning of the Turkish language. After the end of two or three yeares, according as they were instructed and made fashionable, they were brought to the Court, to be enrold among the Ianissaries (who are harquebuziers a foot) and euer since they haue retained this name, which signifieth new or yong souldiers. *Sabellicus* is of the same opinion, adding further, That they are chosen from ten yeares old to fifteene: And that, if there be no prisoners, the Commissaries doe take some out of the prouinces conquered vpon the Christians, and carrie them away whither their parents will or no. They turne them first from Christianitie, bewitching them with the superstition of *Mahomet*, and then deliuer them ouer to certaine men that fashion them to armes, and instruct them in the Militarie discipline: and so being growne expert they follow the Sultan to the war, and are called Ianissaries. If there be any among them of generous and quick spirit, they are preferred to offices and charges by diuers kinds of degrees, and come at last to be gouernors of fortresses, and cities, and prouinces: the rest are either in garrisons, or guarding the Sultans doore, whom they attend whensoeuer he marcheth. In the war he is in the midst of a squadron of Ianissaries of choice. The compleat number of these Ianissaries is about twelue thousand: and there is not any great village, towne, or citie, but it hath some of them, either more or lesse, which doe serue to maintaine peace and quietnesse, and to keepe leaud persons from offring wrong to the Iewes and Christians. They goe in gownes that reach to their anckles, and vpon their head they were a Manch or Sleeue, whereof they put on some part, the rest hanging downe behind their neck. It hath on the fore-part, a long case of siluer and guilt, garnisht with some counterfeit jewells, and stones of small value, and within the same a plume of feathers made fast.

In his Annals of Turkie, *cap.* 35.

The lord of Busbeck doth describe this institution of the Ianissaries more exactly

In his booke of the way how to war against the Turke.

exactly and particularly than any others doe, as followeth. The Sultan of the Turkes ſends men euerie yeare into diuers prouinces, to require and carrie away of euerie three or foure children that are borne of Chriſtians, one. Being brought in troupes to Conſtantinople, ſuch of them as haue the beſt grace, and promiſe alreadie ſome generous diſpoſition, are retain'd for domeſticks to ſerue the Sultan, or ſome of the Baſſas, or ſome of the other Gouernors. The reſt are carried into a certaine place where are a great multitude of men, eſpecially of paiſants and countrey-men. They deſire the Commiſſioner, that they may haue ſuch of thoſe children as they like beſt: he takes for euerie one the value of a Ducket, regiſtring both the age, and diuers marks of the child, whereby he may be knowne all his life-time after. Then is it lawfull for that man, be he citiſen or clowne, to carrie the child beyond-ſea into Aſia or into any other part of the world where he dwelleth, to make him worke as his ſlaue ſo long as he can ſtand. The child hath for his nouriſhment bread and water, ſometimes a little water-gruell, fruits, or hearbs for his pitance. He is meanely apparelled, only to defend him from the iniurie of the weather. He is inſtructed in the ceremonies and ſuperſtition of Mahumetiſme. Thus being depriued of all delights, remooued far from all embracings of his parents, and hopeleſſe of euer ſeeing them againe, he growes ſtrong, of an able bodie, and readie to endure any paines. If need require, the Sultan ſends to haue him againe from his maſter to be emploied in the wars: ſo as out of this Seminarie they fill vp the legions of the Ianiſſaries, when they either die or grow vnprofitable for armes. Being enrolled, his pay is a ducket and a halfe by the moneth: For they thinke that ynough for a new ſouldier. Yet, leaſt he might be driuen to ſome great neceſſitie, he hath his diet gratis in the Cambrado to which he belongs, vpon condition that he dreſſe the meat, and ſerue his fellowes. The moſt expert in that Cambrado for the managing of armes, doth traine and faſhion him in the affaires of the war, ſhewing vnto him by continuall exerciſes how he ought to handle his weapons.

Now although the Ianiſſaries be euen from their yong yeares brought vp and retained like ſlaues in great awe and ſeuere diſcipline, yet with in theſe few yeares they haue plaid ſtrange parts of obſtinacie and rebellion, euen to the forcing of their Sultan to condeſcend to ſtrange and ſhamefull conditions. The lord of Busbeck reporteth to this purpoſe, that certaine Ianiſſaries hauing hurt ſome of his men and he to buy their peace being forced beſides to giue them a ſum of money, *Ruſtan Baſſa* ſent him word to rid himſelfe cleanely of thoſe mad-braines: for he knew how ſuch fellowes did ſo domineere that in the time of war *Solyman* himſelfe could not rule them, but was ſore afraid of them. It may then eaſily come to paſſe (as it fell out in old times among the Romans) that theſe captaines and ſouldiers of the guard will trouble the Turkiſh Empire, and transfer it to ſome others whom they ſhall chuſe at their pleaſure, yea, and ſell the State to him that will giue moſt for it. By which meanes, that which was inuented for the keeping thereof, will turne to the ruin of it. It is long agoe ſince *Claude de Seiſſel* did fore-tell ſome ſuch thing, after others; namely, That the deſtruction of the power of the Turkes ſhould come from that ordinance which the Sultans haue thought to be the ſtrongeſt prop of their Empire, and whereof they haue made happie proofe vntill this preſent. The inſtitution of the Ianiſſaries (ſaith he) is a barbarous and cruell inuention: It will one day be the ouerthrew and deſtruction of the Empire of the Turkes. For ſuch ſouldiers, tired with bearing that tyrannicall yoake, will riſe vp and ſhare it in peeces among them: and the rather for that they poſſeſſe nothing, and maintaine themſelues

Lib. 2. de repub. Franc.

ſelues but meanely with their wages. *Leonclauius* obſerueth the ſame, when he writeth how theſe Ianizaries tranſported with rage, ſlew *Ramandan* the Baſſa or Gouernour of Tripoly, without any reſpect either of his dignitie, or of their Sultan, who had placed him in ſuch a charge. Hee addeth further, the Sultan *Murat* could neuer hitherto haue reaſon of this murder committed vpon his Lieutenant, as his authoritie required: which is not to be marueiled at, becauſe wee muſt not now ſeeke for that obedience and diſcipline among the Turkes, which hath been ſeene among them in former ages. He annexeth another example of a ſtrange mutinie among the Ianizaries, who a few yeares ſince ſlew *Achmet Baſſa*, Beglerbeg or Gouernour of Cyprus, with his people, within Famaguſta. *Murat* extreame angrie at this bold part, ſent another to ſucceed *Achmet* with ten galleyes, enioyning him to entrap the murderers by ſome fine ſleight, and to ſee round Iuſtice executed vpon them: But the Ianizaries preuented him, cut his throat, and the throats of all his ſouldiers, and ſeized vpon the ten galleys to their owne vſe. Whereupon *Leonclauius* concludeth, That though *Murat* was terribly mooued with this ſecond fault of the Ianizaries, violating and vilifying his Maieſtie ſo villanouſly: yet becauſe his affaires in the warre of Perſia were very much disioynted, thinking it beſt to ſhut his eyes for that time, leaſt he ſhould raiſe a new tempeſt, and a ciuile war, he enterpriſed no more matter againſt them.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Pagans deuout and profane.

ALthough the Pagans for the moſt part haue either mocked the doctrine of the immortalitie of mans ſoule, or haue made a doubt of it: yet (for all that) a great many of them haue receiued it for moſt certaine, and I thinke (if I may bee ſo bold as to ſpeake it) ſome of this number haue had ſome feeling and knowledge of the article of the reſurrection of the bodie, as a man may gather by ſome of their arguments and leſſons (if at leaſt they be not new forged) according to the opinions of diuers men: Inſomuch as I haue wondred many times, how it could be, that in ſuch profound darkneſſe of the ignorance of God, in which thoſe men were plunged, they could haue a cleere inſight into an article of ſuch high conſequence, by the onely helpe of humane wiſdome. *Plato* inſtructed in the Pythagoricall ſect, propounded the *Metempſychoſis*, that is to ſay, the paſſage of the ſoule from one bodie to another, which the Phariſees (who came and intruded themſelues into the Iewiſh Church, to the hinderance of the celeſtiall doctrine) borrowed of the Pythagorians, as *Ioſephus* witneſſeth, and the Manichees did the like afterwards in the Chriſtian Church, as *Ruffinus* ſaith in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie. *Theopompus* alſo writeth, that *Zoroaſtres* held opinion, That all men ſhould one day take life againe. *M. Varro* and *Plinie* make mention of many raiſed againe after their deceaſe: and that which we read of *Auiola*, of *Corſidius*, and of *Gabinius* is moſt memorable. *Suidas* recordeth in his Recuels of Hiſtories, that *Æſope* was ſo highly in fauour with the gods, that he reuiued after he was dead, as did alſo *Tyndareus*, *Hercules*, and *Glaucus*. Moreouer *Zeno* the Stoick taught, that there was a Hell, and that the good did remaine in places apart from the wicked: that the good dwelt in peacefull and pleaſant countries; but that the wicked were tormented in places of darkneſſe, and in horrible bottomleſſe pits full of mire and filthineſſe. *Socrates* was not ignorant

Lib. 1. *cap.* 17. In his Fragments. *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 22.

of these things, when as he, making as though he directed his speech to *Anytus* and *Melitus* his false accusers, said to his Iudges, *Anytus* and *Melitus* may kill me, but they cannot hurt me. *Plutarch* setteth downe his opinion more fully herein, whereby one may gather that this man had great knowledge in the doctrine of heauenly Philosophie: *Hee* (saith *Plutarch*) *that hath neuer so little knowledge of the nature of the Soule, and discourseth and considereth with himselfe, that when death commeth, hee changeth this life for a better, or (at least) not for a worse; surely it is a great meane for him to entertaine rest and tranquilitie into his soule, so as it shall not need to feare death.* And a little after he addeth (answering *Menander*, who had written, that *No man liuing could say, This shall neuer befall mee*) *Yet for all that* (saith he) *this wee may say, So long as I liue, I will neuer doe this, I will neuer lie, I will neuer deceiue, I will neuer falsifie my faith, I will neuer circumuent any man.*

In his treatise of the contētment or rest of the mind.

Wee will not for the present stand any longer vpon such opinions, but propound a few memorable inscriptions of some of the profane Pagans. *Sardanapalus*, a mightie king of Assyria, plunged in beastly pleasures like a Sow wallowing in the mire, shewed himselfe most profane of all others. To omit his bruitish life, which was a loathsome and perpetuall dissolution, his sepulchre shall suffice vs for the present: vpon the same was an Image cut, clad like a woman, holding her right hand ouer her head with some of the fingers close, after the fashion of those that would giue a fillip: and by the same these wordes in substance, written (as *Athenæus* hath gathered them out of *Aristobulus*:) Sardanapalus, *the sonne of* Anacyndaraxes, *hath builded Anchiala and Tarsus in one day. Eat, drinke, and be merrie. The rest is not worth a fillip with the finger.* As if he would haue said, A fig for all the rest. *Strabo* setteth foorth certaine verses of the Poet *Cherilus*, added to the same inscription, the substance whereof is this:

Lib. 12. of his Dipnosophists.

In his Geograph.

Knowing thy selfe mortall, embrace with liuely cheere
All pleasures thou canst see, abandoning all feare:
For after thou art gone, all ioy is gone with thee.
I once held all the world obedient vnto me,
But now all that I am is but a little dust,
And of all my great wealth nought else remaineth iust,
But that which I haue eat; that sticketh by me still;
Which may a lesson bee to all men euery where,
That they may wish to be such as I would they were.

Cicero reporteth, that *Aristotle* lighting one day vpon this sepulchre and inscription, suddenly stayed, and hauing read one part therof, said, *This should haue beene written vpon the graue of a beast, not vpon the tombe of a king.* But reading the last verses, he began to laugh, adding, *Hee braggeth to haue that dead which hee had not aliue, but so long as hee was thrusting it downe his throat.* *Plutarch* maketh mention of the same in these tearmes; *Dionysius the tyrant said, That wee should deceiue children with Dice and Cock-alls, and men with Oathes.* And vpon the tombe of *Sardanapalus* was engrauen;

Lib. 5. *quæst. Tuscul.*

Lib. 1. of the fortune and vertue of *Alexander.*

Of all I had, there now is left me nothing,
But what I ate, drunke, guzled, got with whoring.

This filthie king was followed afterwards by a great many profane men and wicked Atheists, who also desired that all posteritie might know it. *Appian* telleth of one that lieth buried in the head citie of the kingdome of Arragon. His inscription is this: QVO VADAM NESCIO. INVITVS MORIOR. VALETE POSTHVMI. M. POSTHVMIVS EQVES. There is the like to be seene at Rome in a Notaries house, called *Peter Chiaueluccio*, in these words: DIS MANIBVS

SEXTI

SEXTI PERPENÆ FIRMI. VIXI QVEMADMODVM VOLVI. QVARE MORTVVS SVM NESCIO. There is another neere to the place of the Iewes in these words; IVLIA B. PRISCA VIX. ANN. XXVI. NIHIL VNQVAM PECCAVIT NISI QVOD MORTVA EST. At this day there is to be seene at Padua the Epitaph of *Patus*, hard by Saint *Thomas* Church in these words: MER. S. D. POPILIVS PÆTVS GN. LABEF. POETA, COS. DESIG. FRATRI SVO B. M. F. HVNC SOMNO ÆTERNALI PATRIA RETINET. And in the citie of Bresse there is another to be seene, such; D. M. QVI ME VOLENT. VALETE MATRONÆ MATRESQVE FAMILIAS. VIXI ET VLTRA VITAM NIHIL CREDIDI ME VENERI ALVMNÆ ADDIXI. QVOS POTVI PELLEXI PHILTRIS ET ASTV. VIRO HVMATO NON VIDVA FVI NEC MARITI NOMEN ADEPTA. QVÆSO NON INVIDETE. PORTIA FAMILIA EST VENERIS DOMVS ILLICIVM CVPIDINVM. CAVE VIATOR NE ME DIV CALCATAM CALCES. To all these profane Epitaphs sauouring of Atheisme, we may adde the verses which *Adrian* the emperor made a little before he died, saith *Ælius Spartianus*: which declare the miserable perplexitie of this prince ignorant of the true Religion, and of his owne saluation; yet otherwise verie carefull of the worship of his gods, and the establishing of their seruice. These be the plaints and meditations which he makes to his soule:

Minion Soule, poore wanton thing!
The bodies gueſt, my deareſt darling!
To what places art thou going
Naked, miſerable, trembling,
Reauing mee of all the ioy
Which by thee I did enioy?

It appeareth then, that many Pagans haue not onely liued in blind forgetfulnesse, proud ignorance, and profane contempt of the life to come, and in beastly and desperat impietie, which Almightie God bare with, through his wonderfull patience and long suffring: but they haue also thought, that the best way to make themselues renowmed and immortall, was, to leaue to posteritie the ayduring markes and tokens of their Atheisme: for euen the Philosopher *Aristoxenus* did not sticke to maintaine (as writeth *Lactantius*) That the soule of man was a matter of nothing, no not while it liues in the bodie; but euen as the tuned strings of an instrument make a certaine accord, which the Musicians call Harmonie, so in the bodies of men the meeting together of the entrailes, and the vigor of the members bring foorth the vertue and faculties of the inward and outward sences: Such an errour, as there cannot bee found a more ridiculous, or that is voider of reason. But this is more to be wondred at, that among the people of God, the Saducees, corrupted with the Philosophie of the Grecians, were of such affinitie with the Epicures and other profane fellowes, that they durst impugne, and that publikely, the doctrine concerning the resurrection of the flesh, and deny that there were either Angels or Spirits: and yet (for all that) were so desperate in their impietie, as to haue themselues called Iust, or Iusticiaries, as the name of Sadducee importeth. How many such monsters are there at this day among the Christians, that oppose themselues against the truth of the articles of the faith, and labour to abolish out of the hearts of those that heare them, all apprehension of euerlasting life and death? *M. Antonius Zimara*, a learned Philosopher of Italie asked this question, Why Priests and Monkes are more afraid of death than any other men? And answering it himselfe, saith, That it is either for that they are of a lumpish melancholy nature, or

Lib. 7. *cap.* 13.

In the 50 Probleme.

In his Recuell of histories.

becauſe they beleeue that their bodies and ſoules are then vndone, not knowing what ſhall become of them after death. Saint *Auguſtin* ſaith, That the Manichees denied the reſurrection of the fleſh, and in ſteed thereof imagined a tranſmigration of ſoules out of ſome bodies into other, ſpecially of thoſe that one had loued, or put to death: as for example, if any man had kild a Flie or a Mouſe, after his death he ſhould become a Flie or a Mouſe. Moreouer, as error groweth into folly, they imagined that there was a change of the condition, ſo that the rich became poore, and the poore rich. This opinion made ſuch braineleſſe fooles to abſtaine eating of fleſh, thinking it a crime to taſt of any thing that had life; for feare (quoth *Tertullian* flouting them) that ſome one eating a morcell, ſhould bite the ſhoulder or the thigh of his great grandfather.

But what is there more monſtrous or abſurd among true Chriſtians than ſuch an opinion, or what comfort ſhould remaine for them, if after ſo many vexations the hope of the bleſſed life were taken from them? Therefore Saint *Ignatius* ſaid verie well after the Apoſtle, *That if our confidence in Chriſt did not exceed the bounds of this preſent life, we were of all men the moſt miſerable. If the dead riſe not againe, what difference ſhall we obſerue betweene vs, and betweene dogs and aſſes, which without any apprehenſion of the future time, haue no care but of their feeding and beaſtly pleaſure, being deſtitute of reaſon, the guide of the vnderſtanding?* To this agreeth the doctrine of *Chryſoſtome*, *When you ſhall ſee* (ſaith he) *the iuſt man preſſed downe tormented with ſickneſſe, and end the courſe of this preſent life vnder the burden of infinite other aduerſities, ſay in your ſelfe, If there were no reſurrection and laſt iudgement, God would neuer haue ſuffred that this good man, which hath ſuffred ſo many miſeries, and enioyed no iot of proſperitie ſhould in this ſort depart out of the world. Whereby appeareth, that he hath prepared for the good another life ſweeter and more deſirable than the preſent. For otherwiſe how ſhould this hang together, That he who is iuſt, and ſo accounted, who rewardeth euerie man according to his workes, ſhould endure that wicked men ſhould remaine vnpuniſhed, after they haue paſſed this life in all iollitie and pleaſure; and that many iuſt ſhould be afflicted here with infinite miſeriks?* The ſame *Chryſoſtome* ſaith alſo in another place, *That the goodneſſe of God hath ordained, That there ſhould be combats and troubles in this preſent life: and that the euerlaſting life ſhould be full of crownes and rewards of good workes: and that the troubles ſhould be of a ſhort continuance.*

1. *Cor.* 15. 19.

In his Epiſtle to thoſe of *Tarſus.*

In his Treatiſe of Sickneſſe.

Furthermore, the deuill is not content to impugne this article of the reſurrection, as we haue ſhewed; but alſo vnder a ſpeciall pretence would perſuade men, that if they would reiect the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and follow their fooliſh inuentions, they ſhould neuer die. To this effect he vſed the ſeruice (when time was) of a Samaritan called *Menander*, who tearmed himſelfe a Sauiour, ſaying, That he was ſent downe from heauen, and from the inuiſible worlds, for the ſaluation of men. This deceiuer taught, That no man might ouercome the Angels, Creators of the world, except he were firſt inſtructed in his Magick and Diſcipline, and indued with his Baptiſme. He promiſed to his diſciples eternall life in this life, where they ſhould neuer waxe old, nor change, prouided they kept alwaies with him. Thus writeth *Euſebius*, who reporteth many things touching *Menander* gathered out of *Iuſtin Martyr*, in theſe words, *We haue knowne a certaine Samaritan called* Menander, *borne in a village named Capparatea, a diſciple of* Simon, *gouerned with wicked ſpirits, and reſident in Antioch, where by his magicall illuſions he ſeduced many, making his followers beleeue that they ſhould neuer die. There be ſome yet aliue, that affirme all this of him. The purpoſe of the deuill was to defame (by the meanes of magick, and of theſe deceiuers, hating the Chriſtian name) the great myſterie of godlineſſe; and to vndermine the doctrine receiued and taught in the Church touching*

Hiſt. Eccleſ. *cap.* 26.

touching the immortalitie of the ſoule, and the reſurrection of the dead. But they that haue adhered to ſuch falſe Chriſts, are fallen from the hope of ſaluation. For others, when Sathan ſaw he could not turne them away from the ſincere affection which they bare towards the Sonne of God, he fell vpon thoſe which he found wauering, and halting of both feet, and ſeiſed vpon them as his owne. The ſame *Euſebius* writeth, That there aroſe others in Arabia, which ſaid, that the ſoules die in this preſent life, and rot with the bodies, but that at the laſt day they ſhall both riſe againe. *Lib.6.cap.17. of his Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

Let vs come againe to our Pagans. There be ſome found of a quite contrarie ſtraine to thoſe we haue deſcribed before, of whom we read verie honourable teſtimonies, and which ſeeme to declare a certaine hope of the life to come. At Rome there are to be ſeene engrauen in a certaine Vrne theſe verſes following.

D. D. S.

Vrna breuis geminum quamuis tenet iſta cadauer,
Attamen in cælo ſpiritus vnus adeſt.
Viximus vnanimes Luciuſque & Flauius: *Idem*
Senſus, amor, ſtudium, vita duobus erat.

That is to ſay,

The aſhes of two bodies this Pot here doth encloſe,
But yet one ſoule to Heauen is gon, there to repoſe.
We Lucius *and* Flauius, *while we did liue, were one,*
One will, one loue, one liking, one life we had alone.

In the ſame citie of Rome one may read theſe other following, in a table of Marble.

Aulus Palateina Egnatius Priſcillianus
Arte ſuper gemina nobilis & ſophia,
Dum vixi, didici quæ more quæ Vita homini eſſet:
Aeterna vnde animæ gaudia percipio.

There is at Verona the ſepulchre of one called *Felicianus*, which is inſerted among the antiquities of *Petrus Appianus*. I cannot tell whither it ought to be reckoned for ancient, becauſe it hath beene told me that the race of the *Felicians* is yet remayning in honour there. Such is the inſcription:

Mihimet Felicianus *Veronen. Sacrum Conſt. qui inquietus viuus, nunc tandem mortuus non lubens quieſco. Solus cur ſim quæris? vt in die cenſorio ſine impedimento facilius reſurgam.* In his Antiquit. cap.2.

That is to ſay,

I Felicianus *a Veronian haue my ſelfe made mine Epitaph. Who aliue hauing neuer beene in quiet, now at laſt dead, am not willingly in reſt. Doſt thou aske why I am alone? That at Doomes-day I may riſe againe the more eaſily and without let.*

At Rome we may read another, and it is this: Lib.1.de Cœle.

D. M.

Aurelio Balbo, *vita integerrimo moribuſque ornato, qui ſe quietioris perfectioriſque vitæ deſiderio, ex negocijs ciuilibus, in quibus fuerat cum laude verſatus, Iouis Op. Max. beneficio ducto hic in ſpe reſurrectionis quieſcenti locus publicè datus eſt.*

That is to say,

The people haue giuen a place to Aurelius Balbus *a man of vnreproueable life, and vertuous; who desiring a more peacefull and perfect life, by fauour of the most good and most great* Iupiter, *hath beene retired from ciuile affaires, wherein he employed himselfe with great honour, and here he resteth in hope of the Resurrection.*

To these a man may adde the Epitaph set vpon the base of the image of *Attilius*, a learned man borne at Como, where he died:

Morborum vitia, & vitæ mala maxima fugi,
Nunc careo pœnis, pace fruor placida.

That is to say,

The bodies hurt I fled, all Vice I did detest,
Now free from greefe and paine I liue in pleasant rest.

This moreouer is worth the obseruation, that in the most ancient tombes there be some things which doe shew, that among the Pagans, as there are some found that haue mocked the immortalitie of the Soule, so there be some others that haue held it a certaine and doubtlesse thing: for we see commonly grauen in Marble and in Brasse, without any inscription at all, doores halfe open, or shut. The halfe open shew, that the dead were perswaded that death was a passage out of this life into the other: the shut signifie, they had a meaning that the bodie and soule perished both together. I was taught this by a very learned man, and studious in Antiquitie within Rome, where I haue seene one of these ancient monuments in the Capitoll, in the palace of the Conseruators, as it is tearmed. There is a table of Marble, within the which is very artificially grauen a house, in the middest whereof appeareth a doore halfe open. I haue seene another of the like in the mount Cælius, not far from the entring into S. *Iohns* of Lateran. In this table one may perceiue a man starke naked, entring in at a doore standing betweene open and shut, which it seemeth hee would set wide open. There is a third almost like to those at Florence, hard by the great Church. To these engrauings we may referre the inscriptions of *Trebia*, noted by *Poliphilus*, of which we haue made mention in some other place. These Pagans (I speake of the lesse ignorant) which had the vse of many good precepts of the auncient Sages, and followed superstition yet without cleauing thereunto, might well draw out of the Bookes of *Moses*, and some other Bookes of the Bible, translated into Greeke by the Septuagints (when *Ptolemeus Philadelphus* was king of Ægypt, in the yeare of the world 3694, according to *Iosephus*) some instructions and resolutions touching the article of the Resurrection of the flesh. And that it is so, one may gather by the oration which the Emperour *Constantinus* made to the Bishops assembled at Nice, where he saith among other things: Pythagoras, *that made profession of modestie and of silence aboue all other Philosophers, shall bee found a lyer, in that he saith, he learned in Ægypt by diuine reuelation that which he taught awhile after in Italie: considering, that the Prophets had propounded and set foorth all that long before.* *Bodin* in his Method of Histories, reporteth out of the Commentarie of *Simplicius*, that *Aristotle* wrote to the Philosopher *Callisthenes*, praying him to search the Antiquities and writings of the Chaldeans, whilest the armie of *Alexander* should take the spoyle of Babylon: and that *Callisthenes* wrote back vnto him, That after diligent search made, he had found a Historie of one thousand foure hundred and three yeares, a number that agreeth exactly with the Historie of *Moses*, and of *Philo*, if we reascend from *Alexander* vnto the time that the sonnes of *Noah* were dispersed ouer the sundrie parts of the

In his Antiquities, *lib. 2. cap. 2.*

Lib. 1. de Cœlo.

the earth, and the ſonnes of *Sem* began to people Aſia. From the wiſe obſeruations of the Ancients haue proceeded (by ſucceſſion of time) many good Imperiall Conſtitutions inſerted into the bodie of the Ciuile Law, That none ſhould remooue or trouble the bones of perſons that reſt in the earth, and that none ſhould take them away from thence but by commaundement of the higher powers. *Titul. de religioſ. & ſumpt. fun.*

But leauing the Heathen Philoſophers, who being drenched in the fables of Greece and of Ægypt, thinke that their bruitiſhneſſe is the full meaſure of Science, ſaieth *Lactantius* in his Inſtitutions; either not comprehending throughly that which they know, or talking fondly or proudly, becauſe they make account to know that which they are ignorant of. It is a wonder that the inhabitants of the Weſt India (a bruitiſh kind of people, and the moſt horrible Idolaters that can bee) ſhould haue not onely ſome taſt and feeling of the immortalitie of the ſoule, but alſo of the reſurrection of bodies: which the ceremonies of their burying doe demonſtrate; as alſo the prayers which they commonly make to the Spaniards, diuing into ſepulchres in hope to to find gold and ſiluer, That they would not take away or caſt foorth the bones of the dead, that they may riſe againe ſo much the more readily and eaſily; as the Spaniſh Hiſtorians affirme. Beſides theſe *Thomas Hariot* writing of the inhabitants of Virginia (a countrie diſcouered not long ſince by the Engliſh) ioyned to America towards the North, ſaith, That theſe poore idolaters beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoule, and hold, that preſently after it is ſeperated from the bodie it is carried (according to the workes that it hath done) either into the habitation of the gods, there to be happie for euer; or into a great and deepe pit which they thinke to be verie far from thence, at the worlds end towards the Weſt, and they call this place *Popoguſſo*, there to burne for euer in a fire that ſhall neuer be quenched. In like manner *Hariot* reporteth ſome examples of thoſe whom they hold to haue returned from death to life. *Oſorius* writeth, That the Eaſt Indies of Narſinga beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoule, and that after this preſent life, the iudgement of God hath ordained rewards for the good, and puniſhments for the wicked. *Benzo* reporteth, That the father of *Attabalipa* king of Peru, was ſo beloued and honoured of his ſubiects in his life time, that yet at this preſent they mourne for him, and hold for certaine that he muſt riſe againe ſpeedily, and returne to gouerne the countrey. He lies buried within the liberties of Quito (where alſo the ſepulchres of his predeceſſors are) with a huge quantitie of gold and ſiluer wrought into the forme of men, of women, and of ſundrie ſorts of beaſts and fiſhes. The Spaniards haue done all that they could by torturing and tormenting the Indians, to know where his ſepulchre might be: but they could neuer bring them to tell it, nor they will neuer ſhew it, though they ſhould be all kild one after another. If the Spaniards ſhould meet with ſuch ſepulchres as that of *Semiramis* was, the mightie queene of the Eaſt, perhaps they would be better aduiſed, and would not ſo boldly dig into tombes, nor ſo vnworthily ranſack the bones of the dead, in hope of finding gold among them. She cauſed to be grauen vpon her tombe theſe words; *Whatſoeuer king he be that ſhall find want of money, let him open this graue, and there take whatſoeuer he needeth.* Darius, *a couetous Prince, reading thoſe words cauſed the ſepulchre to be opened, but found no money there; but onely another writing containing in effect this that followeth: If thou wert not wicked, and ſeiſed with inſatiable couetouſneſſe, thou wouldſt neuer ranſack the tombes of the dead.* A moſt pleaſant reproach and controlling of the wolfe-like hunger after riches.

Lib. 6. cap. 18.

Auguſt. Zarat. Lib. 1. of the hiſt. of Peru. *Benzo lib 3. cap. 20.* of the Hiſt. of the New world.

In the hiſt. of Portugal, *li. 4.*

Lib. 3. cap. 5.

Touching

Touching the manner of burying the bodies of the dead with iewels of gold and siluer, it was a thing vsuall among the ancient Romans, as appeareth by the answer of *Vlpianus* the Lawyer, which forbiddeth such excesse, in these tearmes, *There must no Iewels nor other precious things bee interred with bodies, as the simple people vse to doe.* *Iohn de Lery* in his voyage to America, the sixteenth chapter hath these words, speaking of the sauage Americans: They doe not onely beleeue the immortalitie of soules, but also firmely hold, that after the death of the bodie, their soules that haue liued vertuously (that is, in their meaning that haue well reuenged themselues, and eaten many of their enemies) goe away behind high mountaines, within goodly gardens (these be the Elisian fields of the Pagans) where they daunce with the soules of their grand-fathers: and contrariwise, that the soules of the dissolute and lazie, that haue made no reckoning to defend their countrey, go with *Aygnan*, so they call the deuill in their language; with whom (say they) they shall be tormented incessantly.

In l. & si quis. §. non oportet. De religi. & sumpt. fun. & in l. fin. §. fin. de auro & argento legat.

CHAP. XVIII.

The consideration of this Sentence, Doe not that to another, which thou wilt not haue another should doe to thee.

IT is reported, that the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus* tooke so great delight in this sentence vttered by our Sauiour Christ, *Whatsoeuer you would that men should doe vnto you, doe you likewise vnto them*, that he commanded it to bee written and grauen in his palace, and vpon the publike buildings. Besides, *Ælius Lampridius* writeth, that the same Emperour determined to haue placed Christ in the number of the gods, and to haue builded him a Temple: which thing the Emperour *Adrian* before him would also haue done, who purposed to forbid the setting vp of any Images in the temples, but hee was turned from doing it by some that asked aduice therein of the Oracles, which made answere, That all the Pagans would become Christians, if that were suffered, and that the temples would goe to wracke. To come againe to our excellent saying; *Vlpianus* the Iurisconsult, principall Counseller to *Alexander Seuerus*, out of the same framed the Constitution which is found in the Pandects collected by the commandement of *Iustinian*, vnder the title, *Quod quisque iuris in alterum statuerit, vt ipse eodem iure vtatur.* The substance of the same Constitution is, That whosoeuer shall vse towards another any matter of new right, shall bee handled with the like, if his partie require it. *Valerius Maximus* produceth some examples thereof; and among the rest this is most remarkeable, That all they that conspired against *Cæsar*, perished by a violent death, and were kild with the same poinyards wherewith they stabbed him. The same also hapned to the murderers of *Gordian*, saith *Cordus* the Historian of that time: for of nine that were at the killing of him, there escaped not one, but all of them (after that *Philip* and his sonne the authors of the murder was slaine) kild themselues with their owne hands, and with the same poinyards which they had serued their turnes withall in making away that good prince, by the treason of the said *Philip* great master of the Empire, by nation an Arabian, and very meanly borne. There is to bee seene at this day in an auncient monument almost worne out, and whereof no reckoning is made at Rome, these words among other, AB ALIO SPERES ALTERI QVOD FECERIS: that is to say, *Looke for that of another, which thou shalt haue done to thy neighbour.* There also in another monument is this to bee read: ASPVLENIA GERIA VIX. ANN. XXII. QVOD QVISQVE VESTRVM OPTAVERIT

Lib. 8. cap. 6.

TAVERIT MIHI ILLI SEMPER EVENIAT VIVO ET MORTVO. That is to say, *I* Aspulena Geria *haue liued* 22 *yeares. Let that befall euery of you aliue and dead which he shall wish to me.*

This commandement of doing that to another which we would haue done to vs, deriued from the fountaines of the Law of nature, hath been diligently obserued by the ancient wisemen. *Lycurgus* that renowmed Law-maker of Sparta, neuer ordeined any thing to others, which he did not first exactly obserue himselfe: yea, the force of this truth hath such credit among all nations, that the most barbarous and fierce submit themselues thereunto, some more, some lesse. *Mahomet* that deceiuer hath cunningly repeated and recommended this article, inserting it among the eight Ordinances which hee left to his Musulmans, and which he affirmeth were brought him from heauen by the Angel *Gabriel*. This ordinance should the Sultan *Baiazet* the first, aboue all others haue remembred, when hee was taken by the Tartarian *Tamberlan*: for he being demaunded of the Victor, What he would haue done, if the victorie had fallen to him? answered prowdly, If I had gotten thee into my power, thou hadst now beene shut into an yron cage, and I would haue caried thee for a shew whithersoeuer I went. *Tamberlan* hearing this answere, caused presently an yron cage to bee forged and fitted, and that was the prison for *Baiazet*; who not able to endure the indignities and outrages that were done him in that shamefull spectacle, gaue his head so many knocks against the barres of his cage, that therewith he died, as the Turkish Annals mention at large. *Lucian*, iesting after his old fashion, bringeth in *Menippus*, who rehearseth the ordinance established and decreed in hell, importing, That the soules of the rich which were to returne into the world, should enter into Asses, where they should carie packs, and passe from the bodies of some asses into the bodies of othersome, where they should carie packs and heauie loads for the space of many thousands of yeares, vnder the command of poore men that should cudgell them without ceasing, and pay them home for the outrages which they had done to the poore. Of this commandement of God and of Nature, one of those that were taken prisoners by king *Charles* the sixth in a castle of Zeland, should haue had a better remembrance. *Gaguin* reporteth, That when they were taken, they chose to die rather than to accept of the conditions which the king propounded vnto them: but there was one of them, who albeit the rest were of his blood and parentage, offered to bee their hangman, and to put them to death, so as he might haue his life saued. To be short, they past through his hands, and were executed by him: but the king crying out of the impietie of the wretch, made him passe the same pikes presently after the rest. Let vs here insert the memorable storie that fell out at Rome, written first by Cardinall *Benno*, and after registred by *Bale*. The Emperour *Henrie* the fourth vsed to goe often to praiers in S. *Maries* Church in the mount Auentine. Pope *Gregorie* the seuenth, who caried a watchfull eye ouer all this princes actions, commanded one to take notice of the place where he was wont to pray either standing or sitting, and got a certaine fellow, with promise of great recompense, to go vp vpon the top of the Church, and there vpon the beames to place certaine great stones, which should be so fitly laid, that with the least touch they should fall downe directly vpon the Emperors head, and braine him at the first blow. This mercenarie villaine, as he would haue plaied his part, went so hastily to worke, that as he thought to haue rolled downe a very heauy stone from the roofe, the stone with his weight drew him on so, that the man and stone fell together vpon the temple floore, where the man was kild with the stone that fell vpon

Lib. 9. cap. 3. of the hist. of France.

In the life of the Popes. *Lib. 5.*

vpon him. The Romans hearing of this trick ran into the Church, tied a roape about the feet of the wretched traitor, and drag'd his carcaſſe three daies together throughout all the ſtreets of Rome: But the Emperour vſing his wonted clemencie commanded that he ſhould be buried. For good cauſe therefore doth the wiſeſt of all the kings ſay, *He that diggeth a pit ſhall fall therein, and he that rolleth a ſtone, it ſhall returne vnto him.* *Prouerb.* 26,27.

For concluſion, we may not forget that which hath hapned in our time during the war made vpon thoſe of the Vale of Angronia and their neighbours. One called *Iohn Martin Trombaut* of Briqueras, vaunted in all companies where he came, that he would cut off his noſe that was the paſtor of the Church of Angronia: but a few daies after a wolfe enraged ran vpon this threatner, and pluckt his noſe from his face, whereof he preſently died; neither was it found, that this wolfe after that time did euer any harme to any bodie. We read of another notable Storie which hapned in the fifth voyage of the Frenchmen to Terra Florida vnder the conduct of *Dominick Gourgues*, a wiſe and valiant captaine of Gaſconie: He hauing by the helpe of the inhabitants of that countrey, in the yeare 1567, won three ſconces which had been made and well fortified by the Spaniards, did cut them all in peeces that were found therein (being about the number of foure hundred) ſaue ſome that were taken priſoners who were brought vnto him; And after they had beene reuiled by him for the wrong they had done to all the French Nation contrarie to their faith giuen, they were all hanged vpon the boughes of the ſame trees that the Frenchmen had beene hanged at before; fiue of which had beene ſtrangled by one Spaniard, who then ſeeing himſelfe ouertaken and lead to execution, confeſſed his fault, and the iuſt puniſhment which God inflicted vpon him. But in ſteed of the writing which *Pedro Melandes* had cauſed to be ſet vp, implying theſe words tranſlated out of Spaniſh; *I doe not this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans:* Gourgues *cauſed to be written in a fir-boord with a hot yron; I doe not this as to Spaniards, nor yet Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, & Murtherers.* The occaſion of this requitall was, That this *Pedro Melandes* ſome yeeres before had againſt his promiſe, put to death betweene eight and nine hundred French perſons, men women and children, togither with their captaine *Iohn Ribault* lieutenant for the king (as the Storie publiſhed thereof doth witneſſe) and committed ſtrange parts of crueltie vpon thoſe whom ſhipwrack, hungar, nakedneſſe, and extreame miſerie had brought vnder his power and plighted Faith. Theſe then made that ſaying good which was giuen foorth for an anſwer long agoe by an Oracle, and hath ſince paſſed for a prouerbe, *That which a man doth to another, ſhall in the end come to himſelfe.* But for as much as this preſent Meditation agreeth in many reſpects with that which followeth, the Reader may gather there-out what this may ſeeme to come ſhort of. In the hiſt. of the war of Angronia.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Like for like, or the puniſhment of Talio, or Retaliation.

Ariſtotle propoundeth a ſentence of the Pythagorian Philoſophers, which defineth ſimply that to be law which euerie one receiueth deſeruedly either in reward or in puniſhment: and they ſay, That this is the juſtice which *Rhadamanthus* executeth in hell, puniſhing offenders according to their demerits. From hence is deriued the puniſhment of Talio, or Retaliation, or Like for like. It appeareth by *Moſes* Law that the ſame was vſed among the Iſraelits *Lib.* 5. of his Morrals, *cap.* 5. *Exod.* 25. 12. *Leuit.* 24. 17. *Deut.* 19. 4. 11.

lits, and the practiſe thereof was ſhewed plainely vpon the perſon of *Adonibezec*, whoſe thumbes of his hands and feet they cut off, becauſe he had done ſo to ſeauentie kings his priſoners. This puniſhment was regiſtred in a Law of the twelue Tables, renewed againe by the learned *Cuias*, in theſe tearmes, SI MEMBRVM RVPIT, NI CVM EO PACISCIT, TALIO ESTO. That is to ſay, *If any man maime another in any limbe, and compound not with him, Let him be puniſht with the like.* The Law of God ſaith, *An eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, &c.* Cato maketh mention of this Law of the twelue Tables, in theſe tearmes: If any man giue his neighbour a maime, or breake a bone of his, let his next kinſman requite him with the like. We may ſee in the Goſpell what our Sauiour Chriſt teacheth out of this Law, ſaying a little after, *With what meaſure ye mete, it ſhalbe meaſured to you againe.* The Prophets threaten Spoylers that they ſhalbe ſpoiled. And good cauſe why, for as much as the Law of God, of Nature, and Nations holdeth it iuſt and reaſonable, that whoſoeuer out of his priuat authoritie and affection hurteth another, ſhould himſelfe looke to be handled after the ſame manner. Therfore the Lord ſaid in *Geneſis, Who ſo ſheadeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhead.* Againe; *He that leadeth into captiuitie, ſhall goe into captiuitie: and, he that killeth with the ſword, ſhall die by the ſword.* Now although the Imperiall Conſtitutions doe oftentimes ſpeake of the Law of Retaliation, eſpecially in regard of the Iudge that taketh no care to puniſh the Offendor that ſhalbe found guiltie before him (for the lawes condemne him to be puniſhed with the ſame puniſhment that belonged to the malefactor, whom he ſpared and acquited by conniuencie; as in old time the accuſers were formally bound to vndergoe the ſame puniſhment with the accuſed, if they fail'd in their proofes, and ſo were puniſhed *De facto:*) yet afterwards, by the mildneſſe of the Prætorian law, the puniſhment of Retaliation was reuoked, and at this day it is not onely out of vſe, but alſo theſe vndergoings haue ceaſed; as alſo the aſſurances that were taken to appeare, and the coſts, damages, forfeitures, and intereſts that were liable to the ſame vndergoings, as is to be ſeene in the Ordinances of the Empire, namely for the Peace, publikely ratified in a Diet holden at Ausbourg, *Anno* 1548. *Gellius* propoundeth two reaſons of this change: to wit, the incommoditie of the law, and the difficultie of rendring Like for like. True it is, That if the Accuſer be euicted, there is ſtill at this day a puniſhment of Talio ordained for him, which is not abrogated: for that ſhall be done to him which he would haue done to his brother, according to the commandement of the Diuine Law, *Deutron.* 19. 19. *Paulus Ionius* bringeth a notable teſtimonie hereof in the 12 booke of his Hiſtories, where he ſetteth foorth the memorable example that hapned to this purpoſe in the citie of Naples. And *Petrus Iuſtinianus* recordeth another no leſſe memorable than that, in the 15 booke of his Hiſtorie of Venice, where he ſpeaketh of *Alexander Bon*, who being conuicted of calumniation was put to death. Yea in the criminall ordinances of the Empire *tit.* 68. ſpeaking of falſe witneſſes, there are yet to be ſeene ſome remnants and markes of this puniſhment of Talio: as alſo there be ſome ſpeciall titles thereof, namely, the 38. 107. and 180. in the Electorall conſtitutions of the Duchie of Saxonie, where it is ſhewed how far, and vpon whom this law may take effect.

But to come to our Hiſtoricall Meditations, we haue a memorable example of the puniſhment of Retaliation, reported by *Iohannes Dubrauius* biſhop of Olmutz, in the life of the Emperor *Charles* the fourth. As *Charles* was ſitting in his court of Audience, there came a prieſt before him, whoſe eies (as the Storie ſaith) a certaine gentleman his Patron had put out, becauſe he had reproued him

Iudic. 1 6, 7.

Titul. de Iniuryis.

Matth. 5, 38.

Matth. 7. 2.

Cap. 9. 6. *Apoc.* 13. 10.

L. C. Ne ſanct. baptiſ. iteretur.

L. libellorum §. item ſubſcribere. Et l. ſi cui de accuſat. L. 3. vbi DD. C. qui accuſ. non poſſ. l. 2. C. de exhibend. reis. l. Vlt. C. de accuſat. l. non prius. C. de calumniys cum ſimil. b. lib. 10. l. 1. §. 1. ad legem Corn. ad legem Authen. omnes pergr. C. commun. de ſucceſſ.

Lib. 22. of the hiſt. of Bohemia.

him of hereſie; and required ſatisfaction for the wrong that had beene done vnto him. The gentleman called *Zachora*, appearing in perſon, confeſſed the fact, excuſing himſelfe, That he was at the time when he did it, tranſported with the heat of a vehement anger, and offring for amends any ſum of money that the Iudges ſhould impoſe vpon him. The Emperour beginning to ſpeake, pronounced the ſentence, importing, that the offence could not be repaired but by the puniſhment of Retaliation, conſidering that the blind mans eies could not be reſtored him againe: Therefore it was ordered, That *Zachora* ſhould haue his eies put out as the prieſt had; otherwiſe the law ſhould not be vprightly executed. Thus ſaith the Hiſtorie. The Aſians in old time inclined to this opinion of rendring Like for like; as witneſſeth the Storie reported by *Herodotus*, touching *Hermotimus* and *Panionius* of Chios: although I denie not but that *Hermotimus* gaue too much libertie to his coller and reuenge, and paſſed the limits of the puniſhment of Retaliation. It ſo fell out that *Hermotimus* taken priſoner in war was ſold to *Panionius* who cauſed him to be guelded. This baſe merchant made a traffick of ſuch diſhoneſt gaine; for all the faire boies that he could lay his hands on, in Ports or at Faires where he went to buy them for money, he handled in that ſort; and after carried them to Sardis, or to the citie of Epheſus, where he ſold them (almoſt) for their weight in gold: becauſe they that be guelt are much more ſet by for all manner of ſeruices among the Barbarians, than they that be not, as *Herodotus* ſaith. *Xenophon* bringeth in *Cyrus* to be of that opinion, and therfore doth he commit the keeping of his bodie to Eunuchs rather than to others. Albeit the word may ſignifie not onely thoſe that are inſufficient for generation, either by nature, or accident and violence; but alſo other ſeruants and principall officers about princes, as the holy Scripture beareth witneſſe. But to proceed with our Storie, *Hermotimus* was preſented (among other guifts) to king *Xerxes*, with whom in ſucceſſion of time he grew into greater credit than all the other Eunuches. The king departing from Sardis to make war vpon the Grecians, *Hermotimus* went about ſome buſineſſe into a quarter of the countrey which thoſe of the iſle of Chios did plow and husband, where finding *Panionius* he tooke acquaintance of him, and in a large and common conference which they had togither, recounted vnto him the great benefits he enioyed by meanes of his aduenture, promiſing to promote *Panionius* and to aduance him to great wealth and honour, if he would remooue himſelfe to that place with all his family. *Panionius* gladly accepting ſuch an offer, went thither a while after with his wife and children: *Hermotimus* ſo ſoone as he had him and his familie within his reach, vſed theſe words vnto him; *O thou the wickedeſt man of all the moſt wicked that euer were in the word! that vſeſt the moſt vile and moſt deteſtable traffick that may poſsibly be deuiſed! what hurt or diſpleaſure didſt thou or any of thine euer receiue of me, or any that belong to me, that thou ſhouldſt bring me in that caſe wherein I am, and of a man that I was, make me neither a man nor a woman? Didſt thou thinke the gods were ignorant of thy practiſes? Doeſt thou not ſee how they, doing right and iuſtice haue deliuered thee (wicked wretch that thou art) into my hands, that thou maiſt not find fault with the puniſhment I ſhall inflict vpon thee.* After theſe and ſuch like reproaches, he cauſed *Panionus* his foure ſonnes to be brought into his preſence, and compelled the miſerable father to gueld them all one after another with his owne hands: and after that was done, the children were forſt to gueld alſo their owne father. Thus was *Panionius* paid home with the puniſhment of Retaliation, and the miſchiefe that he had done to *Hermotimus* fell vpon him and his. Thus writeth *Herodotus*. Now albeit (as we haue before touched) Eunuchs and guelded perſons were

Lib. 8.

Lib. 7.

2. Reg. 8. 9. 20. 24. 25. Chap. Eſther. 1. 2. 4. Chap. Eſai. 39. Dan. 1. Act. 8.

were in old time of great esteeme and authoritie among the Asians, as they haue been since among the Emperours of Greece, and are at this present among the Turkes: neuertheless the Emperors of Rome haue alwayes reiected them, placing them in the ranke of those that are neither men nor women, as is plaine to be seene in *Valerius Maximus*, where one called *Genutius*, who had guelded himselfe, was iudged vnworthie (most filthie fellow that he was) to haue the benefit of a mans last Will and Testament: *Because* (saith *Valerius*) *it seemed a foule matter, that the place of Iustice should bee polluted with the voice and presence of such a monster and third kind of men, vnder colour of demaunding his right.* *Basil* in a letter to *Simplicia* maketh a bitter inuectiue against such, and so doth also *Claudian* the Poet, and others. *Lib.7.cap.7.* *Lib.4. cap.4.* *Lib.7.Paterg. Cap.23.*

In meditating these things, there commeth to my remembrance a pleasant storie written by *Luitprand*, Deacon of Pauia, which it shall not bee amisse to insert here by digression not altogether impertinent. *Theobald* duke of Spoleto made war vpon the Grecians that held Beneuento, and looke how many enemies fell into his hands, he cut off their priuie members, and so sent them away. In the end a woman with weeping teares imploring the help of God & of men, comes boldly into his presence saying thus; *Theobald, what haue wee poore women done vnto thee, that thou shouldest thus warre against vs with all extremitie? wee are no warriers, nor euer learned to handle other weapons but the distaffe and spindle in our owne houses: wherefore then dost thou depriue vs of our pleasures, by taking away our husbands instruments of generation? Is there no eyes, nor noses, nor eares? must thou needs extend the power of thy war vpon that which nature hath lent vs the vse of?* *Theobald* taking pleasure in this admonition, forbare euer after to vse such rigor. And he was worthily reproued by this woman, not onely for the reasons which she alleaged, but rather because he should not haue beene ignorant that they who handled men in that sort, were the enemies and destroiers of nature, hindring the procreation of children. The Imperiall lawes confiscat the bodies and goods of those that commit such disorders, and hold them for murderers. The like punishment is ordeined for those that circumcise their children as the Iewes doe; whereby it appeareth, that the members seruing for generation ought not to be hurt in any sort whatsoeuer; and punishment by death is ordained for those that shall doe such a fault, as there is for those that commit the crime of maiestie and treason. And as it is forbidden that the face of any person should bee branded or disfigured for any offence; so likewise it followeth, that a man ought not to be tortured so farre, as to haue his priuie members maimed: for such a punishment is not permitted, but straitly forbidden by the ciuile law. *Lib.3.§.qui homin. & lib.Cornel.§. Constitut. Ad leg.Cornel. de Sicar. l.Iudei l.de Iudæis. l.1. & 2.C.de Eunuchis.* *L. in metallum. C de pœnis.*

Let vs now returne to our purpose. As in old time the punishment of Like for like was much vsed among the Greeks, and likewise among the barbarous nations, so is it now also among the Turks. *William Postel* saith, That the Areopagites were wont to proceed in their iudgement as followeth: When a man was committed prisoner (let vs presuppose for murder) the kinsfolks, friends, and domesticks of the partie slaine were called together with sound of a trumpet, and according as they should agree it was ordained by what punishment the murderer should die, the sentence hauing regard withall to the charge, domage and interest of the partie offended: which manner of proceeding (saith he) because it is put in vre at this day among the Turks, I will set out more at length. The Cadhi or Iudge of the citie hauing sent the murderer to prison, causeth forthwith the kinsfolks of the murdered to be sent for. If there bee none, he sendeth for his friends, or else those that reaped any profit by him. The friends failing, the *Cap.4.of the Magistrats of Athens.*

Cadhi in the name of the prince and of the lawes(as in France the kings Atturnie taketh his conclusions) giueth sentence (hauing first asked those that appeared, whether of the twaine they had rather haue,either that the malefactor should be punished with Like for like, or condemned to pay some fine) and iudgeth according to their agreement,prouided that the sentence either way be not excessiue.

360. li. They estimate the whole man (that is,the dead) at threescore thousand aspres, which make twelue hundred crownes, or thereabouts: with payment of such a fine the offender redeemes his life. For halfe a man (that is, for him that is maimed of a leg,of an arme,or an eye)there is halfe a fine,which is thirtie thousand aspres. We will adde hereunto that which *Philip Lonier* reporteth of the Tartarian *Tamberlan*: while he was marching with his armie in Asia the lesse, a poore woman commeth into his presence, exhibiting a complaint against a souldier, who had drunke some boyld milke of hers, and taken away a peece of cheese without paying for it. *Tamberlan* forthwith causeth his armie to make a halt,and after the souldier was found out,commandeth him to be ript aliue; and the milk that had been taken from the woman being not yet digested in his stomacke, the woman was sent away againe with an expresse declaration,that if her accusation had not prooued true,her selfe should haue died by the like punishment.There is such a like storie in *George Vitz*,who affirmeth he was by and present when a certaine Ianizarie,being accused by a woman, and hanged by the feet in the citie of Damascus, did cast vp the milke which hee had stollen from that woman, and drunke but a little before; and was afterwards strangled to death.

Lib.1. of the state of the Turkes.

In his Historie of the Turkes.

CHAP. XX.

In punishing Offences, wee must follow the gentlest course, when there is reason for it.

IT is both a laudable thing, and an excellent part in a Iudge,not to leaue offences vnpunished, considering that one cannot offer to God a fatter,better,or more pleasing sacrifice than a wicked man,as *Seneca* saith in one of his Tragedies: and it hath bin well said, That who so pardoneth the wicked, doth wrong to the good.The holy historie confirmeth this to be true in the example of *Phinees*,who with a speare thrust the Israelite and the Madianitish woman that committed fornication hard by the Tabernacle,through both their bodies; an act so pleasing to the Lord(as himselfe testified) that his anger was therby appeased and turned away from all the people.And in another place a Prophet said to king *Achab*,*Because thou hast let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to die, thy life shall goe for his life, and thy people for his people.* And surely, he that punisheth the wicked,maintaineth the good. We haue a notable example hereof in the life of the king S. *Lewis*,as the Annals of France report it. One day as this prince was saying ouer some Psalmes of *Dauid*,and was praying to God, a Courtier came vnto him, begging pardon for an offender that was found guiltie of death; the king without any more adoe, made a signe with his head, that he graunted his suite: but presently after chancing to read a verse of the 106 Psalme conteining these words according to the common Translation, *Beati qui faciunt iustitiam in omni tempore*, that is to say, *Blessed are they that doe Iustice at all times*; he bad call him againe to whom he had graunted the pardon, and disanulled it, with this memorable Apophthegme, *viz. The prince that can punish a fault,and doth not punish it, is no lesse guiltie before God than the offender himselfe.* So then, to doe Iustice is a worke

Numb.25.8.

1.Reg.20.42.

worke of pietie, and not of crueltie. We will amplifie this point with the ſtorie of *Herkinbald*, taken out of a certaine Author in his diſcourſe of the voiage that king *Philip* made out of Spaine into the Low countries, in theſe words: Herkinbald, *a man noble, mightie, and famous, had no reſpect of perſons in Iudgement, but condemned and puniſhed with as great ſeueritie the rich, and his owne kinne, as the poore, and thoſe that he knew leaſt in the world. Being once verie ſicke, and keeping his bed, hee heard a great buſtling in a chamber next to that wherein he lay, and withall a woman crying and ſhriking out: Hee enquired of his ſeruants what the matter was; but they all concealed the truth from him. At laſt, one of his Pages being threatned by him, that hee would cauſe one to pull his eyes out of his head, if he did not tell him plainely what all that ſturre was, told him in few words, My Lord (quoth he) your nephew hath raviſht a maid, and that was the noiſe you heard. The fact being examined and throughly auerred*, Herkinbald *condemned his deere nephew to be hangd till he ſhould bee dead: but the Seneſchal who had the charge to execute the ſentence, ſeeming as if he had beene very hoat and forward to doe it, went preſently and gaue the young man an inkling of all that had paſt, wiſhing him to keepe out of the way for a while: and ſome few houres after comes againe to the ſicke perſon, aſſuring him (againſt all truth) that he had put his ſentence in execution. About fiue daies after, the young gentleman, thinking his vnkle had forgotten all, came and peept in at his chamber doore. The vnkle hauing ſpied him, calleth him by his name, and with faire words tolleth him on towards his beds-head, till he was within his reach; and then ſuddenly catching him by his lockes with the left hand, and pulling him forcibly to him, with his right hand hee gaue him ſuch a readie blow into the throat with a knife, that he died inſtantly: ſo great was the zeale that this noble man bare to the execution of Iuſtice!* To this, our Imperiall lawes alſo haue had ſome reſpect, when they ordeined thus; If guiltie perſons make an eſcape and goe vnpuniſhed, let all publike plaies and paſtimes be laid aſide, and were black (as it were) for mourning.

Yet neuertheleſſe, all this ought to bee ſeaſoned with a graine of ſalt, as the Ciuilians ſay; that is, in cruell and notorious crimes we muſt giue no occaſion to the wicked to giue themſelues the reines to doe wickedly, by hope of impunitie, but terrifie them by the ſeueritie of puniſhments: the wiſe Iudge hauing care how he may be more mercifull than either the law or cuſtome. But when there appeareth ſome cauſe of moderation, or when any doubt is made in the matter, then it were not good to follow their opinion that will iudge of cauſes according to extremitie of law: but it is beſt to interpret things the gentler way, which tendeth to deliuerance, and not to violence. According whereunto the Ciuilian *Marcellus* ſaid, That in a doubtfull cauſe it is no leſſe iuſt than ſafe, to take the milder way: and it is better in ſuch a caſe to acquit the guiltie, than to condemne the innocent. Which ſhould be carefully conſidered of by the Iudges and Iuſtices in criminall cauſes: for there haue been vniuſt ſentence-giuers, who blinded either with hatred or with flattery, haue bin more forward (ſo they may gratifie the great men of the world) to condemne the innocent, than to acquite them. The faſhion of ſuch men is, to leane that way where they ſee the affection of the prince to incline. The Canons ſay, That it is eaſier to giue a reaſon of mildneſſe than of rigor; which may be illuſtrated with the example of *Iacobus Carrara*, prince of Padua, according to the report that *Bernardin Scardeon* maketh thereof. We may not forget (ſaith he) the memorable act by him executed, when hee was readie to giue vp the ghoſt: for hauing (as it were) yeelded himſelfe to let any (that would) ſay or doe all the reproches they could vnto him, he gaue order that his chamber doore ſhould ſtand wide open for all commers, to the end, that if he had (by chance) done wrong to any man, hee might freely heare of it,

L.3. C. de Epiſc. audient.

L. ea quæ de regul. iuris. L. abſentem De pœnis. Gaguin in the life of *Charles 7. lib. 10. cap. 2*

C. 36. q. 1.

Lib. 3. claſſ. 13. of the deſcription of Padua.

being readie to doe euerie man right and reaſon. All men hauing approoued his doings and ſayings without any controllment, at laſt there came one who required of the prince that he would cauſe a certaine ſum of money to be reſtored vnto him which he had paid for a fine to auoid a puniſhment, alleaging that by right he ſhould not haue beene condemned to pay ſuch a ſumme. The prince made him anſwer with a low voice, being at the point of death, but with a noble ſpirit, and ſuch as was readie to diſlodge; *If* (quoth he) *thou hadſt had thy right then, thou coulſt not haue complained of me now, albeit thou doſt it vniuſtly. For thou hadſt deſerued to be hanged; but that puniſhment was bought out with money for the common benefit, not for any particular profit of mine. Auant therefore (Caytife as thou art) thinke vpon thy leaud pranks, change thy manners, & liue hereafter an honeſt man: for, if by money ſhould be rendred to thee, thou alſo (according to the law) ſhouldſt render and looſe thy head, which thou haſt redeemed with plaine money. I feele not my conſcience burdened with any thing, except it be with this, that thou haſt not made ſuch amends as thou oughteſt.* To this Storie we may annex another, containing the anſwer which a certaine Ieaſter made to a king of France, who found fault with a Courtier that had begged pardon of him, ſaying, That this was the third murther he had committed: *Nay king (quoth the Ieaſter) this ſuter hath committed but one of the murthers, it is thou that art guiltie of the ſecond and third: For if thou hadſt not granted him pardon for the firſt, he had not liued to haue done any more.*

Lib. 2. To come to moderne Stories, *Philip de Commines* reporteth one that is notable, and may ſerue to giue a luſtre to theſe aforegoing. *Charles* duke of Burgundie hauing made Peace with the Liegians, they gaue him hoſtages, vpon condition, that if they violated their Treatie, it ſhould be lawfull for him to put the hoſtages to death. Now it ſo fell out (as the people are alwaies vnconſtant and fleeting) that the Liegians infringed the Peace, and enforced the duke to take armes againe. Thereupon a conſultation was had what ſhould be done with the hoſtages. Many were of opinion to put them to death, of which number was the lord of *Contay*, one of the dukes cheefe Counſellors. This opinion had preuailed but for the lord of Imbercourt, a gentleman of Picardie, who drew *Charles* and the moſt of his counſell to moderation and mercie. *Contay* hauing deliuered ſo cruell an opinion againſt the hoſtages (who ſimply truſting vpon the promiſe of their fellow-citiſens, had brought themſelues to ſuch an afterdeale for the good of their countrey) one of ours (addeth *Commines*) whiſpered me in the eare, *Doe ye ſee* (quoth he) *this Contay, that hath his health ſo well being old as he is? I durſt lay a wager, That for his giuing ſo cruell aduiſe, he will die himſelfe before a yeare goe about*, and ſo it fell out. With this Storie of *Commines* agreeth that which *Benzo* reporteth of *Attabalipa*, a mightie king of Peru. The Spaniards hauing taken him priſoner, promiſed him his libertie if he would furniſh ſo much veſſell of gold and ſiluer as would fill all the roome where he then was, being ſo high from the ground as a man might reach with his hand, that is, ſeauen foot high, or thereabouts. Which he ſatisfied, in ſo much as that bare ranſome (beſides many other verie rich booties they had of him) amounted to more than two millions of gold: and yet for all that within a while after the Spaniards ſtrangled him with a roape. *But it ſo fell out afterwards by the ſufferance of God* (ſaith *Benzo*) *that all they that were conſenting to the death of this king made a wretched end.* Many were of opinion that after he had paid his ranſom he ſhould haue beene let goe, as it had beene agreed. Others gaue counſell to ſend him to the Emperour into Spaine; and himſelfe deſired it after he was condemned.

In his hiſt. of the New world, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. & 5.

One of the Athenian Law-makers called *Draco*, was ſo boiſterous a Politician, that

that the Orator *Demades* ſaid verie fitly of him, That his lawes were written with blood, and not with inck. Therefore *Herodicus* (as *Ariſtotle* reporteth) was wont to call them the lawes of a Dragon, and not of a man. Some others ſurnamed them *Funerall*, or *Murthering*, ſaith *Pauſanias*. This ſeueritie heaped ſo much ill will vpon *Draco*, that being one day at the Theatre in the citie of Ægina, all the people mutined ſo againſt him, that they threw their cloathes vpon him, and ſtifeled him: After which, with a ſilent yeedling of the Athenians, his lawes which ſeemed vnſupportable did of themſelues vaniſh and come to nothing. A certaine Iudge in France of our time, ſeemeth to haue beene *Dracos* diſciple. *H. Stephen* in the preface of a verie good (though little) treatiſe, entituled, *Iuris ciuilis fontes & riui*, recounteth of that Iudge this that followeth. He had alwaies one ſong in his proceeding in criminall cauſes; If the priſoner were old, hang him, hang him (quoth he) he hath made many other ſuch: and if he were yong, hang him; he will make many other ſuch. But *Draco*, or *Draconiſt* as thou art, thinkeſt thou that there muſt be no place left for the mercie and power of God? if he can beſtow his grace vpon a man of yeares, and change his heart, ſhall he not be able to conuert the thought of a yong child, that is readie for inſtruction? Let all *Draconiſts* therefore take heed (if they perſeuer in their cruell and rigorous courſes, doffing all humanitie, letting looſe the reines to their violent paſſions, and breathing out nothing but blood, fire and fagot) that it be not ſaid to them, and of them,

In his Retorick.

Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 18.

But God ſhall caſt them deepe in pit, that thirſt for blood alwaies:
He will no guilefull man permit to liue out halfe his daies.

Pſa. 55. 23.

Paulus Iouius and other Hiſtorians witneſſe, That *Charles* duke of Burgundie, ſurnamed the Wicked (of whom we haue ſpoken a little before) was ſick of this diſeaſe: for he loued rather to follow his owne violent nature, than the prudent counſels of other men. And it is the marke of a ſpirit that is extreame hautie, to make no account of the ſound aduiſe of his friends, but contrariwiſe to flatter himſelfe in his owne priuat opinions. This hath ouerthrowne an infinite number of princes.

Marcus Antonius Zimará anſwering this queſtion after *Ariſtotle*, Why man lifts himſelfe vp in pride, aboue all other liuing creatures? diſcourſeth thus; I ſay, That the pride of man proceedeth of the not knowing of himſelfe: for if he did but remember that he was conceiued betweene the dung and the vrine; if he did but conſider of his entring ſtarke-naked into the world; if he did but thinke that his life is battered with miſeries and troubles, and that after all he muſt die; this would pluck downe his pride. To this purpoſe, *Flauius*, a learned Italian, at the end of his expoſition vpon the 82 *Pſalme*, alleageth *Theodoret*, who thinketh that God in that place doth threaten the vnrighteous Iudges that they ſhall fall as the deuill is fallen, being for his pride and iniuſtice, hurled downe from that high degree of honour whereunto God had aduanced him. Afterwards he addeth, That ſome by the word Princes vnderſtand Tyrants, whom God throweth headlong into hell. *Bodin* aimed at that when he ſaid, That the holieſt of all the Imperiall lawes was that which ordeineth, That no regard be had to the ordinances of Princes, if they agree not with equitie and truth. Which he enricheth with an example. *Henrie* the ſecond commanding that a certaine Italian lackey ſhould be laid in priſon, without telling why; the Iudges ſet him at libertie, hauing firſt deliuered their opinion to the king, who againe commanded that he ſhould be put to death, hauing taken him tardie in a foule and hainous offence, which he would not haue to be diuulged. The Iudges for all that would

Problem. 22.

Cap. 6. of the Method of Hiſt.

not condemne him, but ſet open the priſon doore to let him foorth. By means whereof the king made him be taken afterwards, and throwne by night into the riuer of Seyne without any ceremonies or forme of law, to auoid tumult. He bringeth in a little after, another example. King *Lewis* the eleauenth minding to giue a baſtonado to the Court Parlement of Paris, if it ſhould refuſe to publiſh certaine new ordinances by him made, the maſters of that Court vnderſtanding the drift, went all to the king in their red gownes. The king asking them what they would? Sir (anſwers the Preſident *La Vacquerie*) we are come with a full purpoſe to looſe our liues euerie one of vs, rather than we will ſuffer, that by our conniuencie any vniuſt ordinance ſhall take place. The king amaſed at this anſwer of *La Vacquerie*, and at the conſtancie of the Parlement, gaue them gracious entertainment, and commanded that the Edicts which he would haue had publiſhed, ſhould be canceld in his preſence, ſwearing, That from thence-forward he would neuer make Edict that ſhould not be iuſt and equitable.

To returne to the hoſtages of the Liegians. The Ciuilians aske this queſtion: If a perſon criminall being committed to men that haue promiſed to bring him foorth on paine of death, make an eſcape, ſo as he cannot poſſibly be had againe, whether theſe pledges ought to die in the ſaid Offenders place? Some ſay, yea; grounding themſelues for proofe vpon the example of the Conſul *Appius Claudius*, who (by report of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*) cauſed three hundred hoſtages to be brought into the Market place, and there in the preſence of the people, who conſented thereunto, made them be beaten with rods, and afterwards beheaded. As alſo *Titus Liuius* writeth, That the hoſtages of the Tarentines being brought before an open aſſembly of people, by the opinion of all were whipt, and hurled downe from the top of the Rock Tarpeius. But the contrarie opinion, as more mild, hath carried it away: otherwiſe this abſurditie would enſue of it, That the innocent ſhould be condemned. Now, the meaning of the lawes is, That the culpable ſhould be puniſhed for their faults. And as touching that which is alleaged, That the murtherers and deceiuers doe not liue long; it muſt be expounded vnder the exception of the admirable wiſedome and patience of God. For we ſee oftentimes, that ſuch malicious, cruell, and deceitfull men arriue to great age, a thing eaſie to be verified by many examples both ancient and moderne, which hath bred much trouble in the mind of many a wiſe Pagan, as may be ſeene by *Cicero* in his bookes of the Nature of the Gods, where he wondreth that *Dionyſius* the father, Tyrant of Sicilia, ſtained with ſundrie murthers and ſacriledges, did raigne eight and thirtie yeares, yea, and after all died quietly in his bed. *Iupiter Olympius* (ſaith *Cicero*) *did not ſtrike this Tyrant with his thunderbolt*; Æſculapius *did not ouerwhelme him with a long and cruell diſeaſe; but dying quietly in his bed, he was carried (as in triumph) to the pile of wood, leauing to his ſonne, as it were by title of right and lawfull ſucceſſion, that power and domination which he vniuſtly had vſurped.* Let vs ioyne hereunto that which *Machiauell* reporteth of *Cæſar Borgia* duke of Valentinois, who (as *Paulus Iouius* writeth) was a man that by reaſon of his bloodie mind, and brutiſh crueltie, might be compared with the ancient Tyrants, and who (ſaith he) was begotten of virulent blood and execrable ſeed. This duke, backt with the authoritie and power of Pope *Alexander* the ſixt his father, proiected to make himſelfe maſter of all Italy, which he poſſeſſed alreadie in hope, making hauock (to that end) and killing what with the ſword, and what by poiſon, all the princes, lords, and gentlemen which he thought would oppoſe themſelues againſt him, with full determination to proſecute his point, and not to leaue one of them ſtanding. But being diſappointed of his purpoſes, and lying in

*Lib.*6. of his *Rom. antiquit.*

*Lib.*5. *Decad.*3.

L. Sancimus. C. de pœnis c. 2 3. *q.* 5 *C. cum homo & gl.* 161. *§. damna. n* 4. *de pace Conſtantiæ & ibi Bal. & Roderic. Suares de fideiuſſor. in cauſa criminali.*

In his Famous men.

in his deaths-bed, he did not ſtick to ſay, That he had of a long time fortified himſelfe againſt all dangers that might befall him, ſaue onely againſt death: for he had neuer thought he could haue beene ſo ſoone beaten downe, and brought ſo low. This wretch remembred not the ſaying of the Philoſopher *Democrates*, who was wont to ſay, *That a fooliſh and wicked life did not ſo much deſerue the name of an euill life, as of a long death.*

Now to make an end of this chapter, being the hundred of our Hiſtoricall Meditations, I will heere annex the expoſition of *Flaminus* vpon that place of the 55 Pſalme that hath bin twice alleaged, becauſe it is full of comfort and ardent affection. To ſay truth, I ſtood too preciſely vpon the words of the Prophet; but this expoſition hath rid my mind of a great doubt. Thus he ſaith: *A good man can neuer die out of time and ſeaſon. For integritie of life in the daies of youth bringeth a time of ripeneſſe in death: and we may not ſay, that he hath paſt a ſhort life, that hath liued purely and holily. When a good man, whether he be old or young, commeth to die, he hath fulfilled his time: for as much as he is alwaies ready to depart, and he holdeth it then the beſt time, when it pleaſeth God to deliuer him from the priſon of the bodie. Contrariwiſe, the wicked man doth euer promiſe himſelfe long life, yea paſſeth his daies in ſuch ſort, as if he ſhould neuer diſlodge hence: by meanes whereof, he neuer accompliſheth his time, and the departure from life euer commeth to him againſt the haire; and though he ſhould reach to the end of a hundred yeares, he thinks himſelfe a young man. So then, though the wicked arriue ſometimes to extreame old age, yet doth this ſaying remaine moſt true, That they liue not halfe their yeares.* *Flaminius* repeateth this opinion of his in the explication of the 68 Pſalme, vpon theſe words, *God keepeth the rebellious ſhort, &c. Let vs ſuppoſe* (ſaith he) *that the wicked men and ſuch as contemne God dwelling in flouriſhing cities, full gorged with all manner of good and delicat things, liue till they come to ninetie yeares and more, yet is this ſaying of the Prophet moſt certaine and vndoubted. For like as the man that feareth God is in heauen, whereſoeuer he liue: ſo the wicked is vnhappie and wretched in euery place, for he languiſheth like one that is baniſhed into a vaſt and ſorrowfull wilderneſſe, which depriueth him of all the ſweets of this preſent life.* *Conrad Heresbach* in his moſt learned and profitable Scholies (written not long ſince vpon the Pſalmes) hath expounded the words of the 55 Pſalme aboue mentioned, in the ſame ſence that *Flaminius* hath done. Wherunto *Salomon* ſeemeth to haue regarded in the 6 chapter of his *Eccleſiaſtes*, where *Verſe 6,7,&c.* he ſaith, *If a man beget an hundred children, and liue many yeares, and the dayes of his yeares be multiplied: yet if his ſoule be not ſatisfied with good things, and he bee not buried, I ſay that an vntimely fruit is better than he: for he commeth into vanitie, and goeth into darkneſſe, and his name ſhalbe couered with obſcuritie. Alſo, in that the vntimely fruit hath not ſeene the ſunne, nor knowne any thing, it hath had more reſt than that man. And if he had liued a thouſand yeares twice told, and enioyed no good, do not all go into one place?* And af- *Verſe 12.* ter in the 8 chapter he ſaith, *Though a ſinner doe euill an hundred times, and God prolongeth his daies, yet I know it ſhall be well with them that feare the Lord and reuerence his face; but it ſhall not be well with the wicked, neither ſhall he prolong his dayes; he ſhalbe like a ſhadow, becauſe he feareth not before God.*

The end of the fifth Booke of Hiſtoricall Meditations.

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12 The Enmities betwixt kinsfolks and friends are most bitter and deadly. 362

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14 Of Drunkennesse, and of the euils that come thereby. 373

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19 Of Like for like: Or, the punishment of *Talio*, or Retaliation. 394

20 In punishing offences, wee must follow the gentlest course when there is reason for it. 398

FINIS.